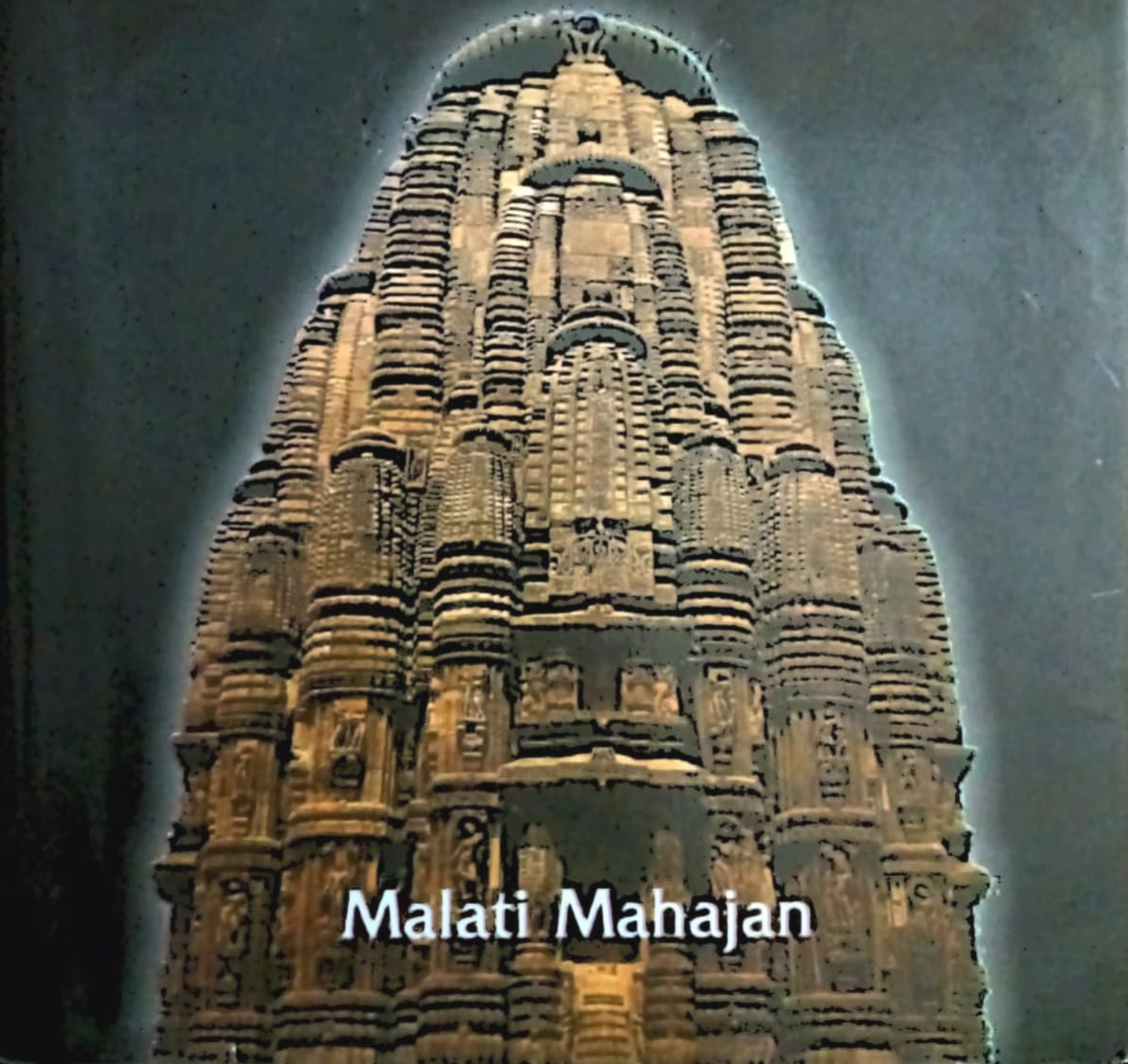
ORISSA

from place names in inscriptions
(cultural & historical geography)



Malati Mahajan

Extended from 17°49′-22° 34′N Latitude and from 81° 29′E-87° 29′E longitude the state of Orissa has very beautiful topography and is well equipped with all sorts of natural sources.

It started its political career with the rule of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha and enjoyed the prosperous regime of the king Khāravela. After the downfall of Khāravela different dynasties ruled over the territory up to the end of twelfth century A.D. All these dynasties tried to bring more and more land under cultivation by giving grants of lands and villages to *Brāhmaṇas* and religious institutions. They also grouped these villages into different units for their proper administration. Many scholars have studied these place names for tracing the historical geography of the region but these names have rarely been taken into account for tracing the cultural history of region.

Present volume presents the culture of Orissa as gleaned from place names mentioned in the inscriptions of the different dynasties and gives much emphasis on the meaning of the place names. The data obtained is corroborated and supplemented wherever possible and necessary with the evidence obtained from other sources (archaeological, literary, sculptural and epigraphical) and has been arranged under different heads such as topography, flora, fauna, settlements, administrative geography under different dynasties, society, economic conditions, religion etc. Hopefully, it would prove as an important source for the study of the cultural progress of the region and found interesting and thought provoking by discerning scholars.

Rs. 1750/-

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From Place Names in Inscriptions C. 260 B.C.-1200 A.D.

(Cultural & Historical Geography)

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Dr. Malati Mahajan

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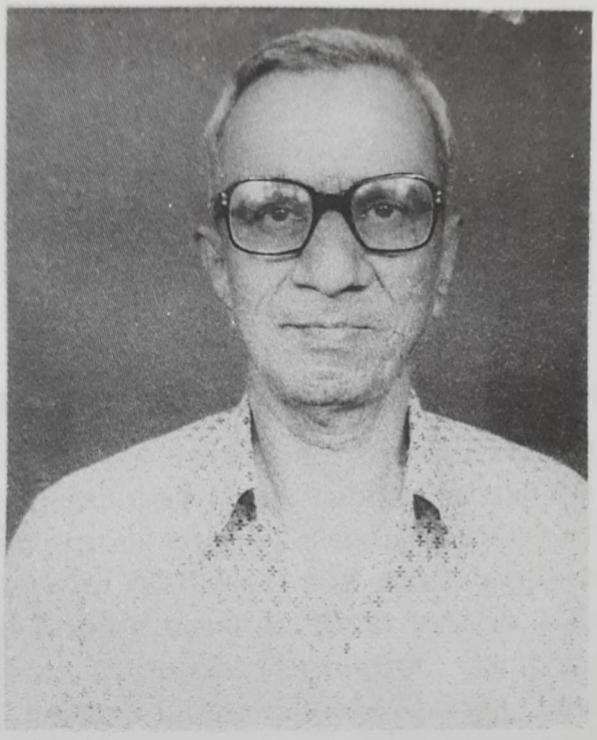

To
MY HUSBAND
SHRI MARTAND YASHWANT MAHAJAN
With Profound Respect and Love

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Astrologer, *Brāhmaṇa* Writer, Traders, Kshatriyas-Doners, Builders, Agriculturists. Vaiśya-Agriculturists, Traders, Writers, State and military officers, Śreshṭhi, Place names- Cattle rearing, Śudras-Elephant catchers, Professional castes-Metal workers, Seal makers, Images, Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Weapon makers, Coppersmiths, Perfume makers, Dyers or Colour makers, Potters, Clay modelers, Conchshell workers, Weavers, Distillers, Toddy drawers, Hunters, Bird catchers, Reed workers, Carpenters, Bards. Other people-Kaṅka, Koṅka, Guha, Bhilla, Kola, Kommo, Savaras, Kokkaṭa, Paduma, Gond, Māna, Kira, Sāonta etc.

Family life-Joint family, Donee family, Honours to ancestors, Marriage systems-Intercaste marriages, Polygamy, Position of women - Female rulers, Devadāsi and dārikā, Dancers in Buddhist Mahāvihāra, Female mendicants, Material life-Pots and pans, food and drinks, Sweetening articles, Vegetables, Fruits, Nonvegeterian food, Dress and ornaments, Toilet articles, Means of entertainment-Music and dance concerts, Drama.

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Forests-Place names-general forests, Peculiar species of trees, Fire wood forest, Trees of multiple uses, Silky cotton plants, Aquatic fruits. Industries and professions based on forest products. Place names, Grass and Reed workers, Arrow and Bow makers. Liquor making-Place names. Faunal wealth-professions-Hunters and catchers, Trappers and catchers. Ivory products and workers, Place names after elephants, Reptile catchers, Bird catchers. Water Resources- Rivers, Streams, Tanks, Lakes, Aquatic birds, Aquatic animals, Fishes and Tortoises-Professions- Fisherman, and his tools

and implements-Nets and Boats, Conchshell and pearl collectors, Water transportation-Place names, Boats, Ferry charges, Boat making. Mineral Sources-Stones, Stone workers Technique of breaking hard stones, Sculptors. Metal industries- Iron weapons and implements.Place names. Coppersmiths-Place names, Bronzesmiths, Goldsmiths and jewellers, Precious and semiprecious stones, Salt makers. Trade-Traders, Place Names-Markets, Trade guilds or trader's organisations. Place names-Riverine routes, Octroi and taxes, Pattanas. Maritime trade-Ports, Land routes, Trade Articles, Boats, Folk tales and festivals.

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Preface

Place names mentioned in the inscriptions of the different dynasties form an important source for tracing the cultural history and also historical geography of the given region and the period. Each place name and also of regional name has got its own identity and while writing either historical geography or cultural history of any period one must not remain satisfied with only the location or identification of the region or the place but also take into account characteristic features and meaning of the name of the region, as well as of the place names. Because, as stated in Ādiparva of Mahābhārata "The wise men call a particular country i.e. Deśa after its characteristic features"[1] and the same rule seems applicable to place names as well. Kauṭilya states that limits of the habitation should be decided with the help of natural objects like mountains, hills, particular species of trees etc. and these objects deciding the border must also have played an important role in naming the place as well. It seems that the practice of recognizing the place or country after its characteristic features was well established by about 6th Cent.B.C.

While the scholars like Nandolal Dey, B.C.Law, Cunningham etc. have studied place names for tracing the historical geography. Sankalia H.D. is the first scholar who worked on place names mentioned in the inscriptions found in Gujarat for tracing the Cultural and Historical Geography and Ethnology of Gujarat. Many scholars of the day have traced the different cultural aspects of Bengal, Assam, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat etc. with the help of place names. But most of these works have been restricted to one or the other cultural aspect of the region revealed from the place names.

Coming to Orissa there are works like *Historical Geography and Political History of Orissa* by Dilipkumar Ganguli, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa* by B. Misra, dealing with the place names for tracing the *Historical Geography of Orissa*. While the books *Rise and Fall of Śailodbhava dynasty* by S.C. Behra, *The Bhauma kings of Orissa* by U. Subodhi, *the Bhaumakaras and their Times* by Biswarupa Das, Cultural History of Orissa by B.K.Rath have devoted some portions of their respective works to the identification of the place names mentioned in the grants while dealing with the

1. I am very much thankful to Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri for supplying me this valuable information. Also see Critical Edition of Ādiparva Chapter II, V. 8 by Sukhthankar, Published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1933.

political history of the respective period, the books on political History of Orissa by N.K. Sahu, and by Banerjee, R.D. deal with the place names mentioned in the grants of different dynasties in general. Besides, while editing some grants, scholars have identified some of the place names occurring in that particular grant. But there are no books, so far, dealing with the different cultural aspects and also historical geography based on the interpretation of the place names and peculiar characteristic features of the place names.

Present work aims at tracing the special features of ancient Orissa—its Topography, Flora, Fauna, Nature of settlements, Administrative geography characteristic features of the then Society, Economic and Religious aspects etc.—on the basis of extraordinary features of the place names revealed through the interpretation of the names as well as geographical features. The study is restricted to the place names mentioned in the grants found in Orissa and of the period, ranging roughly between C.260 B.C. to about 1200 A.D. i.e. from the time of great Maurya king Aśoka to the regime of king Aniyaṅkabhīma of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty when Muslim marauders started playing havoc with the religious centres of upper India.

Place names collected from the grants of all dynasties referred to above and other minor or feudatory dynasties are divided here on the basis of suffixes and prefixes, and also in accordance with the meaning of the names found out with the help of dictionaries. The data thus obtained is corroborated and supplemented, wherever possible, with that available from literary, archaeological architectural, sculptural sources, with the internal evidence from the epigraphs and also with the information collected from the modern geographical work of Orissa. In other words it presents an attempt towards the reconstruction of the cultural history of the region with the corroboration and co-ordination of the data obtained from all relevant sources of history.

As a matter of fact all these sources, have their own limitations. These can not be described complete in themselves. While most of the literary works are not definitely dated and archaeological data is placed in time brackets and sometimes the time span is considerably long. On the other hand though most of the epigraphs are dated sometimes they lack the dates and in such event the scholars have to decide their approximate dates on the basis of paleography. Similarly, the meaning of the place names, some times, is not always clear and even when it is clear we have to make ourselves sure about the use of the words in the same sense, taken by us, during the concerned period. Hence the corroboration and co-ordination of the data from the available sources is very much essential for the study of the culture and historical geography of any region and the period.

Identification of the places is the most difficult and strenuous job for the scholars working on place names mentioned in the grants and it is especially so

when the concerned records do not mention places situated on the different borders of the donated places and in the absence of properly prepared authentic maps which are not always available. It is to be mentioned here that though we have accepted the identifications of some of the places made by the other scholars, many of the places have been identified freshly in accordance to their meaning and evidence from other sources and an attempt is made to locate all the places (old and newly identified) in the maps of talukas and districts with the help of the lists of towns and villages given in the district Census Hand Book of different districts and other available maps. But despite the strenuous efforts a few places remained unidentified.

Interpretation of the names, the most important and difficult job, is done here with the help of Sanskrit English Dictionary, Amarkośa, Marathi Nāmaśabdādi Vyutpattikośa, Dictionary of sixteen Indian languages, Indian Epigraphical Glossary etc. and the data from other sources is used in support of our interpretations and some times to fill up the gaps as well. But despite the utmost care taken to have a proper interpretation of the place names some odd names remained uninterpreted. Rajawade advices us to take this type of place names as the habitations of the then tribals living in that particular area. This difficulty caused by the ignorance of the tribal languages of the region places us in unhappy condition.

The collected data has been arranged in nine chapters. Chapter one is devoted to tracing the Geographical and Historical background and in order to have clear idea about culture of the region the peculiar features of natural divisions, such as Coastal plains, Middle mountainous country and Plateaus and Rolling Uplands of the state have been discussed here in some detail and cognisance has also been taken of the river valleys, forests, soil, appearance of early man etc. The historical background contains the discussion on the ancient names, such as Kaliṅga, Tosala or Tosalī, Utkala, Odra, Kosala etc. of the region. The second chapter titled Topography takes into account environmental features, such as hills, hills known from inscriptions, rivers of the region, rivers known from the epigraphs, climate, soil of the present day and deals with the place names referring directly and indirectly to mountain and hills, rivers, brooks, tanks, lakes, climate, soil, surface of the earth etc. Third chapter is dedicated to Flora of the Region. After dealing with the different types of forests prevalent here in modern times and forest kingdoms mentioned in edicts of Aśoka and Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Gupta king Samudragupta it deals with different types of forest, administrative divisions named after different species of tree, grāmas named after different trees and the trees mentioned forming the boundaries of the donated places etc. Chapter four takes the survey of the faunal wealth of the region in the ancient past. It deals with the place named after domestic animals, wild animals, birds, wild birds, aquatic birds, insects, reptiles etc. Now we come to the chapter

five. It is devoted to the study of settlements, here an attempt is made towards tracing the evolution of the human settlements, peculiar nature of some settlements and pattern of habitations prevalent during the period. Administrative geography is our sixth chapter. It aims towards tracing the geography known during the different regime by way of the survey of the administrative divisions mentioned in the grants of the different dynasties and thus tried to have some idea about the extent of the kingdoms of the different dynasties. Chapter seventh bears the title Society. It takes the cognisance of the four principal castes of the society, Anuloma and Pratiloma castes, Professional castes, different people, family life, marriage system, position of women—her duties, existence of Devadāsī system in contemporary society, Female rulers, food, dress and ornaments, means of entertainments etc. Economic conditions is our eighth chapter. It deals with all the resources of wealth, such as land, forests, water, minerals etc. and ownership of these sources, Industries based on these resources and allied professions. Section of trade, the most important activity related to economy, includes the study of the place names denoting markets, traders, organisations of traders, land routes and riverine trade, means of transportation, maritime trade, ancient ports, trade articles-import and export. The ninth chapter of the work deals with Religious conditions. It takes the survey of the position of Jainism, Buddhisim, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism during the regimes of different dynasties in chronological sequence. Jaina caves, centers, Buddhist—Hinayāna and Mahāyāna centers, Stupas, Viharas and monasteries, education centers, images of Buddha and other Buddhist deities. Śaivism - Epithets, Invocations, temples and maṭhas, Ascetics, different sects—Pāśupata, Mattamayura, Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas, deities worshiped by these sects—Lākuliśa—types of Lākuliśa images at Bhuvanesvar, images of Natarāja Śiva on the temples at Bhuvanesvar, Bhairava and Chāmuṇḍā found in Orissa, Images of Mahishāsuramardini, Charchikā, Kālikā, Saptamāṭṛikās, and other goddesses. The work closes with the Epilogue that deals with interesting geographical, Socio-Economic and Religious features of Ancient Orissa revealed through the study.

The work can be taken as an first ever systematic attempt towards tracing the peculiar features of the culture and historical geography of Orissa on the basis of the interpretation of place names corroborated and supplemented wherever possible with the data from other sources.

We humbly request the discerning readers to kindly bear with us the misprints of diacritical marks that crept in despite the careful proof reading and some other drawbacks, if any, of the work.

MALATI MAHAJAN

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21 May 2002

Malati Mahajan

List of Abbreviations

AI	Ancient India.
AIK	Age of Imperial Kanauj. History and Culture of Indian people.
AIU	Age of Imperial Unity.
AOSM	Archaeology in Orissa, Sites and Monuments.
ARAB	Archaeological Remains at Bhubanesvara.
BKD	Excavation at Bhokardan. .
BM	Bharatiya Murtiśāstra.
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
BS	Bhasa—A Study.
C I I	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, IV.
CA	Classical Age
CAGI	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
CASR	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report.
CHBBVA	Chhattisgadhi, Halbi, Bhatari Boliyoṅ kā Bhāshā Vaigyanika Adhyayana.
CHMG	Cultural History of Maharashtra and Goa.
CHOO	Cultural History of Orissa, B.K.Rath, Delhi 1983.
DCHB	District Census Handbook, 1981.
DMCI	Development of Material Culture in India.
DMO	Dynasties of Medieval Orissa.
EHOO	Economic History of Orissa.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
EP	Encyclopaedia of Purāṇas
FLO	Folk Lore in Orissa.
GHCB	Glimpses of History and Culture of Balasore.
GO	Geography of Orissa.
HAI	History of Agriculture in India.
HCIP	History and Culture of Indian People, Vol. III, Classical Age
HCKK	History and Culture of Khijjingkotta.
HGDHO	Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa.

HGMFER	Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh from Early Records.
HK	History of Kalinga.
HO	History of Orissa.
HOFET	History of Orissa from Earliest Times to 500 A.D.
HOFETBP	History of Orissa from the earliest times to the British Period.
HOTG	History of The Gangas, Part I and II.
HOO	History of Orissa
HTAO	Hindu Temple Art.
IE	Indian Epigraphy.
IEG	Indian Epigraphical Glossary.
IKP	India as Known to Pāṇinī.
IO	Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, Part II, Vols. II, IV, V,VI.
IOTSPS	Inscriptions of Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍuvamśins and Somavamśins.
IRG	India A Regional Geography.
ISBV	India as seen in Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira.
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
KA	Kauṭiliyam Arthaśāstram.
LAIJC	Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons.
MP	Medicinal Plants.
MRUS	Mahārāshtra Rājya Utpādanāchī Sādhane.
OITM	Orissa in The Making.
OSCRA	Orissa, Social, Cultural and Religious Aspects.
OUBK	Orissa Under The Bhaumakaras.
PBDSI	Prāchina Bastar Arthāt Daṇḍakāraṅya Kā Sānsakṛitika Itihāsa.
PBSK	Prāchin Bhāratiya Sthalakośa.
RENJ	Report on Excavation at Nasik and Jorwe.
RFSD	Rise and Fall of Śailodbhava Dynasty.
SED	Sanskrit English Dictionary.
SELNI	Socio Economic Life in Northern India.
SGAMI	Studies in The Geography of Ancient and Medieval India.
SI	Select Inscriptions.
TAI	Tribes in Ancient India.
TBKO	The Bhaumakaras of Orissa.
TBTT	The Bhaumakaras and Their Times.
TCCPI	Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India.
TEHYA	Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.
TOHRJ	The Orissa Historical Research Journal.
TPO	The Ports in Orissa.
VI	Vedic Index.
VSAMRS	Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems.

Chapter I

Geographical and Historical Background

Situated between 17°49'- 22° 34'N latitude and 81°29'-87°29'E longitude on eastern coast of India Orissa is bounded on its north by Chotanagpur plateau, in the west and south-west by the districts of Chhattisgarh basin and Andhra Pradesh, respectively. While to its east lies coastal plain to its northeast lies west Bengal. For the administrative purposes it was divided, previously, into the territorial divisions such as Sundargarh, Mayurbhanja, Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Phulbani, Kalahandi and Koraput districts. In addition to these districts, fifteen more districts have been formed recently.

Orissa presents a complicated but interesting physical set up. It contains several hill ranges and rivers such as Mahanadi, Vaitarani and Brahmani form its main drainage system. The river Mahanadi flowing from west to east has cut the territory, roughly, into two halves, north and south. While its northern part appears to be the extension of Chotanagpur plateau southern part is extension of Eastern Ghats. Physically, the territory of Orissa has been divided into three broad units viz., (1) coastal plains, (2) the middle mountainous region and (3) the plateaus and rolling uplands.

Coastal Plains: Extended from the river Suvarnarekha in the north-east to the river Rishikulya in the south-west the coastal plains occupy the eastern sea coast of Orissa. It is known as the 'rice bowl' of Orissa. This region has wonderful shape. It is narrow in the north, widest in the middle, narrowest in the Chilka coast and broadest in the south. Six major rivers, starting from the north, the Suvarnarekha, the Burhabalanga, the Vaitarani, the Brahmani, the Mahanadi and the Rishikulya, brought the silt from their catchment area and by putting it to the depths of the Bay of Bengal reclaimed this region. The region can be described as the land of six deltas and three subdivisions such as (1) the north coastal plains formed by the deltas of the rivers Suvarnarekha and Burhabalnaga upto the river Vaitarani, (2) the middle coastal region created by the combined deltas of the rivers, Vaitarani,

Brahmani and Mahanadi and (3) southern coastal plains formed by the Rishikulya river. The coastal plain contains three sections viz., salt tract, rice country in the middle and submontane tract, running parallel to shore line.

Salt tract: It is a narrow tract stretched for about 4.8 to 9.6 km. inland beyond the shore line and towards the sea shore it merges with the belt of sand dunes and sand ridges often of the height of 16–26 meters. In the Mahanadi delta it has created the tidal forest known as 'Little Sundarbans' in the Paradeep Dharma coast and in the Divi–Daya section Cassurina forests and plantations. This forest belt all along the coast merges with the narrow belt of pastures.

Rice Tract: The land next to salt tract includes endless stretches of the rice fields and except the high ridges of old and perishing rivers occupied by the villages there are no other highlands. This arable tract is extended in the south up to the spurs of the Eastern Ghats.

Submontane Tract: Lying to the south of the rice belt the tract contains the deep ravines along the foothills of the Eastern Ghats created by hillstreams of various sizes. Soil erosion is peculiar feature of this tract. The soil here is predominantly red and it covers the blocks of laterite buried beneath. The region contains patches of fertile belts with rich vegetation, which includes prickly thorns, stunted shrub and Sal forests. But all these three belts are not much prominent in Rishikulya plains.

Sand dunes along the entire coastline is the peculiar feature of the coast of Orissa. These sand dunes are most developed in the region lying between the Chilka lake and Devi mouth and can be seen still further upto the north of Dhamra. As the consequence of the dunes the entire coastline, except the Paradeep, has become prograded coast and all the river mouths have been silted and choked. Further, the upliftment of the mouth portions has reduced the slopes of the valley and hence, the floodwater cannot be discharged properly. On the other hand, the circumstances led to the rise of the several lagoons of various sizes.

Lakes, Lagoons and Marshes: There are two types of lakes, natural and artificial. These again are divided into two types, such as fresh water lakes and salt-water lakes. Among the natural lakes the Chilka Water Lake is most important. It is of the shape of pear and has wide end towards the north-east and conical end towards the south-west. North to south it is about 72kms. long and in the northern half portion it is 32kms. in width while in southern half portion its breadth is 8 kms. It is famous for prawn and crab fishing. The most interesting feature of the lake is that the salt content of the lake diminishes in the monsoon period and increases during the winter season. The Anusupa is the other fresh Water Lake of the state. It is situated on the left bank of the river Mahanadi opposite Banki in Cuttack district. It is created by the miander shifting of the river Mahanadi. On the

coast at Ichhapur situated on the border of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh there is marsh known as Udyanakhanda. Its water is brackish.

Lagoons: The Sarlake, Samagara pata and the Tampara are only three old and fresh water lagoons near the Puri coast. They have been silted up to a great extent and dry up during the summer. A lot of paddy is cultivated here when the water dries up in the winter and the fertile bed is exposed.

Artificial lakes: In the pre-independence period there were only two artificial lakes in the catchment area of the river Rishikulya. Of these, one was at Sorada and the other was at Bhanjanagar. Their number is increased during the post independence period.

Bays and Islands: As the Orissa coast is built up coast there are no bays or inlets in the coast and there are only two islands, the Shortt's island and Wheeler islands off Mainpur and Dhamra mouths situated a few miles inside the Bay of Bengal. These are depositional islands.

Natural Harbours: Paradeep is the only natural harbour in Orissa. It is the deepest natural port in whole of India and it provides berthing facilities to ships of more than 60,000 Gross Registered Tonnage.[1]

Middle Mountainous Country: This region can be divided into three parts viz., the northern uplands, erosional plains of Mahanadi valley and south-western hilly region of Eastern Ghats.

Northern Uplands: The northern uplands which includes Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar districts and Palahara subdivision of Dhenkanal district is intersected by hill ranges and has slope from north to south. The rivers Vaitarani, Brahmani and their tributaries have dissected it into three blocks, the eastern block comprised of heavily forested hills in Mayurbhanj district, the middle block containing forested hilly region of Keonjhar, parts of Dhenkanal and Sundargarh districts. The western block is covered with dense forest. The region contains hill ranges of Malyagira in Pal-lahara, Manakarnacha in Keonjhar and Meghasani in Mayurbhanj districts.[2] Dome shaped Meghasani mountain is of volcanic origin.[3] The average elevation of the central section of the upland is 900 Mts. and it forms the water shed for the river Vaitarani and Brahmani[4].

The Erosional Plains of Mahanadi: The river basins which includes the large portions of Sambalpur and Bolangir districts and some portion of Dhenkanal district is narrow and elongated region. While it is wider in its western part it is narrow in most of its eastern part. Famous historical place Sonepur is situated here on the confluence of the rivers Tel and Mahanadi. Similarly, the old state town of Baud is situated on the further bank of the river Mahanadi. The region is divided into two subdivisions viz., Hirakund-Sonepur valley region lying between Hirakund and

Sonepur and Baud valley region comprising deep, elongated river valleys of Tel, Onga etc. on the right bank of the river Mahanadi.

South-western Hilly Region : Now we come to the third block i.e. south-western hilly region to the south and south-west of the river Mahanadi. It includes portions of Khondmal and Ganjam districts and some scattered hills and plateaus in Bolangir district. Wide-open plateaus surrounded on all sides by forests and hills with the highest peaks in the State is the peculiar feature of this region. Among the hills, Mahendragiri in Ganjam district, Champajharan in Khondmal region and Harishankar in Bolangir district are most outstanding. The hill slopes are covered with thick forest.[5]

Plateaus and Rolling Uplands: High plateaus are found in mountain ranges with an average height of 300-600 meters. These plateaus are almost flat and are interrupted by the deep river valleys. There are two plateaus namely, the Panposh-Kendujhar-Pala Lahara plateau of the upper Vaitarani catchment basin and Nabrangapur-Jaypur plateau of the upper Sabari basin.

The rolling uplands are low in elevation and have been created by the river action. These are flat in nature and can be seen in the Koel-Shankha basin of upper Vaitarani, and in the Ib, the Sukhtel and the Sabari basin.[6]

River Valleys: Three major rivers viz., Mahanadi, Vaitarani and Vansadhara and their tributaries formed the drainage system of the region.

Climate: The region enjoys tropical monsoon climate and faces high temperature throughout the year. It is the meeting place of the monsoon currents of Bay of Bengal and Arabian sea but most of its parts get monsoon rains from the Bay of Bengal branch i.e. south-west monsoon. Mean annual rainfall here is 150 cms. but it varies from 130 cms. to 165 cms. While the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundargarh districts receive the maximum rainfall the district of Ganjam is a recipient of the lowest rainfall.[7]

Natural Vegetation: Highlands of Orissa are thickly forested. Many thickly populated vast localities in the plains of Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Bolangir districts have no forests and some parts of the Ganjam and Baud Khondmal districts have been devastated due to the practice of shifting cultivation prevalent in the region. But these districts contain extended tracks with thickly wooded hills containing valuable species of trees. Maximum area of Baud Khondmal district is under the forest and Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Bolangir districts also contain large forests. It is important to note here that each of the preceding districts contains larger forested area than that of his follower.

Forests here are of three types. (1) Tropical semi-evergreen found mainly in the region near the seacoast in Dhenkanal and Ganjam districts. (2) Tropical moist

deciduous and (3) Tropical dry deciduous. Of these, the forests of the second category, are quite extensive and are extended in continuation of the semi-evergreen forest from southern extremity of the region to the central belt of Mayurbhanj and Tropical dry deciduous forests are found in dry area in the central tract as well as the northern portion and western portion of the Bolangir and Sambalpur districts, respectively. Besides, the local climatic features have helped the growth of the subsidiary types of the forests of Bamboo, Sal, teak etc. Of these the Bamboo forests can be seen all along the Eastern Ghat tracts and low-lying area. Sal forests can be seen from SW to NE in all the districts coming within this tract.[8]

Soil: The region contains five different varieties of soil viz., (1) river alluvium soil in Ganjam district, (2) Lateritic soil covering considerable portion of the south-western hilly region, (3) The red soil seen in the whole of Mahanadi and Tel basin and in northern portion of Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj districts, (4) patches of brown soil in the north-east of Hirakund reservoir and in some portions of Sambalpur district and (5) patches of black cotton soil in the central belt on either side of the Mahanadi river, in some part of Dhenkanal district, in small portion of Baud district and in Sonepur division of the Bolangir district.[9]

Minerals: The state is rich in the mineral deposits. Most of the minerals are found here in inland districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Keonjhar districts. Among the various states, Orissa stands fourth after Bihar, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh in mineral production. It has adequate reserves of iron ore in Keonjhar district, Bonai sub-division of Sundargarh district, Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur districts.[10]

Population: The region is one of the less densely populated states of India. Contrasting land features within short distances seem to have influenced the density of population in the territory. The Sambalpur and Sundargarh districts in the north-western portion of the state are thickly populated and most of the towns of the province are concentrated in this area. But the region from Bolangir to Raurakela, due to fertility of the land and irrigation facilities, is famous for the rural settlements. On the other hand the region extending from South of the Baud Khondmals to the central portion of Keonjhar including table-lands of Ganjam, Baud Khondmals and portions of Dhenkanal, Sambalpur and Sundargarh, on account of poor soil condition are sparsely populated.

The region is extended upto Midnapure and Howrah in Bengal. Hence, the manners, customs, language, castes system etc. of the adjoining portions of Midnapure district of Bengal and Balasore and Mayurbhanj districts of Orissa are very much similar. But towards the west the language of the state of Orissa gradually merges into the language of the tribals living in the secluded valleys of the Eastern Ghats extended upto the Dalbhum and Singbhum region in the north and passing

through the region on the west of Mayurbhanj and the areas of Karond, Kanker etc. it reaches to Bastar. The region of Dalbhum and Singbhum to the north of Mayurbhanj as well as the secluded valleys between the ranges of the Eastern Ghats, was occupied till recent times by the Kolian tribe who spoke their own language and followed their own customs and manners. Similarly, the north-eastern portion of Mayurbhanj was also famous for the habitations of the aborigines. Till 1930 A.D. the states of Gangapur, Bonai, Bamra, Rairākhol, Sonepur, Patna and Karond and some portion of Sambalpur district formed a line of regions inhabited by the aborigines along with sprinkling of North Indian or Oriya speaking population.[11]

Forest clad undeveloped region was occupied by the aboriginal races and among them, main were Bhuians and Gonds.[12] The region was divided into several small states. While some of these came into existence in 5th or 6th century A.D. many of these appeared in the period ranging between 900-1000 A.D.

Early Man: The region, as we have seen above, is hilly and covered with forest. Early man seems to have appeared in different parts of the region in early Stone Age. N.K. Sahu states that whole of Pleistocene Orissa passed through three wet phases separated by three dry phases. According to him the first man appeared here towards the close of first dry phase.[13] The lithic implements used by this man have been divided by the scholars into three broad categories, viz., Early Stone Age culture, Middle Stone Age culture and Late Stone Age culture. The tools of the early period have been recovered at Kuliana situated at the distance of nine miles from Baripada and in Talcher area. Middle Stone Age tools have been dug out in gravel pits at Banai and Baidpur, Bahalda, Khiching and Dengaposhi are the main sites famous as the late Stone Age sites. We have prehistoric copper implements recovered at Dunria in Pal-lahara subdivision of the Dhenkanal district and at Khiching, Kshetra, Bahlada etc. in the Mayurbhanj district and Viratgarh excavation in the same district revealed iron age tools assignable to 4th century A.D. as well. A long list of prehistoric sites provided by Dr. G.C. Mohapatra indicates that the early man was living here mainly in Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts. Though antiquities recovered at various sites in these districts suggest the existence of Human civilisation in Orissa long before the time of our study the dated history of the region begins with the reign of Aśoka in third century B.C.[14]

Ancient Orissa: In early ages Orissa was divided broadly into two main divisions viz., coastal tract extended from the delta of Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south and the region to the west of Eastern Ghats comprised of, roughly, modern districts of Bolangir and Sambalpur on the west, Sundargarh in the north and districts of Koraput and Kalahandi in the south. The coastal territory

was known by the different nomenclature such as Kaliṅga, Tosalī, Utkala, Oḍra etc. in different periods. Of these, the name Kaliṅga appears to be the most important one. It remained in use, despite changing of its limits, for pretty long period and has been referred to in literary works and in epigraphs as well.

Kaliṅga in Literature: According to scholars, it has been mentioned for the first time in *Aiteraya Brāhmaṇa*. *Mahābhārata* mentions Kaliṅga country, kingdom or nation and people too. According to the anecdote of the origin of the kingdom of Kaliṅga provided in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, *Dānava* king *Bali* had sons named *Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga*, Puṇḍra, and Suhama and country under each of them was named after their respective name. Of these, the region of Kaliṅga was rich fertile coastal land and stretched from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south it contained mountains and hills in the west. In *Māhābhārata* war the eastern kingdoms viz., *Magadha, Videha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga*, which were under the rule of Karṇa joined the side of *Kauravas*.[15] But the *Purāṇas* mention the name of the Kaliṅga country in the list of those countries which flourished at the end of *Bhārata* war. All these kingdoms seem to have enjoyed the independent existence till their assimilation in the Magadha Empire in 4th century B.C. *Purāṇas* supply us the names of thirty-two kings of Kaliṅga but they do not supply us other details of these kings.[16] The region has been mentioned in different contexts by *Pāṇinī, Baudhāyana, Kauṭilya* as well as in Buddhist works such as *Jātakas, Mahāgovinda Suttanta, Niddesa* etc. *Kālidāsa* in his work *Raghuvaṁśa* mentions Utkala alongwith Kaliṅga.[17]

We know of the Kaliṅga tribe from classical writer Pliny. According to his description, it was living near the sea and adjacent to the Gangaridae. The Royal city of Kaliṅga was Prthalis[18] and the territory stretched from Ganges in the north to Srikakulam district in Andhra state in the south was known as Kaliṅga.[19]

As the Hathigumpha inscription suggests, the Kaliṅga region was under the rule of the Naṇda king in about 4th century B.C. Dhauli rock edict and Jaugada edict[20] of Aśoka supply us two names viz., Tosalā and Samāpā of the administrative divisions, probably of Kaliṅga. As described in these edicts, Kaliṅgas resisted the Mauryan invasion with all their might. In the first century B.C. Kaliṅga was the independent kingdom and as informed in the Hathigumpha inscription, its capital was at Kaliṅganagara.[21] The king Khāravela repaired the gates and ramparts of the city in his second regnal year. Nasik cave inscription of Vaśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi describes the king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as the lord of Mahendragiri and the eastern sea formed the boundary of his kingdom.[22] It is believed that this Mahendragiri must be the same as present Mahendra Mountain in Ganjam and Srikakulam districts of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh respectively. According to scholars, the close affinity between the archaeological remains found at Bhuvanesvar

and objects of Sātavāhana art found elsewhere speak of the rule of the Sātavāhana over the Kaliṅga region. A theory of the Sātavāhana rule over the region is further strengthened by the discovery of the Sātavāhana coins in southern part of Orissa.[23] But nothing is known about the extent of Kaliṅga during the regime of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

By about 310 A.D. the Kaliṅga, as the reference to the Kaliṅga king in the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicle *Daṭhāvaṁśa*[24] indicates, was a feudatory of the Muruṇḍa ruler who had his capital at Pāṭaliputra. Further, on the basis of the title Mahārāja assumed by the king Gaṇa of the Bhadraka grant datable to third century A.D. K.C. Panigrahi opines that he must be some feudatory ruler. According to Altekar, a legend "Mahārajasa Dharmadharasa" on the gold coin recovered in excavation at Śiśupālagarh denotes that the Muruṇḍa king was ruling over a part of Bihar and Orissa from his capital at Pātaliputra.[25]

Surprisingly we do not get any reference to the Kaliṅga kingdom in the Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of the Gupta period. Instead, the inscription refers to several kingdoms situated in and around the region of the ancient Kaliṅga. Thus, the kings defeated by Samudragupta are Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Kurāla, Mahendragiri of Pishṭhapura, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura, Dāmana of Eraṇḍapalla and Kubera of Devarāshṭra.[26] These places have been identified with the places situated in Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari and Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh and Ganjam, Kalahandi and Koraput districts of present Orissa state. Of these, except the Koraput and Kalahandi districts, all the districts were the constituents of ancient Kaliṅga. Hence, we can say that on the eve of the invasion of the king Samudragupta the region of Kaliṅga was divided into several small kingdoms with no central authority keeping them together. The condition seems to have remained unchanged after the assault of Samudragupta on Dakshiṇāpatha.

After this famous event in the history of Orissa, the region of Kaliṅga stretched from the southern portion of the Ganjam district to the Godavari river in the south, experienced the rules of the families such as Māṭharas, Vāśishṭhas and Pitṛibhaktas as well as some feudatory families and small independent principalities were also there. The existence of these rulers is known from the grants[27] they issued to *Brāhmaṇas* from the places such as Pishṭhapuram, identified with the place Pithapuram in East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh, Devapura, probably the chief place of the Devarāshṭra, identified with present Yallamanchili taluka in Vishakhapatnam district, Siṁhapura, identified with the place Singhupuram near Chikacole in Srikakulam district and from many other places in this region. While some rulers of these grants claimed to belong to Māṭhara family some belonged to Vāśishṭhikula and some declared themselves as Pitṛibhaktas. Some kings of these

dynasties declared themselves as Kaliṅgādhipati.[28] The provenance of their records and the internal evidence of the epigraphs indicate that these families were ruling, more or less simultaneously.

Besides, some kings ruling in South and South-Eastern Orissa supply us with the different names of Kaliṅga and help us in tracing the extent of Kaliṅga during their regimes. Ragolu pls. of the king Śaktivarman, first known ruler of the Māṭhara family records the grant of the place Rākluvagrāma in Kaliṅgavishaya.[29] The place has been identified with the place Ragolu in Srikakulam district. Besides, some kings of some unknown royal families ruling in South and South-eastern Orissa refer to Kaliṅga region in their grants e.g. Pedda-Dugam grant of Mahārāja Śatrudamanadeva[30] who is described as "Bhaṭṭāraka Pādaparigṛihita" in the charter issued from Siṁhapura, the chief city of Kaliṅga, during the regime of Māṭharas, Vāśishṭhas and Pitṛibhaktas, ruled the territory known as Girikaliṅga. Similarly, Sumandala pls. dated in the Gupta year 250 refers to Pṛithivīvigraha Bhaṭṭāraka as the ruler of Kaliṅgarāshṭra[31] and the chief place of division Parakkhlamārggavishaya containing donated place Ardhākamaṇḍuka along with Chandanavāṭaka has been identified with the place Pankalamatha in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. But the Tandivada and Parlakimedi grants of Prthivīmahārāja of Śrīrāma Kaśyapa[32] family, though speak of his rule over the Ganjam district do not refer to the region under his rule as Kaliṅga. Thus, it seems that though in early ages the name Kaliṅga was used for the region stretched from the delta of Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south during the regime of Māṭharas, Vaśishṭhas and Pitṛibhaktas who claimed themselves as Kaliṅgādhipati the name Kaliṅga denoted the country extended from Ganjam district in the north to the river Godavari in the south. The place names mentioned in the epigraphs of these dynasties also denote that in 5th century A.D. the name Kaliṅga was applied to Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam and East Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh and southern region of Ganjam district. The region retained its name till seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang who visited India about the second quarter of seventh century A.D. states that Kaliṅga was situated 1400-1500 Li to the south-west of Koṅgoda.[33] According to his description, the capital of Kaliṅga was Kaliṅganagara. It has been identified with the place Mukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh. The southern limit of the Koṅgoda, as we shall see later, was formed by Mahendragiri mountain and the reference indicates that in seventh century A.D. the region of Kaliṅga included, roughly, the Parlakimedi taluka of Ganjam district and we can say that by seventh century A.D. name Kaliṅga came to be applied to the region extended from Andhra Pradesh to some part of the Ganjam district. Rath is also of same opinion.[34]

With the decline of these families Eastern Gaṅga[35] family came to the fore front and established its rule in the region round Srikakulam with the headquarters

at Kaliṅganagara identified with the present city of Mukhalingam[36] in Srikakulam district. One branch of this dynasty established its rule in the region round Chikiti in Ganjam district and became famous as Śvetaka Gaṅgas. In later period the king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga defeated the Somavaṁśin king and established his rule on the coast land between the river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south and thus, established his rule over the major part of the ancient Kaliṅga. Kharod inscription of the Kalachuri king refers to Anantavarmanchoḍagaṅga as the ruler of Kaliṅga.[37]

Tosala and Tosalī: In Atharva Veda Pariśishṭa[38] there is a reference to the people of Tosala living along with the people in south-eastern countries. Dhauli[39] version of the Kaliṅga rock edict of the Maurya king Aśoka refers to the region as Tosalī. The Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta in his Nagarjunakonda inscription of the 14th regnal year while describing the Cetiey-ghara in Cula-Dhammgiri-vihāra refers to Tosala[40] country. The city of Tosalei or Tosale mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital city has been taken as identical with the city of Tosalī of the rock edict of Aśoka. According to scholars, the royal city of Prathalis referred to by Pliny[41] may be corrupted form of the name Tosalī that has been identified with the place Dhauli near Bhuvanesvar in Puri district. The Janapada named Amita Tosala with its chief city of Tosalā mentioned in a Sanskrit Buddhist work dated in third century A.D. has been taken by the scholars as equivalent to Tosalī and the mountain situated to the north of the city, described in the work by the name Surabha, as corresponding to the hill of Dhauli[42] in Puri district. The *Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu Purāṇa* place the people of Tosala with the people of Kosala, Tripura and Vidiśā in Vindhya region. *Bharata* in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the kingdom of Tosalī as separate from Kaliṅga. Vāgabhaṭa, in his commentary, places Tosalā along with *Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Kosala,* and *Utkala* in *Pūrvadeśa* lying beyond the sacred city of Banaras.[43] It seems that all these references are pointing to one and same Tosalī as that is mentioned in Dhauli rock edict of the king Aśoka. It may be the capital of Tosalī Janapada in third century A.D. but the kingdom of Tosalī with two divisions, Uttara Tosalī and Dakshiṇa Tosalī, came into existence in about sixth century A.D.

Epigraphs: The above-cited evidence denotes the existence of Tosalī but about its extent we don't get any information from these sources. From epigraphs of the later period we know that it was quite a big kingdom and occupied the region extended from the river Suvarnarekha in Balasore district to central portion of Ganjam district. It was ruled, before the rise of Śambhuyaśasa of Mudgala family, by the Nāga dynasty. The kings of the dynasty are known from Asanpata image inscription and rock shelter inscription at Sitabhinji in Keonjhar district respectively. It is important to note here that by this time the territory of Tosalī has been divided into two main divisions. Asanpata inscription, of the king Śatrabhañja describes him as the ruler of Ubhaya Tosalī.[44] Names of the two divisions viz., Uttara Tosalī

and Dakshiṇa Tosalī, are, however, not mentioned in this grant. These two divisions have been mentioned for the first time in the records of the king Śambhuyaśasa of the Mudgala dynasty. While his Erbanga grant of the year 230 refers to him as the ruler of Dakshiṇa Tosalī[45] his Soro pls. of the year 260 describe him as the king of Uttara Tosalī.[46] In Gupta year 250 the region now known as Dakshiṇa Tosalī was included in Kaliṅgarāshṭra[47]and Pṛithivīvigraha was ruling over this region. Further, as Kanas pls. inform us, in Gupta year 280 the region known as Dakshiṇa Tosalī[48] was ruled by Lokavigraha. By Mana year 283, as Patiakela grant of Śivarāja denotes, it was conquered by the King Śambhuyaśasa. Thus, the king Śambhuyaśasa became the paramount ruler of wide tract of the territory known as Tosalī that roughly covered the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and northern portion of Ganjam district. He assumed full royal titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Paramadaivatādhidaivata* and installed, as Patiakela grant referred to above indicates, Śivarāja as his feudatory in the division of Dakshiṇa Tosali. He entrusted the administration of Uttara Tosalī, probably to Bhānudatta and Somadatta. These Datta rulers, perhaps after Śambhuyaśasa, began to rule the territory as semi independent rulers and hence, their charters are dated not in the Gupta era but in their own regnal years. Similarly, they do not mention their overlord. These facts speak of the weak rule of the Mudgala kings in later years. Curiously, the region on other bank of the river Suvarṇarekhā and some south-western portion of Bengal, during the regime of Śambhuyaśasa, was known as Daṇḍabhukti. It was under certain Gopachandra who had entrusted it, for the administration, to his subordinate ruler Achyuta.[49]

Utkala: Utkala is the other name of the territory of the coastal region of Orissa. The country has been referred to in the Epics and in the Buddhist works. Curiously, these sources do not furnish us any information either of its location or regarding the extent of the territory.[50] According to *Kālidāsa* king Raghu entered the region of Utkala after crossing the river Kapiśa in the north. Thus it seems to have been stretched from the river Kapiśa, identified with the river Kasai in west Bengal, to the northern border of the territory of Kaliṅga i.e. the river Mahanadi.[51] *Brahma Purāṇa*, datable between tenth century to thirteenth century A.D. refers to the coastal region of Orissa as Utkala and states that the sacred places known as *Virajākshetra* and *Purushottomakshetra* were situated in the Utkala country.[52]

Midnapure grant of Somadatta informs us about the rule of the king Śaśāṅka over Daṇḍabhukti along with Utkala.[53] These references suggest that region extended from Midnapore district of west Bengal to Cuttack district of Orissa was known as Utkala. The Bhaumakara dynasty that became the master of some coastal region in eighth century A.D. belonged to Utkala race and Chaurasi grant of king Śivakaradeva II informs us that king Śubhakara was the lord of Utkala region.[54] The Somavaṁśins who succeeded the Bhaumakara dynasty in their coastal

principality had the Utkala region under their rule till Choḍagaṅgadeva drove them out. In their records Utkala has been mentioned along with Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Koṣala. Two records of the dynasty refer to the officer *Mahāsandhivigrahin* of Utkala and Kosala.[55] Utkalavishaya was one of the administrative divisions of the empire of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty. Bhuvanesvara temple inscription of the king Narasiṁha I refers to the temple of Vishṇu at Ekāmra in Utkalavishaya.[56] As the place Ekāmra has been identified with the place Bhuvanesvara we can say that during the regime of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty portion of Puri district was included in Utkala. All these references speak of the existence of the region named Utkala but do not help us much in locating exact area included under this name.

Oḍra: Oḍra is one more ancient name of the coastal Orissa. Soro[57] pls. of the year fifteen of *Sāmanta* Somadatta refers to some āhāra division in Oḍravishaya in Uttara Tosali and *Sāmanta* Somadatta, as described in his Midanapore[58] inscription of nineteenth year indicates, was the feudatory of the king Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa who was ruling the territory of Daṇḍabhukti and Utkala.

We do not get any reference to Oḍra country in the grants of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Most of their charters register the donation of the villages situated either in Uttara Tosalī or in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. Two Talcher grants of the Tuṅga king Gayāḍatuṅga speak of the donee *Brāhmaṇas* coming from Oḍravishaya to Yamagarttāmaṇḍala to receive the grant. While the donees of one of these grants hailed from Ahichhatra and were settled in the village in Oḍravishaya the donee *Brāhmaṇas* of the other grant had migrated from Varendri Maṇḍala, settled in the villages in the Oḍravishaya and had come to Yamagarttāmaṇḍala from these villages to receive the grants.[59] The evidence denotes that Yamagarttāmaṇḍala was not in Oḍradeśa. In the same way the donee *Brāhmaṇas* from Oḍravishaya mentioned in Adipur[60] grant of the king Narendrabhañja, feudatory of the Bhaumakara dynasty denotes that Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala was not in Oḍradeśa. According to Ganguli, frequently mentioned Khiñjalimaṇḍala in the Bhañja grants was the division of Oḍradeśa. The fact is also supported by reference to the donee coming from Śilabhañjapaṭī in Oḍradeśa in Cuttack pls. of the year nine of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. As the place seems to have been named after the Bhañja king Śilābhañja it must have been situated, according to scholars, in Khiñjalimaṇḍala and hence, they have taken Khiñjalimaṇḍala as constituent of Oḍravishaya.[61] Further, the identification of the place Purushamaṇḍapagrāma with the place Maṇḍapagrām in Phulbani district and identification of the defeated king of Oḍra in Brahmesvar temple inscription, with the Bhañja king Raṇabhañja seem to supports this conclusion.

Cuttack pls. of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti refer to the donee coming from the place Śilabhañjapāṭī in Oḍradeśa,[62] Satalama pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta I

Janamejaya refers to donee coming from Purushamaṇḍapagrāma in Oḍradeśa. Orissa state Museum pls. of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti refer to the grant of the village Kuḍukulokhaṇḍakshetra in Gaṇḍitamavishaya in Udradeśa. Balijhari pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakesarin, Year 4, refer to the grant of the village in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala in Oḍradeśa.[63] The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the same dynasty refers to the extermination of the king of Oḍra along with the kings of Ḍāhala and Gauḍa region.[64] All these references suggest that the region of Airavaṭṭamaṇḍala and some portion of Phulbani district included in Oḍradeśa was under the rule of Somavaṁśin dynasty. The defeat of the king of Oḍra referred to in Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakesarin suggests that some large region under the rule of Bhañja dynasty enjoyed the designation Oḍradeśa and this Odra region came under the rule of the Somavaṁśin dynasty with the defeat of the king of Oḍra, identified as king Raṇabhañja of Khiñjalimaṇḍala.

Description of the Wu-Cha, taken as equivalent of Oḍra, given by Hiuen Tsang help us in deciding the limits of Oḍradeśa. The account suggests that it was situated to the south-west of Karṇasuvarṇa and to the north of Koṅgoda. It was 7000 Li in circuit and its capital city was about twenty Li round. According to the description, on the south-west frontier of this country there stood a great mountain with Pushpagiri monastery, on its south-east there was the city named Che-li-ta-lo that was about twenty Li in circuit. It was a thoroughfare and the resting-place of the sea going traders and strangers coming from distant lands. The identification of the places Pushyagiri and Che-li-ta-lo is very much controversial and hence, it is very difficult to find out the limits of the Oḍra country described by Hiuen Tsang. Scholars have identified the place Che-li-ta-lo with the place Puri. As described by the pilgrim Pue-sie-po-ki-li, situated in the great mountain on the south-western frontier of the country, was Saṁghārāma. The name may be Pushpagiri and Cunningham identifies it with the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri situated to the south of Cuttack and to the west of Bhuvanesvara.[65] But according to the inscriptions found here these hills were known as Kumāri and Kumāra hills.[66] While Rajendra Mitra identifies it with Dhauli hills R.P.Chanda identified it with Ratnagiri and R.D. Banerjee follows him. But N.K. Sahu is not inclined to accept this identification for the simple reason that it cannot be a place on the south-west frontier of the Wu-Cha country. Secondly, the seals found here in the excavation indicate that the place was known as Ratnagiri and not as Pushpagiri[67] and this evidence makes us to follow N.K. Sahu.

Besides, we want to search this place with the help of place names mentioned in Dharmalingesvara grant of the Gaṅga year 184 of Gaṅga king Devendravarman somewhere in Ganjam district. According to the charter, the king donated the place

Haḍubakagrāma in Pushyagiripañchālivishaya,[68] as a mark of respect, to his Guru Bhgavat Patañga Śivāchārya on the occasion of taking Dikshā from him. The donated place was situated amidst the different species of trees. The place has been identified with the place Haḍubaka in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district and the vishaya Pushyagiri constituted by the groups of five villages may have been situated in the proximity of the Pushyagiri. It seems to be the name of some hill in the Ganjam district and seems identical with the Pushpagiri mentioned by Yuan Chwang. N.K. Sahu wants to place it in the present Phulbani–Ghumsur region[69] and on the basis of place names we want to place it in southern portion of Ganjam district.

Our identification is also supported by the references to Oḍra region in some inscriptions of 11th century A.D. Upaladā grant of Rāṇaka Rāmadeva of the Tailapa dynasty recording the grant of the village Upalaḍā describes the peak of Nasunda hill as the crest jewel of Oḍradeśa.[70] The donated place has been equated with the place named Upalaḍā in Parlakimedi taluka of Ganjam district. Nasunda hill mentioned here has been taken by Rajguru as the name of the hill near Nandava forest in the modern Parlakimedi taluka situated very near the boundary between it and Tekali.The Nandava forest, as mentioned by Rajguru, is about 3 to 4 miles from Tikalipatna. These are connected with Mahendra mountain with range of hills called Durga and Lāvaṇyagaḍa.[71] According to the description of Rajguru, Nandva hills are full of natural beauties and hence, we feel that these can rightly be taken as crest jewel of Oḍradeśa described in the grant.

According to Tirumalai inscription of 1025 A.D., the king Rājendra Chola conquered the country of Oḍḍavishaya, situated in the dense forest, along with neighbouring countries Sakkara-Koṭa and Kosalaināḍu. The name Sakkara-Koṭa seems identical with Chakrakoṭa and Kosalaināḍu denotes South Kosala. While Telugu version of Dirghahasi grant of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja refer to the defeat inflicted upon kings of Kimedi, Kosala, Oḍra, Utkala, Veṅgi and Giḍrisiṅgi by Vanapati, the commander of the Gaṅga King Draksharam inscription dated between 1070-1118 A.D. refers to the burning of the kingdom of Kaliṅga and defeat of the Khaṇḍapālas of Kosala on the border of Oḍra by the general of the king Kulottuṅga.[72]

In the light of the evidence referred to above we can say that during the regime of Somadatta Oḍradeśa included Balsore district and part of Midnapore district. But in the period ranging between 700 to 1100 A.D. the region extended as far as Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district in the south had earned the name Oḍravishaya. It had the territories of South Kosala on its west and in the north it was stretched, as mentioned in *Brahma Purāṇa* datable between 10th-13th century A.D. upto Brajamaṇḍala. River Vaitarani was flowing through it and it included the sacred places like *Purushottamakshetra, Savitukshetra* and *Virajakshetra.*[73] These

names obviously speak of the places Puri and Konark near Bhuvanesvar in Puri district and Jajpur in Cuttack district. As the place Brajamaṇḍala has not been identified we cannot decide the northern limit of Oḍra region but we can say that about 13th century A.D. portions of the districts of Puri, Cuttack, Phulbani and Ganjam were included in it.

Now we come to the western and south-western portion of Orissa comprising Bolangir, Sambalpur, Kalahandi and Koraput districts of the state and parts of adjoining districts of Chhattisgarh. It is well-recognised fact that after the southern expedition of the king Samudragupta many royal families came to the forefront in different parts of Orissa. A Baradipada grant, assigned, on the basis of paleography, to sixth century A.D. and recovered in Kalahandi district informs us about one such family. According to the grant, the king Nandarāja[74] donated a place named Prajñātapadraka to three *Brāhmaṇas*. The grant was issued from the place Parvatadvāra. Other such king ruling in Kalahandi district is Tushṭikara. He is known from the grant of the king himself and that of the queen mother. While the former grant was issued from the place Tarabhramaraka the latter was issued from the place Parvatadvāra.[75] It is not possible to decide the extent of the principalities either of the king Nandarāja or of the king Tushṭikara on the basis of their records. The region comprising the portion of Koraput district and the adjoining portion of Bastar district of Chhattisgarh was under the rule of Nala dynasty during the first part of sixth century A.D. The Nalas had their capital at Pushkari[76] that has been identified with the place Paudagadh near Umarakot in Koraput district. The districts of Kalahandi, Koraput and adjacent portions of the Bastar district, probably formed the part of the Mahākāntāra[77] region mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of the king Samudragupta.

Kosala: Here Kosala means Dakshiṇa Kosala. The country of Kosala is frequently mentioned in *Mahābhārata*. But in *Sabhāparva* of *Mahābhārata* there is specific reference to Dakshiṇa Kosala. It has been mentioned in the list of the countries conquered by Sahadeva.[78] The description of the paths to Vidarbha and Kosala made by Nala in *Vanaparva* of *Mahābhārata* denotes two things related to Kosala, one is that it was adjacent to Vidarbha but different from Vidarbha and was situated to the north of Dakshiṇāpatha. Further, the references to places of pilgrimage, such as, *Ṛishabhatīrtha, Kālatīrtha* and *Badarikā tīrtha,*[79] identified with the places in Chhattisgarh territory, indirectly implies the inclusion of Chhattisgarh in Kosala. *Purāṇic* literature places Kosala country in Vindhya region. It mentions the Megha dynasty of Kosala in association with the people of Mekalā and the tribes like Pushyamitras and Paṭumitras. It also associates people of Kosala with the dwellers of Vindhya region[80].

First epigraph mentioning the name Kosala along with the territories of *Dakshiṇāpatha* is the Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of king Samudragupta. It also associates it with *Mahākāntāra* and with the kingdoms of *Kaliṅga* region. According to H.C. Ray Chaudhuri the Kosala region of the inscription is identical with the territory comprising Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur districts.[81] During the post Gupta period, as the Balaghat pls.[82] of the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena indicate, the Kosala country along with the region of Mekalā and Mālava was included, at least for short period in Kosala. In the later period it formed a part of the kingdom of Śarabhapuriya dynasty.[83]

According to the description of Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chawng,[84] in the middle of seventh century A.D., the kingdom of Kosala was situated about 1,800 Li away from the capital of Kaliṅga to the North-west. It was more than one thousand miles in circumference. He reached it after traversing dense jungles on both the slopes of Eastern Ghats. The country was surrounded by high mountains and was entirely covered with forests and marshes. According to his description, the capital of the country was bigger in size than any of the three divisions of Orissa. It was forty Li or six miles in circumference.[85]

Cunningham helps us to form an idea about the extent of the Kosala country in seventh century A.D. According to him, whole of the upper valley of Mahanadi and its tributaries from the source of the river Narmada from Amarakaṇṭaka in the north to the river Mahanadi itself near Kanker on the south and from the valley of Wainganga on the west to the river Hasdo and Jonk in the east was included in the Kosala country. He further states that the region often extended to the hilly districts of Mandala and Balaghat in the west to the banks of Wainganga and the middle valley of Mahanadi on the east down to the district of Sambalpur.[86] According to Hiralal,[87] as the states of Patna, Bamra, Sonepur, and Rairākhol of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur district have yielded the charters of the kings of Somavaṁśin dynasty these must have formed the part of the Kosala region. Hence, he wants to include this region, in the place of the portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, in Kosala country defined by Cunningham. This region may have formed the country of Kosala during the regime of Pāṇḍuvaṁśin dynasty of Kosala[88] as well. In our opinion, when Kalachuris of Ḍāhala occupied Śrīpura with the capital at Tummāṇa Somavaṁśins established their rule in the territory comprising Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi districts of Orissa and portions of adjoining districts of Chhattisgarh. It was this area that has been referred to as Kosala in their grants. Identifications of the places mentioned in their grants with the localities situated in these districts also support the identification of this area with Kosala of the inscriptions.

In later period the dynasty gradually extended its reign over the whole of Orissa. Administrative divisions mentioned in their records indicate that Bolangir,

Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Koraput and Phulbani districts of Orissa were included in their kingdom. Frequent references to Kosala and Kosaladeśa in their charters imply that they were the rulers of Kosala. According to scholars, this Kosala must be Dakshiṇa Kosala and is identical with the districts of Chhattisgarh basin and Bolangir, Sambalpur districts of modern Orissa State.

Against this background now we shall try to trace the topographical features of Orissa as revealed through place names.

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1. *GO*, pp. 11-16.
2. *IRG*, p. 757.
3. *GO*, pp. 11-16, 18.
4. *IRG*, p. 757
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 756-757, 770-774.
6. *GO*, p. 21.
7. *IRG*, p. 757.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 758-760
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 758-760.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 760.
11. *HOFETBP*, p. 6.
12. *IRG*, pp. 754-755.
13. *HOFET*, pp. 21-23, also see long list of Prehistoric sites given in Appendix.
14. *HOO*, pp. 1-3.
15. *TAI*, pp. 158-163.
16. *VA*, p. 332.
17. *HOFETBP*, pp. 47-51; *HGDHO*, pp. 4-9; *HOFET*, pp. 75-80.
18. *CHOO*, p. 8; *HOFETBP*, p. 12.
19. *HGDHO*, pp. 6-7.
20. *SI* , p. 42, *l.* 1, p. 44, *l.* 1
21. *Ibid.*, p. 214, *l.* 3, p. 219.
22. *SPIKL*, p. 43, *ll.* 2, 3.
23. *CHOO*, p. 4, 5.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 5; *IO*. vol. II, p. 338.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 5; *EI*, XXIX, pp. 169 ff. ; *AI*, No. 5, p. 97.
26. *CII*, vol. III, PP, 13-16.
27. *IO*, vol. I, PP, 4-5, Siripuram pls. p. 100, *l.* 1, Srungavarapupukota pls., p. 102, *l.* 3, Baranga grant, p. 104, *l.* 1, Tekkali pls., p. 106, *l.* 1.
28. *Ibid.*, Andhavaram pls. Madras Museum grant, Siripuram grant, Srungavarapukota charter of the king Anantavarman, pp. 95, *l.* 4, 98, *ll.* 2-3, p. 100, *l.* 8, p. 102, *l.* 6, Temburu pls. of Umāvarman p. 112, *l.* 1, Chicakole grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman, p. 114, *l.* 2, and Bobbili pls. of Chaṇḍavarman p. 122, *l.* 2.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 89, *l.* 3

30. *Ibid.*, p. 26, Peddadugam pls, p. 131, *ll.* 1-4.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 139, *l.* 3.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. Tandivada grant, p. 134, *ll.* 1, 6, 8, Parlakhimedi grant, p. 137, *ll.* 5-6
33. *HGDHO*, pp. 11-12.
34. *See* section 'Administrative Geography under the Śailodbhava Dynasty', *CHOO*, p. 7.
35. *CHOO*, p. 6; *IO*, vol. II, p. 332.
36. *HOTG*, Part I, p. 184.
37. *CII*, IV, p. 537, *l.* 7.
38. *HGDHO*, p. 38.
39. *SI*, p. 40, *l.* 1.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 235, *l.* 7.
41. *HGDHO*, p. 38.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *IO*, vol. I, p. 171, *l.* 7.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 180, *l.* 5.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 182, *l.* 6.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 139, *l.* 3.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 184, *l.* 4.
49. *Ibid.*, Jayarampur grant of 1st regnal year, p. 174.
50. *CHOO*, p. 8
51. *HGDHO*, p. 52.
52. *CHOO*, p. 8.
53. *IO*, vol. I, p. 201, *l.* 5, 9 (Sahitam Utkaladeśen Daṇḍabhukti Prśāsati).
54. *CHOO*, p. 8; *OUBK*, pp. 8-9.
55. *IOTSPS*, Jatesing Dungari pls. Kaliṅga-Koṅgoda- Utkala, p. 287, *l.* 1, Balijhari pls., p. 287, *l.* 24, Koṣala- *Utkala- Rāshṭra*, pp. 289-290, *ll.* 71-72 and Sankhameri grant, p. 357, *l.* 69, *Mahasandhivigrahin* of *Utkala and Koṣaladeśa*, p. 355, l. 23, *Koṣala-Utkala*, Ratnagiri pls. , p. 310, *l.* 19, *Utkala*, p. 312, *l.* 42, Donee from *Utkaladeśa*.
56. *EI*, XIII, p. 150, V. 8, p. 152, *l.* 6, p. 154 (translation), In p. 152 there is reference to Ekāmra with hundreds of mango groves.
57. *IO*, vol. I, p. 197, *l.* 3, Oḍravishaya.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 201, *l.* 5.
59. *DMO*, p. 40, Nos. 1-2.
60. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 22, L 20.
61 *HOFET*, p. 145.
62. *IOTSPS*, p. 235, L, 33.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 287, LL, 33-34.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 305, V. 10.
65. *HOFET*, pp. 140-142.
66. *SI*, p. 217, *l.* 14.
67. *HOFET*, p. 142-143.
68. *IO*, vol. II, p. 70, *ll.* 7-8.

69. *HOFET*, p. 144.
70. *JAHRS*, vol. X, 1-4, p. 160 ff.
71. *HOFET*, pp. 146-147.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *CHOO*, p. 10.
74. *IO*, vol. I, p. 151, *l.* 7.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 35; *PBDSI*, Appendix I, p. 16, *l.* 5, *l.* 1.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 4, *l.* 1.
77. *CII*, III, pp. 12-16.
78. *EP*, p. 415.
79. *HOFET*, pp. 129-130.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
82. *CII*, vol. V, p. 81, *ll.* 27, 28.
83. *IOTSPS*, Part I, p. 100 ff.
84. *HOFET*, p. 131.
85. *HOFETBP*, p. 142.
86. ASR, XVII, pp. 68 –69.
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Chapter II

Topography

Environment plays vital role in moulding the culture of the region. Hence, before proceeding further we shall first see the physical set up of the state of Orissa. The Orissa highlands have got very complicated but beautiful physiography. Modern geographical work informs us that the region contains several ranges rising above the coastal plains. According to the Census Atlas of Orissa, altitudes of lands above the mean sea level in the province lie between 75-1350 meters. Average height of the Ganjam district is the highest among the districts of Orissa. Eastern Ghat has covered its major portion on the west and many of its peaks stand above 1000 meters from the mean sea level. Its highest peak is in the southeast corner of the district. While the eastern part of the Koraput, the southern parts of Phulbani and Ganjam districts and central portion of Mayurbhanj districts come under the range of 900-1350 meters the Koraput, Kalahandi, Ganjam, Phulbani, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh districts are covered by the third range lying between 600-900 meters. Besides, Koraput, Phulbani, Kalahandi, Dhenkanal, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar Ganjam and Puri districts contain some areas which have the height of 300-600 meters. The areas in the range of 150-300 meters are found in almost all districts of the province. While all the river valleys beyond the coastal region stand 75-150 meters high from the mean sea level the coastal region lies at the maximum height of 75 meters.[1]

Physically the highlands of Orissa has been divided into three groups, viz., northern uplands, southwestern hilly region of Eastern Ghats and erosional plains of Mahanadi valley lying between these hilly regions. All these parts are hilly. The districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Pallahara subdivision of Dhenkanal district which come in the northern uplands are intersected here and there with hill ranges and hence, have wavy earth surface which goes alternatively up and down. The notable hill ranges here are Malayagiri in Pallahara, in Dhenkanal district, Manakarnacha in Keonjhar district and Meghasini in Sundargarh district. The line of Eastern Ghats forms south-western hilly region. Lying to the south and

south-west of Mahanadi valley region it is stretched in Ganjam district and some scattered hills are also seen in Bolangir district. Mahendra Parvata is the highest mountain of the region. Next to it comes the mountain Champajharan in the same district (former Khondmals) and then comes Harishankar in Bolangir district. Hill ranges rising abruptly from the plains here and there is very common sight in the erosional plains of the Mahanadi river basin occupying the region between these two hilly areas.[2]

It will not be out of place here to have a look at the famous hill ranges in different districts of Orissa. While the hill ranges in Keonjhar district are known as Gandhamardan and Kiriburu[3] those in Mayurbhanja district are famously known as Similipal, Meghasini, Hhudruchampa, Gorumahisani, Badampahar and Chahala[4]. There are two chain of hills in Dhenkanal district. The first of these running from Pal-lahara in north to Kamakshyanagar in the east forms its north-eastern boundary and the other stretching from Athmalik in the south-west to Hindol in south-east[5] run parallel to the river Mahanadi which forms its southern boundary. There are hill ranges with high peak of Burnaei in Khorda Solary in Banpur, Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Bhuvanesvar taluka in Puri district. Besides, there are hill ranges with increasing steepness along the river Mahanadi from Gania to Baud[6] and in many others districts as well. In short the state is furrowed with good number of hills and their high peaks here and there.

In addition, we know some names of hills from epigraphic records.

Kumāriparvata: The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela mentions the Kumāri hill. Scholars have identified it with the hill of Udayagiri. It was the stronghold of the Jainas and contains 44 caves. Lalātendukesari's cave inscription of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavaguptagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, year five, informs us about some repairs of decayed Vāpi, temples etc, on the Kumāraparvata.[7] It has been identified with Khandagiri hills.

Besides, following hills have been famous for the archaeological remains.

Lalitagiri: The name Lalitagiri has been assigned to three hills, Olasuni, Landa and Parabhadi situated about seven miles to the southwest of Udayagiri hills. While the hills, Landa and Parabhadi yielded some remains related to medieval period Olasuni is not much famous for the antiquarian remains.

Ratnagiri: This is an isolated hill and is situated on the Kelua branch of the river Birupa to the northeast of Lalitagiri. It is famous for the recovery of seals bearing the legend 'Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra' and colossal statues of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and Tarā.

Udayagiri: It is situated about three miles from Birupa river. The hill is covered with extensive archaeological remains consisting of inscriptions and Buddhist sculptures.[8]

Dhaulagiri: There are three short rocky ranges of hills at the distance of five miles from Bhuvanesvara known as Dhaulagiri. It is famous for edicts of the Maurya king Aśoka.[9]

Rivers: In addition to the main rivers, Mahanadi, Vansadhara, Langulini, Rishkulya, Tela, Prachi, Indravati, Vaitarani, Brahmani, Suvarnarekha etc. and tributaries of these rivers known from the geographical works we know of some rivers like Śālimā, Mandakini, Vyāghrā, Sālanki, Tela, Śaṅkhajyoti[10] etc., from the epigraphical records related to our period.

Forests: As we have seen earlier the region of Orissa highlands includes the most thickly forested region of the state.

Soil: Due to different types of hydromorphic activities red with varying texture of loam to sandy loam soil covers almost all the districts of Orissa. But it shows different varieties[11] and shades.

Against this environmental background now we shall see how far these features have influenced the naming pattern of the settlements in ancient times. Let us begin with the mountains and hills.

Mountains and Hills: There are two types of place names after mountains and hills viz., names referring directly to the mountains and names indirectly implying the mountains. Of these, the first category contains two subgroups of names. In the first group there are names beginning with the name of the mountain and in the second group there are names ending with word Giri, denoting mountain. In the second type the names end with the word Śṛṅga-meaning top of the hill. Curiously enough, all these names are of the administrative divisions and not of places. Following are the names of the first group. It is to be noted here that all the hills here have flat tops locally called *pats* or *mulis*. The areas adjoining these hilltops are very rich in vegetation.[12]

Mahendrabhoga : It is the only name in the first category and has been mentioned in two records viz., Dhavalapetu grant of the king Umāvarman of the Pitṛbhakata dynasty and Nirakarpur[13] pls. of the time of Devendravarman V of the Gaṅga dynasty. It denotes the region dominated by the Mahendra hill in the Ganjam district.

Giri: In the second group of this category there are two names, Kṛishṇagirivishaya and Pushyagiripañchāli.[14] Of these, the former is known from Ganjam pls. of Gupta year 300 of the time of Śailodbhava king and the other name has been referred to in Dharmalingeśvara grant of Gaṅga year 184 of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman. While the first name seems to speak of the region around the hill Krishnagiri in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district, the region denoted by the other name, as the identification of the donated place Haḍubakagrāma with

the modern place Hadubak in Parlakimedi taluka denotes, it must also be in the Ganjam district. Besides, Dharmalingeśvara inscription of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman refers to Devaparvvata, Koṅgaparvvata and Korkaṇṭaparvvata situated on the different borders of the donated place Tālatthera in Kroshṭukavarttanī.[15] Unfortunately none of these hills has been identified.

The names implying hills are Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya and Kaṭaka-bhutivisahaya. The former vishaya was very much famous and has been mentioned in Nuapalli charter of the king Charamprāja of the unknown dynasty, Nivina and Kondedda grants of the year 9 and 30, respectively, of the Śailodbhava dynasty and Kumurang[16] grant of the year 187 of Kara dynasty. The name denotes the region honeycombed with hill ranges. Misra has identified the Banpur hilly tract as ancient Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya. He takes the place Khedjhari as identical with Khiṇḍiṅga, the chief place of the vishaya. But we feel that the place Khiṇḍiṅga seems more identical with a place Khiṇḍiṅgi in Kodal police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. Kaṭakabhuktivishaya[17] mentioned in Parikud pls. of the year 26 of the Śailodbhava king is the other name of this category. The name speaks of the region situated at the ridge of the hills. Some scholars feel that it is the same as Jaypur on the bank of the river Rishikulya.

Names ending with the word Śṛṅga, denoting the top of the hill, mentioned in the grants of different dynasties, are Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya,[18] Tullāśṛṅgavishaya,[19] Olāśṛṅgavishaya,[20] Aṇḍadāśṛṅgavishaya and Lohaśṛṅgaravishaya.[21] Hindol pls. of the Śulki king refers to a place Soggagrāma in Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya. The name denotes the habitations of the herdsmen on the top of the hill. But the region has not yet been identified. Tullāśṛṅgavishaya mentioned in Baud pls. of the year 58 of Mahārāja Raṇbhañja included the donated place Turallāgrāma. Tullāśṛṅga, the chief place of the vishaya, can be identified with a place Talasingi on the bank of the Ghodahada river in Nugaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. Olāśṛṅga chief place of the vishaya mentioned in Baud charter of the year 65, of Nettabhañja, and which included donated plot of land has been identified with a place Alusingi in Hindol police station in Dhenkanal taluka and district. The chief place of Aṇḍadāśṛṅgavishaya known from Badkhimedi pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king corresponds to a place named Andirasingi in Patpur police station in Ganjam district. Lohaśṛṅga the chief place of the last mentioned vishaya in list referred to above and known from Pherava grant of the king Sāmantavarma of Śvetaka Gaṅga dynasty seems to have been represented by a place named Luhasing in Udayapur police station in Udayagiri taluka of Ganjam district.

There is one interesting but of different type of name indicating the administrative unit dominated by hills. The name is Sanūlāvishaya[22] mentioned in Patna pls. of 8th year of the king Mahābhavagupta 1st Yayāti of the Somavaṁśin

dynasty. It points to the place situated on the top of the hill. According to Monier Monier Williams, Sānu means top or summit of the mountain. The place, initially, may be Sānupalla, a small settlement of the wandering people. When developed, as it was situated on the top of the hill, it became the headquarters of the surrounding region. It has been identified with a place named Soinnula, twenty-two miles south of Talganj in Bolangir district.

Thus, these names point to the hilly regions in Chikiti, Khallikote, Asika Udayagiri and Ghumsur talukas of Ganjam district, Banpur, Nayagarh, Khorda, talukas of Puri district, Hindol taluka in Dhenkanal district and part of Bolangir district.

Grāmas with Hills: Now we shall turn to the grāmas named after the hills. There are two types of places named after hills, the names ending with the word grāma and names with the term Śṛṅga at the end. Of these, names belonging to first group have been mentioned in Khandipada Nuapalli pls. of the king Charamparāja and Ganjam pls. of Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja, dated in Gupta year 300. Each one of these grants mentions only one place name of this group. The name Ekakaṭikāgrāma,[23] as mentioned in the first grant referred to above, was situated in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya. It denotes a place situated near some hill. Kaṭaka means central portion of hill or the side or ridge of a hill or mountain and as the vishaya in which it was situated had obtained the name after hilly region the donated place also must have been situated near or on some hill. But it has not been identified. Place named Chhavalakhayagrāma in Kṛishṇagirivishaya, known from the third charter referred to above, speaks of the place situated in the region with wavy surface i.e. with folds of earth here and there. It has been identified with a place named Chailu in Purushottampuri police station in Khallikote taluka of Ganjam district. The name may be Savalakhayagrāma, composed of two words, Savala+Khaya. Vala or vali literally means folds of the skin. Here folds of earth. Khaya seems to have come from the root Kha[24] that means to dig and Khaya can be taken as the dug out region. Thus the place Savalakhayagrāma[25] may have been situated in the region dug out by forceful current of the water and in the sedimented hilly region. In the Sind Pahuj plateau in Bundelkhand region in Madhya Pradesh there are sedimented hills on the banks of almost all rivers flowing through this area and these hills appear like folds on the earth.[26] The place Chhavalakhayagrāma must have also obtained the name after such natural peculiar feature of the place.

Śṛṅgagrāma: There are two types of names in this category, Names with double suffix Śṛṅgagrāma and names ending with the word Śṛṅga. Place Urdhvaśṛṅgagrāma[27] in Uṭidavishaya of the Kanas pls. of Lokavigraha, dated in Gupta year 280, speaks of a settlement on the top of some hill. The name is composed of two words, Urdhva+ Śṛṅga. Urdhva = rising upward or upright and Śṛṅga =top.

Here the name denotes the place situated on the top of the hill with increasing steepness. As hills with increasing steepness are seen in many districts of Orissa it will not be too far to suggest that the place Urdhvaśṛṅgagrāma may have been situated on the top of some such hill. It has been identified with a place named Olesinga in Puri district. Place Bheṭhiśṛṅgagrāma[28] in Paḍaṇikhaṇḍavishaya mentioned in Sanakhimedi pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman is composed of two words, Bheṭhi+Śṛṅga. The word Bheṭhi may have come from the term Bheḍa, name of one of the Mātṛis attending Skanda and the place seems to have been named after it. It was on the top of the hill and seems identical with a place named Bhitsingi in Parlakemedi taluka, Ganjam district. Ameraśṛṅgagrāma,[29] as recorded in Bishamagiri grant of king Indravarman of the same dynasty as above, was in Jalamvoravishaya. It speaks of the place situated near the hill with the top covered with Pine trees. The place has been identified with modern village Amera in Udayagiri police station in Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district.

Now we come to the place names that end with the word Śṛṅga and not associated with the word grāma. There are three names in this group. These are Andhaśṛṅga[30] mentioned in Olesinga grant of 5th year of the king Bhānudatta; Paḍalaśṛṅga[31] referred to in Badkhimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman and Loiśṛṅga[32] or Leiśṛṅga mentioned in two pls. of the sixth year of the king Mahābhavagupta 1st Janamejaya of Somavaṁśin dynasty. Of these, name Andhaśṛṅga is read differently by Rajaguru and Sircar. According to the former, it is Andhamunisutah while latter takes it as Andhasubhikshatah. We have, however, taken it as Andhaśṛṅga. Blind top i.e. the top that cannot be seen. It may be a settlement situated near very high hill. It has been identified with a place named Anda in Khorda taluka, Puri district. Place Paḍalaśṛṅga, probably denotes a place on the top of the hill with plenty of Patala trees. It seems to correspond with a place named Padhala in Asik police station in Ganjam district. Place Loiśṛṅga, the last mentioned place of this class is composed of two words viz., Loi+Śṛṅga. Loi, the term forming the first part of the name, may be from the word Loha meaning red goat and Śṛṅga, the other part of the name, means top. The name thus speaks of the settlement on the top of the mountain with plenty of red goats. It is to be noted here that in undulating plains and in hilly areas rural settlements are sometimes found in valleys, along the slopes, and some times on the spurs and hill tops as well. Place names referred to above indicate the existence of this type of settlements in some districts of Orissa.

Along with these places situated near hills or on the top of hills, there is one name denoting a place situated amidst hills. It is Sallyāmāyi[33] known from the undated Kesari grant of the king Śatrubhañja. It may be identical with the place Saloi situated in Tiringi police station in Rairangpur taluka, Mayurabhanj district.

References to the hills Devaparvvata, Girivata, Koṅgaparvvata, Korakaṇṭa, Phumpalliparvvata[34] etc. in Dharmalingeśvara temple inscription of the king Anantavarman of the Gaṅga dynasty also speak of the place situated amidst the hills and supports our interpretation of the name Sallyāmāyi.

Let us now turn to the names after water, Rivers, Lakes and Ponds known from the place names. Early man in Orissa some times preferred to have his habitation near water sources like rivers, streams, lakes, ponds etc. As described in modern geographical works river basins in Orissa are densely populated regions and the hilly areas are sparingly populated. Habitations here are scattered and not compact. Let us now see how far this trend in the pattern of settlement is reflected in place names available to us. We have divided the names here into following different groups.

Names after Water: The Ragolu pls. of the king Nandaprabhañjanvarman of the Pitṛibhakta dynasty refers to places named Niḍiṁjeruva and Balabhaṅgagrāma[35] in the list of the places situated in different directions of the donated agrahāra villages. Of these, the former name is composed of two words, Niḍiṁ+Jeruva. While the former word seems to have come from the word Niḍa = a place of rest[36] the latter word may be from the word Jiri =quickly flowing water.[37] Thus the name points to the place situated near the current of water. It may be a stream or river. The place seems to correspond with a place Niddam situated to the west of one of the granted village identified with the place Dusi, in Srikakulam district. Balabhaṅgāgrāma, the other place referred to above may be Valabhaṅgā and it may be a place situated on the bend of some watercourse. It seems identical with the place Balanga, to the south of the place Dusi in Srikakulam district. It is situated on the bank of the river Nagavali and thus its identification agrees with the meaning of the name. Place Oḍaṅgagrāma,[38] known from Jayarampur charter of the king Gopachandra, was situated in one of the directions of the donated place. It probably speaks of the place situated near some water spring. It can be equated with a place Odangi in Balasore taluka and district. One grant of Raṇastambha of Śulki dynasty, from unknown place, refers to a place named Jarāgrāma situated in Jarāvishaya.[39] Both the names point to the places with plenty of water. Place Jarāgrāma = Jalagrāma seems to have been represented by a place named Jali in Baria police station in Champua taluka in Keonjhar district. It may be a chief place of the Jarāvishaya i.e. Jalavishaya.

Now we come to the territorial units named after water. There are two types of names viz., names beginning with the term Jala and names implying the water. In the first group there are two names and in the second group there is only one name. Jarāvishaya,[40] referred to above, speaks of the administrative unit with plenty of water. Its chief place has been identified with a place Jali in Baria police station

of Champua taluka in Keonjhar district and it seems to be the name of north-eastern portion of modern Keonjhar district. Administrative unit Jalaṁvoravishaya[41] referred to in Bishamagiri record of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman included the donated place Ameraśṛṅgagrāma. The name of the chief place of the division may be Jalambara. It has been identified with a modern place Jalameripalli in Patpur police station of Digpahandi taluka, Ganjam district. It is situated in a curve created by the river Ghodahada and thus seems to agree with the meaning of the name. Baripada museum pls. and Dasapalla grants of Nanda king refer to donated villages situated in the vishaya divisions of Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala. As mentioned in the former record Lambeḍagrāma was in Poṭoḍā-vishaya in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala[42] and according to the latter charter the granted Eṇḍeḍḍāgrāma was in Jiloṇḍā-vishaya of Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala.[43] The name of the maṇḍala may be Airāvarṭṭa. Aira[44] means water and āvartta - ā-vṛita = encompassed or surrounded. It is the region surrounded by water. The chief place of the maṇḍala has been identified with a place Rathagarh in Banki police station in Cuttack district. Further, the place Jiloṇḍā, chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place Jilonda. It is also situated on the bank of the river Besahlia in Dasapalla taluka in Puri district and thus supports the interpretation of the name Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala. The maṇḍala has also been known from Balijhari charter, of the year four, of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakesari. According to the grant, donated places Kontalaṇḍā and Lovākarḍā were in Sarāvakhaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala.[45] The names might be Kantlapāḍā and Lohakarapāḍā. The former place seems to have obtained its name after its position on the bank of a river and the later place may be habitation of the iron-workers. While the former place has been identified with a place Kantilo on the confluence of two tributaries of the river Mahanadi in Khandapada[46] taluka of Puri district the place Lovākarḍā seem to have retained its identity in the place named Karadapali situated on the bank of some tributary of Mahanadi in Fategarh[47] police station in Khandpada taluka in Puri district. The Sarāvakhaṇḍa may have obtained its name after the hill Sorap[48] four miles south-east of Kantilo. The Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala thus, included southwestern portion of Cuttack district and northwestern portion of Puri district i.e. the region lying on both the banks of the river Mahanadi. Its position seems to agree very well with the meaning of the name.

Names of Regions after Rivers: In this class we have taken names of the administrative divisions named after the rivers. Telātaṭavishaya mentioned in three grants of the Somavaṁśin dynasty is the name of this type. It has been referred to in Degaon pls. of the time of the king Mahābhavagupta 1st Janamejaya and two records viz., Patna charter, of 24th year and of 28th year of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti.[49] Of these, the first grant records the donation of a place Kiraṅkelāgrāma in Telātaṭavishaya in Kosaladeśa and second and third charter refer to the grant of a place Ḍelāḍelīgrāma and Lluttarumāgrāma in Telātaṭavishaya in Ṣaṅṇavati,

respectively. While the place Ḍelāḍelī seems identical with a place Dedil in former Patna state the place Lluttarumāgrāma has been identified with a village Leter in former Kalahandi state. But the place Kiraṅkelā has not been identified. Thus the location of the donated places and the reference to the vishaya as to have been situated in Kosaladeśa clearly indicates that the division included the region on both the banks of river Tela in Bolangir, Kalahandi, Phulbani districts and also adjoining portions of Raipur and Bastar districts. Tela river joins the river Mahanadi near Sonepur in Bolangir district. According to Patna pls. of 6th year of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti of Somavaṁśin dynasty, donated village Vakaveḍḍagrāma was in Oṅgātaṭavishaya.[50] The vishaya has been mentioned in Jatesing Dungari grant of the king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti of the same dynasty as above, as Oṅgāḍavishaya. As mentioned in the charter donated place Bṛhad-Bhusāigrāma was in Oṅgāḍavishaya[51] attached to Kosaladeśa. The vishaya must have included the region on both banks of the river Onga which joins the river Mahanadi near Sonepur in Orissa. The vishaya included adjoining portions of Bolangir and Sambalpur districts. Dasgoba pls., dated Ś. 1120, of Gaṅga king Rājarāja III and Nagari[52] grant dated between Ś. 1151-1152, of the king Anaṅgabhiṃa of the same dynasty refers to Sāilovishaya. According to the latter grant, place named Puraṇagrāma, containing donated land, was in Sāilovishaya. The vishaya has been identified with Sailo pargana in Cuttack district. It may have included the region on the bank of the river Salindi, tributary of the river Brahmani in Balasore district.

Names after Streams: Some places like Komasarā i.e. Kāmasarā must have tempted its first inhabitants to stay here because of the beautiful streams. The name is mentioned in the Talatalai[53] pls. of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī and speaks of the place named after beautiful stream. It has been identified with a place Kamasara in the former state of Dhenkanal district. Water of some streams is regarded as celestial and places were named after this peculiar feature. Place Ambasarasarā,[54] donees place, recorded in the Baud pls. of Mahārāja Raṇabhañja is the place of this category. It has been identified with a place Ambasarabhitta in former Sonepur state.

Some times small habitations established in the beginning on the bank of a stream are developed into town. The place Kāṁtasarānagari[55] referred to in Kumurang pls. of year 187, of Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī represents this type of settlement. It has been identified with a place Ghantasila near Banpur in Puri district. The place Ambasarigrāma[56] mentioned in the Baud pls. of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, was situated on the bank of the stream named after the goddess Ambā. The place seems identical with a place Ambazari in Baud division, Phulbani district. Some places like Loisarāgrāma[57] had become famous after the brook where the first inhabitants must have seen red goats. The name is known from Kudopoli pls. of

13th year, of the king Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha of Somavaṁśin dynasty. It has been identified with a place Loisarāgrāma in Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district.

There are two peculiar names after streams. Of these, one ends with the word Jari while the other begins with the word Vāri. Bonai grant of the Tuṅga king Rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga informs us about the donated place Koñjari in Khambaivishaya in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala.[58] The name denotes a place with Kendu trees on the bank of a stream. The place has been identified with a place Kendujhar in Keonjhar district. According to Orissa Museum pls., Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja granted a village Vāriśāmāgrāma in Rāirāvishaya.[59] The word Vāri forming the first part of the name speaks of some stream or river with Śāmā plants on its bank. The place has not been identified. Places situated on the lower flow of the river are also known from the place names. According to Patna pls. king Mahāsivagupta I Yayāti granted a piece of land situated in northern part of Talakajjagrāma[60] in Sanulāvishaya in Kosaladeśa together with the bed of the lower flow of the river extending to its borders on all the four sides. Name Talakajja, composed of two words, Tala i.e. lower and Kajja means bank and speaks of the place situated on the lower flow of the river and has been identified with modern place Talganj in Phulbani district.

Rivers Indirectly Referred: The names taken in this category are of two types viz. names beginning with the word *taḍa*, *tara* and names ending with the term *tara*. The word *Tara* here implies the settlement on the bank of the river. Some places of this type, as the name Taḍeśvaragrāma[61] mentioned in Madras museum pls. of the king Narendradhavala suggests, had some sort of Śiva temple as a lord of crossing. The place Taḍeśvaragrāma was situated in Gomuṇḍamaṇḍala in Khiṇḍiṅgaśṛṅgamaṇḍala. The name is very much curious. It points to the fording place on the bank of some river as well as the popular belief in god Śiva as the lord of crossing. The place must have been collecting a large amount of ferry money and hence, the god Śiva was invoked to protect it. For this reason the place was named Taḍeśvara. It contained the purchased plot of land. The place Taḍeśvara seems to correspond with the place named Talasara in Buguda police station, in Ghumsur taluka Ganjam district.

In the group of names beginning with a word *tara* there are names such as, Tarabhramaraka,[62] Turullāgrāma, Toro and Taramaṇḍapa. Of these, the first one has been mentioned in Tersinga grant of the king Tushṭikara and has been identified with present place Talabhramara, on the bank of the river Utai, tributary of the river Tel. Rajaguru wants to identify it with the place Tanra in Asika taluka in Ganjam district. According to him, there is temple of Stambheśvarī at Asika in Ganjam district and the locality is known by the name Stambheśvarī-pātana and the villages Patharā, Debhum and Tanra, situated near Asika, seem identical with

the places Prastaravāṭaka, Debhogaka and Tarabhramaraka, respectively, mentioned in the Tersinga grant.[63] Though the identification appears plausible the name of the place indicates that it was situated near the fording place on the bank of some river and from this point of view identification of the place with the place Talabhamara on the bank of Utai river appears to be more reasonable. As referred to in Baud grant of the king Raṇabhañja Turullagrāma[64] was in Tullaśṛṅgavishaya. It seems identical with a place Turum in Bhanjanagar police station, Ghumsar taluka in Ganjam district. According to the record of the Tuṅga dynasty, the king Gayāḍātuṅga donated a place Torogrāma in Veṇḍuṅgavishaya in Yamagarṭṭāmaṇḍala.[65] The donated place has been identified with a place Thorkola in Pal-lahara subdivision. Curiously, remaining place name of this type is related to ferry tax. Terundia pls. of Bhaumakara king Śivakara informs us that the donee of the grant had come from Taramiṇḍapa.[66] The place, as the word maṇḍapa at the end of the name suggests, was an important centre for collecting ferry money and a toll tax as well. The place has been identified with a place Terundia in Nimapada police station and taluka of Puri district. A place rendering revenue in the form of ferry money is also known from the grants Somavaṁśin dynasty. Vakratentali grant of the 3rd year and Sonepur charter of 17th year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya refer to the donated places situated in the Lupattarākhaṇḍa[67]and Luputtarākhaṇḍa, respectively, in Kosala. Though there is slight difference in the spelling of the name both the names seem to refer to one and the same place. The name is composed of three words, the word Lupat forming first part of the name may be Lupta=disappear, word Tarā = boat and Khaṇḍa=tax. The name thus, speaks of the region that stopped paying ferry tax and also plying of boats. Many rivers in Orissa stopped as navigable because of the heavy deposits of soil in the bed causing the change in the course of the river. Same may be the case with the region round ancient place Lupat that may have been situated on the bank of navigable river with many fording places. It has been identified with the region round the place Lepta i.e. ancient Lupat, lying between the rivers Tela and Mahanadi in Bolangir district. Place Lluttarumāgrāma included in Telātaṭavishaya, referred to above, may be, originally, Luptarumagrāma i.e. the place situated on the bank of the disappeared Rumā river. It has been identified with the place Leter in former Kalahandi State, about twelve miles north of river Tel. Ruma may be some tributary of the river Tel and the name is pointer of the fact that some rivers here disappeared for some or other reason.

Tanks : Place Tarataloi[68] referred to in the Talatalai grant of Kara queen Dharmamahādevī must be a place on the bank of big navigable lake that was famous for frequent ferries. It has been identified with a place Talatalai in Angul police station in Dhenkanal district. A place Vāmaitalla[69] referred to in Talcher grant of the Tuṅga king Gayāḍa was in Tuṅkeravishaya in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. The place

is not identified but it denotes the place with beautiful pond. The name Pāsitalāgrāma[70] mentioned in the Patna pls. of the 6th year of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya points to the tank in the habitation of the toddy drawers or labourers. It has been identified with a place Pointala in Sonepur district.

Lakes: One interesting name after lake, known from our records, is Peṭṭasaragrāma.[71] It is mentioned in Pettasara grant of uncertain date, of the king Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. It denotes a place with Petika fruit trees on the bank of the lake. It can be identified with a place named Petagadu in Surad police station and taluka in Ganjam district.

Water Conveyance: We have two names speaking either of boat making centre or of the place from where the river was crossed in the boat. The names are Doṅgigrāma[72] and Padāragrāma[73] mentioned in Puri pls. of Śailodbhava king and Puri pls. of the king of Śulki dynasty, respectively. Behra has equated the place Doṅgi with a place Donguri in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. Padāragrāma has not been identified.

Climate: Place names also tell us something about the climate of the places in respective period. Names like Olāśrama, Ollaṅgagrāma, Utapalligrāma etc. speak of the place with wet and damp weather. While the region Olāśramavishaya[74] known from Dhenkanal grant of Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī points to the division with damp or sultry weather the place Ollāṅgagrāma speaks of the grāma with damp climate. It may be that the first inhabitant of the region or of the grāma came to live here in the season when weather was sultry or humid. Olās, the chief place of the vishaya is identified with a place Olas in Cuttack district. Curiously, the village in the vishaya was granted for bringing down rains (Vṛṣṭi-Kāmanimittāya). According to the Adipur charter of the king Durjayabhañja, the king donated the place Ollāṅgagrāma[75] along with its waters and land. The place corresponds with a place named Ollanga in Anandpur subdivision of Keonjhar district. Utapalligrāma,[76] the third place in the list given above has been mentioned in Patalesvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima II, year 29. As described in the grant the king granted some land in the grāma. Two suffixes, palli and grāma associated with the name indicate that in the beginning it was only a small habitation of wandering people and in course of time it was developed into a grāma i.e. the habitation of cultivators. The word Uta in the name may have come from Utta = moistened, wet. It is identified with a place Itipur in Bhubanesvara police station and taluka, Puri district. Besides these names speaking directly of the damp weather, a place Siṅghalagrāma[77] mentioned in Baranga grant of the king Nandaprabhañjanavarman of Pitṛibhakta dynasty indirectly points to the damp weather of the place. The name Siṅghala may have derived from the word Siṇhāṇa i.e. rusted iron. As the region was thickly forested the climate here must

be sultry or damp which made the iron objects rust. The king named it as Baraṅgāgrāhāra. It has been identified with a place Baranga in Jarada police station, Chikiti taluka in Ganjam district.

Earth's Surface

Among the various factors which rendered distinctive names to the places we have to take the cognizance of the nature of earth surface as well. There are place names after the folds of the earth, wavy earth, dissected earth, Sandy surface, Marshy land, dusty land etc.

Folds of the Earth: Place Chhavalakhayagrāma[78] in Kṛishṇagirivishaya referred to in Ganjam pls. of Śailodbhava dynasty represents this type of earth. It seems to be a place with hills, which appear like folds. Ganjam district is hilly region and there may be some places with small hills with the appearance of folds here and there. It is identified with a place Chailu in Purushottamapur police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district.

Wavy Surface: According to the pls. of the king Gayāḍa of the Tuṅga dynasty, donated village Toro was situated in Veṇḍuṅgavishaya.[79] The name may be Beṇḍaṅga i.e. with bends here and there. The place has been identified with a place Balanga in former Bonai state. As described in geographical work districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Pal-lahara division of Dhenkanal district are intersected here and there with hill ranges and hence, have wavy earth surface. The vishaya thus seems to have obtained its name in accordance with the nature of the earth in this region.

DissectedEarth: According to Cuttack museum pls. of Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja, year 50, the king granted some land in Tamataḍāgrāma.[80] The word Taḍā forming the second part of the name denotes a place with scratched or dissected earth due to some sort of natural calamity. It has not been identified.

Sandy Surface: Jayarampur grant of the king Gopachandra, year 1 registers the grant of the place Śvetavālīkāgrāma in Śvetavālikāvīthi[81] to Mahāvihāra in Bodhipadraka. The name denotes the habitation in the region formed after the receding of the sea. Most interesting point to be noted here is that the colour of the sand is white. The place has not been identified but it must be on the side of the sea in Balasore-Cuttack region.

Dusty Surface: Grant of the Bhañja king Mādhavabhañja issued from Khiching registers the donation of a place Mokugagrāma in Phaṁsurāvishaya or Pāṁsurāvishaya.[82] The name Pāṁsurā denotes the dusty place. It is identified with a place Panasi in Raruan police station, Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district.

Marshy Soil: The places named after marshy soil are Chikkhalikā[83] and

Ḍeladelīgrāma.[84] They have been known from Baradipada pls. of the year 3, of the king Nandarāja and Patna pls. of the Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, respectively. While the former place is identified with a village named Chikhali in Kanker taluka in Bastar district the latter, situated in Telātaṭāvishaya in Kosaladeśa, appear to be the same as Dedil, a few miles away from the Tela river in former Patna state.

Hard Soil: Sumandala pls, of the G.E. 250, of the king Pṛithivīvigraha informs us about the grant of places Chandanavāṭaka and Ardhākamaṇḍuka in Parakkhalamārggavishaya.[85] The name of the chief city of the vishaya may have come from the word Prakhara = very hard. It suggests that it was the division with hard earth surface. Modern place named Pharkapalli[86] in Kodal police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district seems to have occupied the site of ancient Parakkhala, chief city of vishaya. The other place of this type has been mentioned in Tersinga record of Mahārāja Tushṭikara. It is Prastarvāṭaka.[87] It must be a place with stony surface and is identified with a place named Patharala in Kalahandi district. Maraḍavishaya[88] mentioned in the Cuttack pls of the Somavaṁśin king is one more name after hard soil. The name may be Baraḍavishaya. The chief place of the vishaya can be identified either with the place Barada or Maradaharipura in Cuttack district.

Salty Soil: There are places named Saloṇapura, Loṇḍaka and Salavaṇikāgrāma denoting salty soil. As mentioned in Neulapur grant of the R.Y. 84 of the king Śubhakaradeva, the donated places Kompārakagrāma and Daṇḍāṅkiyokegrāma were joined together under the new name Saloṇapura.[89] Baud pls. of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara informs us about the donated place Loṇḍaka[90] in Olāśṛṅgavishaya. It has been identified with a place Ramundi. According to Gautami grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king, donated Salavaṇikagrāma[91] was in Hemvakamadambavishaya. It may be identical with a place named Solabandha in Brahmapur police station in Brahmapur taluka in Ganjam district.

Colour of the Earth: As mentioned in Census Atlas, almost all the districts of the state are covered, mainly, with red coloured soil of varying texture of loam to sandy loam.[92] Names, such as Tamuravishaya[93] in Dakshiṇa Tosali, Loivishaya[94] and Lohaśṛṅgaeavishaya[95] referred to in Santiragrāma charter, of the year 280, of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī, Deogaon pls. of Bhañja king Ranabhañja and Pherva grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman, respectively, seem to denote the regions with red coloured soil. The name Tamura may be denoting Tāmbra i.e. the soil with coppery red colour. It has been identified by Misra with a place Tamura in the former Pal-lahara state in Dhenkanal district. But the grant tells us that it was in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. Since, we cannot include Pal-lahara in Dakshiṇa Tosalī we want to identify the place Tamura, chief city of the vishaya,

with a village Tamberi in Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. The word Loi in the second name may have come from the word Lohita = Red coloured. The place seems identical with a village named Lunahar in Sainkula police station in Anandpur taluka, Kendujhar district. Lohaśṛṅga, the capital city of the Lohaśṛṅgāra vishaya mentioned above is composed of two words Loha = copper coloured or any red metalt + Sṛṅga = top of hill. The name thus, points to the settlement on the top of the hill with coppery red earth. We want to identify it with place Luhasing in Udayagiri police station in Udayagiri taluka, Ganjam district and donated Pheravāgrāma seems to have given its site to a place named Baraba in the same taluka and district. The above survey of place names suggests that the topographical features of the region played an important role in naming the habitations in ancient times.

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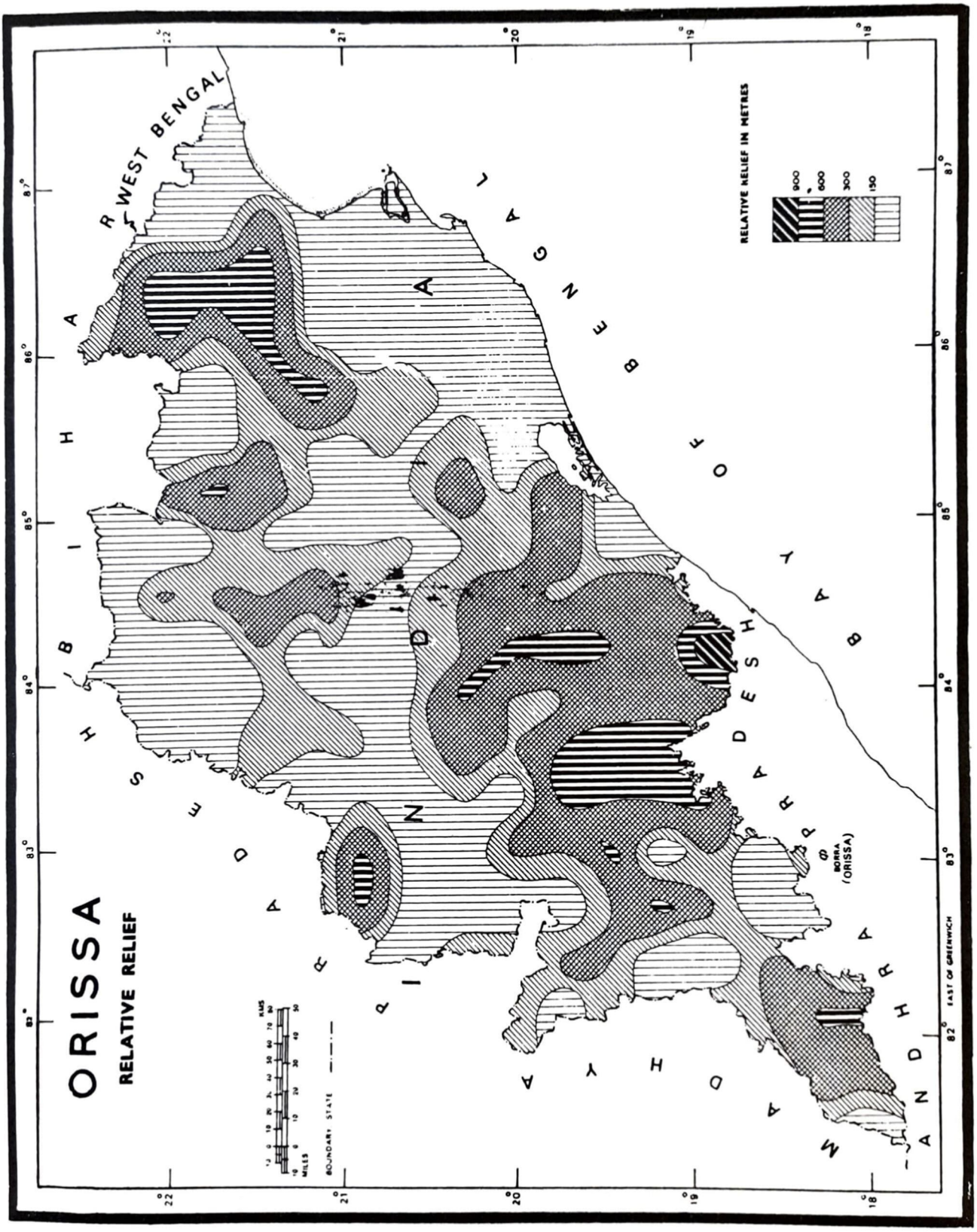
2. *IRG*, pp. 755-757.
3. *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 19.
4. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 18.
5. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 18.
6. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 19.
7. *SI*, p. 217, *l.* 14; *IOTSPS*, p. 294, *l.* 2, fn. 3.
8. *AOSM*, vol. II, p. 61, p. 75, pp. 94-95.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 99, *HGDHO*, p. 89
10. *Ibid.*, p. 209, *l.* 7; *HOFET*, pp. 118-119 and *DMO*, pp. 23-24, p. 44, No, 6; *IO*, vol. VI, p. 100, *l.* 23; *JBORS*, vol. II, pp. 417-419 and *HGDHO*, p. 96.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 131, Map No. 8.
12. *GO*, pp. 86-87. Mahendragiri 1500mts. in Ganjam district, Malayagiri, 1187mts. in Dhenkanal district, Mankaranacha and Gandhamardan 1150 and 1110mts. respectively in Keonjhar district, Meghasini, 1165mts. in Mayurbhanj district and four peaks above 1500mts. in old Koraput and Kalahandi districts. All these are associated with dense humid valleys
13. *IO*, vol. I, p. 108, *l.* 2; *IO*, vol. II, p. 198, *l.* 19.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 210, *l.* 18; *IO*, vol. II, p. 70, *ll.* 8-12.
15. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 87-88, *ll.* 15-28.
16. *IO*, vol. I, p. 143, *l.* 18, p. 249, *l.* 39, p. 279, *l.* 5, *DMO*, p. 4, No. 4.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 238, *l.* 43.
18. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 113, *l.* 13.
19. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 114, *l.* 17.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 228, *ll.* 16-17.
21. *IO*, vol. II, p. 250, *l.* 13, p. 313, *l.* 7. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 171, No. 69, p. 288 No. 185, 272.
22. *IOTSPS*, p. 227, *l.* 5.

23. *IO*, vol. I, p. 143, *l.* 19.
24. *SED*, p. 928, 337, 340.
25. *IO*, vol. I, p. 210, *ll.* 18-19.
26. *MPPB*, pp. 72, 77-79.
27. *IO*, vol. I, p. 184, *l.* 9.
28. *IO*, vol. II, p. 282, *ll.* 14-15.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 288, *l.* 13. Amera, *DCHB* Ganjam District, p. 288, No. 278.
30. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 190, *l.* 1.
31. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 244. *l.* 13.
32. *IOTSPS*, p. 173. *l.* 11, p. 180. *ll.* 12-13.
33. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 27. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 33, No. 72.
34. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 87-88, *ll.* 15-26.
35. *IO*, vol. I, p. 119, *l.* 11.
36. *SED*, p. 565, Col. 3.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 422, Col. 2.
38. *IO*, vol. I, p. 176, *l.* 35.
39. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 3; *HOFETBP*, pp. 146-148.
40. *Ibid.*, *DCHB* Keonjhar district, p. 136, No. 51.
41. *IO*, vol. II, p. 287, *l.* 8; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 188, No. 210.
42. *EI*, XXVI, p. 79, *l.* 24.
43. *Ibid.*, XXIX, p. 188, *l.* 26.
44. *SED*, p. 234, Col. 2, 3. p. 156, Col. I.
45. *IOTSPS*, p. 287, *ll.* 33-34, p. 288, *l.* 48.
46. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 146. No. 20.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 160, No. 54.
48. *IOTSPS*, p. 291, fn. 82.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 350, *l.* 22, p. 247, *ll.* 25-26, p. 252, *l.* 29.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 173, *l.* 4.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 278, *l.* 18-19.
52. *IO*, vol. V, Part I p. 89, *l.* 123.
53. *TBKO*, p. 94, No. 4.
54. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 107, *l.* 20.
55. *HGDHO*, p. 41; *OUBK*, p. 63, *l.* 30.
56. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 122, *l.* 24.
57. *IOTSPS*, p. 264, *l.* 10, p. 267, fn. 59.
58. *HOFETBP*, p. 201; *HOFET*, p. 117, *DMO*, p. 40.
59. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 67, *l.* 19.
60. *IOTSPS*, p. 227, *l.* 5.
61. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 252. *l.* 7, Tareśvara-Tara=boat implies the fording place and Iśvara is the protector of the place.
62. *PBDSI*, App. p. 16, *l.* 5, p. 17.
63. *IO*, vol. I, Part II, p. 82, *l.* 5 (text), p. 84, Translation.
64. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 114, *l.* 18.

65. *HOFET*, p. 117.
66. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 216, *l.* 21; *TBKO*, p. 90, No. 5; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 337, No 153.
67. *IOTSPS*, p. 167, *l.* 5, p. 195, *l.* 13. p. 251, *l.* 29; *DMO*, p. 70, No. 1.
68. *TBKO*, p. 94, No 37.
69. *HOFETBP*, Part I, p. 200; *HOFET*, p. 117.
70. *IOTSPS*, p. 179, *ll.* 4-5.
71. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 173, *l.* 16.
72. *IO*, vol. I, p. 261, *l.* 49; *RFSD*, p. 24.
73. *EI*, XXIX, p. 169, *l.* 29.
74. *TBKO*, p. 87; *OUBK*, p. 26, *ll.* 26, 28; *SED*, p. 236, Col. 1. Ola =damp, wet.
75. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 47, *ll.* 3-4.
76. *Ibid.* vol. V, Part I, p. 112, *l.* 4.
77. *IO*, vol. I, p. 116, *l.* 3; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 405, No 232.
78. *IO*, vol. I, p. 210, *ll.* 18-19. *MPPB*, p. 72, 77, 79, Place Valikhāyegrāma.
79. *HOFET*, p. 117, *HOFETBP*, p. 200.
80. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 229, *l.* 30.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 175, *ll.* 10-11.
82. *Ibid.*, Vol, VI, p. 31, *l.* 16; *SED*, p. 613, Col. 3; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district. p. 447, No. 63.
83. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 152, *l.* 8.
84. *IOTSPS*, p. 247, *l.* 26, p. 250, fn. 46.
85. *IO*, vol. I, p. 139, *l.* 6.
86. *DCHB* Ganjam District, p. 563, No. 51.
87. *IO*, vol. I, p. 154, *l.* 2.
88. *IOTSPS*, p. 234-235, *l.* 25; *DMO*, p. 68, No. 9.
89. *TBKO*, p. 86; *EI*, XV, p. 3, *l.* 8; *OUBK*, p. 4, *l.* 8.
90. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *ll.* 22-23. May be lauṇodaka.
91. *IO*, vol. II, p. 293, *l.* 10. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 461, No. 106.
92. *Census Atlas*, 1981, p. 131, map No. 8.
93. *EI*, XXIX, p. 88, *l.* 28; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 43, No. 78.
94. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 261, *l.* 23; *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 239, No. 134.
95. *IO*, vol. II, p. 313, *l.* 7; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 288, No. 185, p. 288, No. 272.


ORISSA
RELATIVE RELIEF
RELATIVE RELIEF IN METRES
900
600
300
150
WEST BENGAL
BIHAR
ANDHRA PRADESH
BAY OF BENGAL
BORRA (ORISSA)
BOUNDARY STATE
MILES
EAST OF GREENWICH

Chapter III

Flora of The Region

The state of Orissa is famous for five types of forests. While Bolangir, Sambalpur, Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Puri, Cuttack and Mayurbhanj districts contain Tropical dry-deciduous forests districts of Koraput, Kalahandi, Phulbani, and Ganjam of the southern highlands and Keonjhar district of northern highlands are covered with Tropical moist deciduous forests. Though, coastal region of Puri and Cuttack districts are famous for Littoral and swamp type of forests a small patch of Tropical dry evergreen forest is seen in Khorda division in Puri district and Tropical semi-evergreen forests is the peculiarity of only the Similipal plateau in Mayurbhanj district.[1] Thus, in modern times the state of Orissa is rich in its floral wealth. But its distribution within the region is uneven. Apart from these different types of forests, local climatic conditions have given rise to some subsidiary types of forests and chief among these are Bamboo, Teak and Sal. While the Bamboo is most abundant along the eastern ghat tract Sal forest, a sub type of moist deciduous forest, is seen extensively from southwest to northeast in all districts lying in this zone. Among the forest, products timber, fire wood and poles are the most important and other products include bamboo, tendu leaves, tussar cocoons, lac, myrobalans, cane, arrow roots, Mahua flowers, broom grass, sabai grass, gum, resin, Khaira and Sunari bark.[2] Let us now try to find out how far this floral wealth is revealed in the names of the administrative divisions like *maṇḍalas, vishayas, madambas, pañchālis* and *grāmas* referred to in epigraphs of the different dynasties. We shall begin our survey with the places named after forest in general.

Forests: In ancient times large portions of Koraput and Kalahandi districts along with the district of Bastar, some portion of Yellavaram, and eastern part of Chodavaram taluka of east Godavari district, Chintapalli and Paderu talukas of Vishakhapatnam district as well as Salur and Parvatipuram talukas of Srikakulam district formed the part of the, famously known *Daṇḍakāraṇya*[3] forest. It was named after the demon *Daṇḍaka* and *Varāmihira* places it in southern division.[4] As mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa the territory between Vindhya and Saival mountains was

known as *Daṇḍakārṇya*.[5] The other ancient forest that is believed to have included some portion of Orissa is *Chedi-Kārushavana*. It is said that this forest was extended from Tripuri in Jabalpur district, to the mountainous areas of Kosala (south Koasal) country in Raipur and Bilaspur districts of Chhattisgarh and some districts of Orissa. The famous work Mānasollāsa,[6] of the king Someśvara III mentions *Chedi-Kārushavana* along with elephant forest of Kaliṅga and Daśārṇa.

Forest Kingdoms: We get some information about the forest kingdoms in the inscriptions of the kings of some dynasties related to the period e. g. XIII Rock Edict of Aśoka[7] refers to the residents of *Aṭavī*. The reference probably speaks of the people living in the forest near Kaliṅga. H. Shukla[8] takes this expression to mean the people of *Daṇḍakāraṇya*. Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Gupta king Samudragupta mentions the king of *Mahākāntāra* in the list of defeated kings of *Dakshiṇāpatha*.[9] According to Bhandarkar, *Mahākāntāra* denotes the forested region between Kosala and Kaliṅga and must have included the area of Vishakhapatnam and Ganjam districts.[10] According to Dubreuil,[11] it was to the south of Sonepur. Jaiswal takes it as the name of Kanker and Bastar region. According to R.C. Majumdar, it is the forested region round Jeypur in Koraput district. B.C.Mazumdar states that upper valley of Mahanadi, included in the district of Raipur and conterminous with the district of Sambalpur seems to be the region of *Mahākāntāra* under the rule of Vyāghrarāja.[12] All these opinions, taken together, suggest that along with the portion of Bastar and Vishakhapatnam districts *Mahākāntāra* may have included the portions of Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput districts.

Remnants of Ancient Forests: Let us now try to trace the remains of the forest prevalent here in the ancient past with the help of the place names known from the inscriptions found in the state. Names after the forest show two main types, (1) names ending with the word *Vana* and (2) names ending with the terms *Vanavishaya, Vanamaṇḍala* and *Vanagrāma* and there is only one name with a word *vana* forming its first part.

Vana: Names in the first group are very interesting. They end with the word Oṇa that seems to imply the word vana. The names are Borudravakoṇa and Laṅkākoṇa. While Borudravakoṇa is mentioned in Badkhimedi grant of G.E. 308, of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman the latter is known from Parlakimedi grant of the king Vajrahasta of the same dynasty. The name Borudravakoṇa[13] may be Bukudravakvana. It is composed of three words. The word Boru may be buku and seems to have come from Baka= kind of plant, *dravaka* means dropping or exuding[14] and oṇa i.e. *vana* means forest. Thus, the name denotes a forest containing trees exuding profuse juice. The place can be equated with a place Buduranga in Nugaon police station in Chikiti taluka in Ganjam district. In the same way the name Laṅkākoṇa[15] may be Laṅkavana. Laṅka is kind of tree and the name speaks of the

place situated in the land covered with Laṅka trees. Place named Lenkakuli in Hinjali police station, Dighpahandi taluka, Ganjam district[16] may be taken as ancient Laṅkākoṇa. It reminds us of the name Dāhaleṅkanāḍapattala[17] referred to in Barahi pls.of K.Y.826. This Pattala, as mentioned in the grant, contained donated Khayrigrāma. The name Dāha+Leṅka+Nāḍa is very interesting. While Dāha means burning, combustion etc., Laṅka, according to Rajawade, is a species of tree and Nāḍa means tubular stalk. All these words forming the name denote the region with forest of trees with tubular stalks used for fuel or a fire wood forest. The place Laṅkakoṇa or Laṅkavana from our record may be the name of this type of forest only. Famous work *Gāthāsaptaśati*[18] also refers to a place Laṅklālaya meaning an abode surrounded with Laṅka trees.

Vanavishaya: The Thoraṇavishaya mentioned in Khorda pls. Puri pls. of the king Mādhavarāja and Banpur grant of queen Kalyāṇadevī of Śailodbhava dynasty as well as in the Banpur grant of the year 5 of the king Indraratha of the Somavaṁśin dynasty may be the form of a name Thoravana meaning big forest. The term vishaya associated with this name indicates that the administrative division was named after big-forest. The chief place of the vishaya seems identical with a place named Thorab in Puri police station, Puri taluka, and district.[19] Name Thoraṇa- Thoravana became Thorabana and consequently changed into Thorab. Here we have to add one more name in this group. It is Ramaṇavavishaya[20] mentioned in Dasapalla grant of Rāṇaka Śatrabhañja III Tribhuvanakalaśa. The name seems to have written wrongly for the Ramaṇavanavishaya i.e. the forest of Tinduka trees. The chief place of the vishaya can be equated with the place Rumund in Udayagiri police station in Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district. Thus, the portions of Chikiti and Dighpahandi Udayagiri taluka of Ganjam district and Puri taluka of Puri district contained the dense forests of different species of trees in ancient past.

Vanamaṇḍala: Sankhameri grant of the year four of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesari king of the same dynasty records the grant of the village Āgaravāḍamulāgrāma in Kontaḍḍākhaṇḍa in Saṅgāṇamaṇḍala.[21] The name may be Śaṅkhavanamaṇḍala i.e. the region with plenty of Śaṅkha trees. The chief place of the maṇḍala has been identified with the place named Sankhameri, findspot of the grant on the bank of the river Mahānadi in Baramba police station in Cuttack district.

Vanagrāma: In this group we have taken the names ending with the word vanagrāma. According to Badakhimedi grant of G.E. 308, of the Gaṅga king the donated place Burujnāgrāma[22] on Mahendra mountain was in Borudravakoṇa in Lohaśṛṅgaravishaya. While the place named Borudravakoṇa, as discussed above, denotes the forest of the trees exuding juice the name Burujunā may be Purujunā-Puruvana =big forest. The place Puruvanāgrāma was the settlement in big forest

and it seems identical with a place named Burujang in Seranga police station Parlakimedi taluka Ganjam district. A place Arhaṇṇagrāma in Thoraṇavishaya,[23] according to Khurda pls. of the king Mādhavarāja of Śailodbhava dynasty, included donated Kumbhārachheda locality. The name may be Araṇyagrāma and it seems to correspond to a place named Arihan in Puri sadar police station, Puri taluka and district. As mentioned in Antirigrāma pls. of the Bhañja king Yaśobhañja the king donated a place Komyāṇagrāma[24] in Boḍā vishaya. Komyāṇagrāma may be a form of a name Kāmyavanagrāma i.e. a grāma in a beautiful Vana. It corresponds with a place Konomono in Chatrapur police station Ganjam district. Orissa Museum pls. of the king Vidyādharabhañja records the grant of a place Tuṇḍurāvagrāma[25] in Ramalavvavishaya. The name of the donated place may be Tuṇḍuravanagrāma i.e. a place in Tuṇḍuravana, a forest of Tuṇḍu trees. Its place seems to have taken by a locality famous as Tundura in Patapura police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. Ramalavva may be Rambalamba and the place has been identified with a place Rambhor or Rambapali in Bhanjnagar police station in Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district.

Banatalāgrāma[26] mentioned in undated Khandedeuli grant of the king Raṇabhañjadeva in Uttarakhaṇḍa in Sidhāhimbāvishaya is the only name beginning with the word vana. It is Vanatalāgrāma i.e. a village on the lower side of the forest. It has been identified with a place Banatali[27] in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district.

Vana Vaṇikasthāna: Here is one interesting name after vana. Sonepur record of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya records the grant to Kamalavanavaṇikasthāna.[28] It is Kamalavana + Vaṇikasthāna. The word Vana forming the second part of the name speaks of the vana of Kamel trees and the word Vaṇikasthāna denotes that it was the headquarters of traders. The place has not been identified. There are two more names after this tree. Narala temple grant dated in Ś. 1153 refers to a place Kamalamaṇḍala.[29] According to H. Shukla, it may be a name of Kalahandi district. The other name belonging to this group is Kamalpura mentioned in Kelga pls. of the 1st year of Somavaṁśin king Someśvaradeva. It seems to be a place with abundant Kamel trees. It is identified with the place Kamalapura situated near the village Kelga in Uttaratira division of the former Sonepur state.

Khaṇḍa: Besides the Vanavishaya, Vanagrāma, Vanavaṇikasthāna named after the forest of different species of trees referred to above large pieces of land covered with different species of trees and also particular species of tree were also known. Such pieces of land are mentioned in the records as Khaṇḍa, Khaṇḍadeśa, Khaṇḍavishaya, Khaṇḍakshetra etc. Names of these Khaṇḍas also inform us about the trees known in that particular region.

Tulumvakhaṇḍa: The place Tulumvakhaṇḍa[30] in Kosaladeśa mentioned in Chaudwar pls. of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya points to the region with abundant Tulu plants. The capital city of the Khaṇḍa has been identified with a place Turum on the river Mahanadi in Sambalpur district. The name Tulumva-Tulu is Malberry plant and *kosā* cocoons are fed on the leaves of this plant. Abundance of Tulu plants implies the existence of the persons, known as kośaja, busy in reeling of kosā cocoons. The silk thus collected must have been used for preparing kosā cloth. The region may have been a good supplier of the raw material for the kosā industry of the period and for this reason it must have enjoyed important status in the then economy. Thus, *Kosā* industry of Orissa seems to have its roots in ancient past.

Khaṇḍadeśa: Polsara grant dated in Kaliyuga era 4248, of the Gaṅga king Arkeśvara records donation of half of the village Valigrāma in Varttanīvishaya in Jhāḍakhaṇḍadeśa.[31] The name speaks of big region with all species of tree in abundance. It is not identified.

Khaṇḍavishaya: In addition to the Khaṇḍa and Khaṇḍadeśa named after trees there are some names with double suffix Khaṇḍavishaya which denotes that the peace of land, recognised after particular species of tree in early period was developed into vishaya in later period. Paḍaṇikhaṇḍavishaya,[32] as mentioned in Indian Museum pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman included the donated place Bheṭhiśṛṅgagrāma. Paḍaṇi, chief place of this khaṇḍavishaya, seems to have obtained its name after plenty of Paṭuparṇi trees. The name may be Paṭuparṇikhaṇḍavishaya. It has been identified with a place Paduni[33] in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. The name thus, suggests that large peace of land in Parlakimedi taluka was covered with Paṭuparṇi trees.

Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya: In the same manner Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya mentioned in Baud charter of Bhaumakara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī was developed into vishaya and the grant refers to Koṭṭapuragrāma in Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya[34] in Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala. Place Tamala has been identified with a place Tamluk, headquarters of the subdivision of Midnapur district.

Tamālakhaṇḍakshetra: Talcher pls. of Bhaumakara king Śivakara III supply us a name with a suffix Kshetra. It is Tamālakhaṇḍakshetera[35] in Madhyamakhaṇḍa-vishaya. The chief place of the kshetra has been identified with a place Tamur in Pal-lahara taluka of Dhenkanal district. Tamāla[36] is a sort of black Khadira tree with dark bark and white blossom. Juice of its fruits is used for putting sectarian mark on the forehead. Thus, as the name suggests, some portion of Midnapur district as well as some plot of land in Pal-lahara taluka of Dhenkanal district was famous for sumptuous black Khadira trees.

Utthukākshaṇḍakshetra: Some regions infested with particular type of grass were also known. Baud pls. of the year 158, of Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī records the grant of a land in Utthukākshaṇḍakshetra[37] in Dakshiṇakhaṇḍavishaya. The name may be Utthu+Kāśa+kāṇḍa and it denotes a place famous for the produce of species of roots. It has not been traced. But Dakshiṇakhaṇḍavishaya seems to be the region equivalent to Dakinmal pargana in Kontai subdivision and mentioned in the Mugal revenue records.

Karaṇḍakshetra: Besides, some land with particular species of tree was also known *kshetra*. Talcher pls. of Śivakaradeva refers to a place Koraṇḍiyakshetra[38] in Madhyamakhaṇḍa in northern Tosalī. The land was, as the name denotes was known after Karaṇḍa trees. It has been identified with a place Kolanda in Dhenkanal district.

Khiñjalimaṇḍala: There is only one maṇḍala named after tree. Sonepur grant of the king Śatrubhñja refers to the king as the ruler of Ubhaya Khiñjalimaṇḍala.[39] Khiñjali may be Hijjala or Ijjala = a small tree growing in wet and saline soil or on low ground near the sea. Khiñjali a chief city of the maṇḍala seems identical with a place known as Iñjali in Angul taluka, Dhenkanal district. Besides, Indragadia in Nayagarh taluka in Puri district, also called Hiñjalgadia, speaks of the place with abundant Iñjali trees. The name thus, points to the region covered with Hijjala species of tree. The location of donated places mentioned in the grants of the dynasty and chief place of the maṇḍala indicate that adjoining portions of the districts of Dhenkanal, Puri, Phulbani, Sonepur and Sambalpur were covered with the Iñjali species of tree. In later period the region around Hinjaligada, as the Antirigam grant of the king Jayabhaṭa of the later Bhañja dynasty indicates, was recognised as Khiñjaligaḍavishaya.[40] According to the grant, the donated village Nayaḍāgrāma was in Khiñjaligaḍavishaya.

Tālamuravishaya: Names of some vishayas also inform us about the trees known in ancient past. Tālamuravishaya,[41] as mentioned in Talatalai pls. of the Kara queen Dharmamahādevī, was in Northern Tosala. The chief city of the vishaya has been identified with a village Talamula in Angul taluka in Dhenkanal district. According to *Amarakośa* Tālamula is the plant known as Musalikanda.[42]

Poṭoḍāvishaya: Object of the Baripada museum pls. of the king Devānanda was to record the grant of a place Lambeda in Poṭoḍāvishaya[43] in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala. The name Poṭoḍā, chief place of the vishaya, may have been after a species of plant Poṭa or Poṭaka. It may be a water plant and the place has been identified with a place Potola in Hindol taluka of Dhenkanal district.

Kerakerāvishaya: The Kerakerāvishaya,[44] recorded in the Adipur grant of the king Narendrabhañjadeva speaks of the region with plenty of Kadali plants. It may be Kadalikheḍā. It has not been identified.

Sidhāhimbāvishaya:The place Sidhāhimbāvishaya[45]is known from Khandedeuli charter of the king Raṇabhañja. It is very interesting name in the sense that it speaks of the region, as the word Sita or Sidha forming the first part of the name denotes, with some sort of white plants such as Aparājitā, white Kaṇṭakāri, Durvā grass, Arabian Jasmine, kind of thorn apple or some medicinal plant.[46] It may be identical with a place Ambadih[47] in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district.

Koroṇḍiyavishaya: Bamanghati grant of the year 188, of the king Raṇabhañjadeva of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa records the grant of the villages in Koroṇḍiyavishaya.[48] The name Koroṇḍa may be Karaṇḍa or Karañja and denotes the region with Karaṇḍa or Karañja trees. It has been identified with a region of Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district.

Śalvaddavishaya: The vishaya has been mentioned in Orissa museum pls. of R.Y.2 of the Bhañja king Śilabhañja alias Tribhuvanakalaśa and Tekkali pls. of the king Śatrabhañja. The name of the vishaya seems as Śalva-vāda-vishaya,[49] probably obtained after a kind of plant Śalva. It is vāḍa developed into vishaya in later period and has been identified with the place Siuli in Tarsingi police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. Śalva is a kind of plant. It was a habitation in cultivated plot.

Bamboo: We have following two names after bamboo from the grants of the Bhañja kings.

Vāmbivishaya: According to the Suhagpur pls. of the king Narendrabhañja, Vāmbivishaya[50] was in Khijiṅgamaṇḍala. Vāmbhi may be vāmbha[51] =a bamboo, vansa. The chief city of the vishaya can be identified with a place Baunsbani[52] in Koliana police station in Baripada taluka, Mayurbhanj district.

Ramalavvavishaya: Orissa museum pls. of the year 26, of the king Vidyādharabhañja records the grant of the place Tuṇḍurāvagrāma in Ramalavvavishaya.[53] The name of the vishaya seems to Rambalambavishaya[54] i.e. the region with the plenty of Bamboo plantations. It has also been mentioned in the Dasapalla grant of the Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. According to the grant the donated village Dvolladāgrāma was in Ramalavvavishaya.[55] The chief place of the vishaya can be equated with place Rambha or Rambhapalli in Bhanjanagar police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. While the donated place Tuṇḍurāvagrama has been identified with the place Tundurain, Patapur police station in Digpandi taluka in Ganjam district the place Dvolladāgrāma has been identified with the place Bulonda in Dasapalla taluka in Puri district. It seems that the region from Digpandi taluka to Dasapalla was occupied with Bamboo forest with Cotton plants and Indigo plants at some places.

Olāśṛṅgavishaya: The Baud pls. of the king Nettabhañja informs us about Olāśṛṅgavishaya.[56] The word Olā forming the first part of the name Olāśṛṅga seems to have come from the word Alu = kind of black ebony.[57] The place has been identified with a place named Alusing[58] in Hindol taluka, Dhenkanal district.

Ramaṇavavishaya: Dasapalla grant of Saṁvat 198, of the king Śatrabhañja informs us about the grant of a village Kaṅkaira in Ramaṇavavishaya.[59] The region seems to have obtained its name after the Tinduka trees. The name may be Ramaṇavanavishaya. It has to be identified with the place like Rumunda in Udayagiri police station and taluka in Ganjam district.

Rālagranthavishaya: Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III, as Kapotesvara pls. inform us, donated some land in Rālagranthavishaya.[60] The region may have been famous for the species of trees producing resin useful for perfuming the atmosphere. It has not been identified.

Koṇṭarāvaṅgavishaya: Antirigam pls. of the king Yaśobhañja and Kapotesvara grant of Anaṅgabhīma and Lingaraj temple inscriptions of certain Bhīmadeva, intimate us about vishaya named Koṇṭarāvaṅga.[61] The name Koṇṭarāvaṅga may be Koṭarāvaṅga and is formed of two words, Koṭarā = hollow + vaṅga[62] = species of tree. Thus, the name denotes a region with hollow Vaṅga trees. Its chief place seems to have been identical with a village named Kotaraṅgi[63] in Nimpada taluka, Puri district. It seems that some portion of Nimpada taluka of Puri district was covered with hollow Vaṅga species of tree.

Tullasīdgāvishaya and Tullāśṛṅgavishaya: Apart from the khaṇḍa named after Tulu trees, referred to above, there are some vishayas which obtained their names after the abundant tulu trees. The names are Tullasīdgāvishaya and Tullāśṛṅgavishaya.[64] Of these, the former is mentioned in Phulbani grant of R.Y.9 and Dasapalla charter of R.Y.24 and the latter is known from Baud pls. of 58th year of the king Raṇabhañja. They seem to represent the regions with plenty of tulu trees. While the chief place of the first vishaya may be identified with village Tulasipur[65] in Fategarh police station in Khandapada taluka, district Puri that of the latter vishaya has been identified with a village Tulsingi[66] in Nuagaon police station, in Dighpahandi taluka, Ganjam district. In addition to these vishayas, some grāmas were also famous for plenty of tulu trees. As mentioned in undated Deogaon grant of the king Raṇabhañja, Tuluvaraigrāma[67] was situated in Iṭaṇḍāvishya. Both these names are very much interesting. While the name Iṭaṇḍā points to the region with Iṭa species of grass the name Tuluvarigrāma speaks of the cultivator's habitation amidst the plenty of tulu trees. The chief city of the vishaya seems identical with the village Indupur in Anandpur taluka in Keonjhar district and Talagaon in same taluka and district seems to represent ancient Tuluvaraigrāma.[68]

Guḍḍavishaya: Buguda charter of the king of Śailodbhava dynasty records

the grant of Puipiṇogāma in Khadirapāṭaka in Guḍḍavishaya[69]. The name Guḍḍa seems to have derived from the word Guḍa = Mahua tree. In Ghumsur taluka there are many places with the names ending with the word *guḍa* in Buguda police station. The capital city of the vishaya has been identified with the place Buguda in Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district.

Sandānāvishaya: The Sandānāvishaya[70]described in Chaudwar grant of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya included the donated place Leṇḍāgrāma. It may be a territory with plenty of Syandanā trees. The wood of this tree was used for preparing wheels of the chariots. The place can be identified either with a place named Sonda, eleven miles east of Sonpur or with the place Saranda in former Bargarh taluka, Sambalpur district.

Grass: Here are the names of some vishayas that were famously known after some species of grass. Different varieties of grass known from these names are Uṭa, Śara, Khaṭa and Iṭa. Names are Uṭidavishaya[71] in Dakshiṇa Tosalī, Sarephāhāravishaya[72] in Uttara Tosalī, Iṭaṇḍāvishaya[73] and Khaṭiyavishaya[74] mentioned in Kanas pls. of G.Y.280 of Lokavigraha, Soro grant of 15th year of Somadatta, Degam pls. of Raṇabhañja and three Baud grants issued by Bhañja kings Raṇabhañja of the year 24 and 54 and Saloṇabhañja of Saṁ. 27, respectively. Of these, the name Uṭida points to the region with plenty of Uṭa grass used for huts but the region has not been identified. The name Sarephā is after Śara variety of grass used for arrows. It seems to have given its place to modern place Soro[75] in Soro taluka in Balasore district. Name Iṭaṇḍā seems to be the changed form of the name Iṭaṇapāḍā and can be identified with a place named Indupur[76] in Anandpur taluka in Keonjhar district. Name Khaṭiyavishaya denotes a region with abundant Khatagrass. D.K.Ganguli has identified the region with Machhikhanda pargana in former Baud state and Panigrahi[77] has identified it with Kaintragarh in Athmalika taluka in Dhenkanal district. Since the donated places have been located in Baud district we want to take place Khatkhatiya in Phulbani district as identical with the chief place Khaṭiya or Khaṭya of the last mentioned grant of the vishaya. Thus, large portions of the Balasore, Puri, Keonjhar and Phulbani districts were known after different varieties of grass.

Areca nut: Kharpurimadamba[78] is the only division known after arecanut trees. The term Madamba denotes a group of eleven villages brought together for administrative purposes. According to undated Siripuram pls. of the king Anantavarman of Vaśiṣṭha family, donated village Toṇṭāpara was in Kharpurimadamba in Pattanabhoga. The name may be Khapurimadamba. Kharpuri may be Khapuri. It is the name of arecanut tree and the name of the madamba, group of eleven villages, speaks of the division named after abundant arecanut trees. The place of the headquarters of the madamba has not been identified

but the donated village seems to correspond with a place Totapara or Totavada in Srikakulam district. It seems that the region included in this division was well-known for the produce of Khapuri or arecanuts commonly eaten with betel leaves.

Different Species of Trees: Now we come to the places named after trees. These types of place names inform us about the different kinds of trees available in ancient past. Following are the names of this category.

Khadira: The names after the Khadira tree are Khadirapāṭa[79] mentioned in Buguda pls. of the king of Śailodbhava dynasty, Khairapāṭkagrāma,[80] referred to in Ganjam record dated in the year 180, of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī and Khadirapadra[81] described as donee's place in Sonepur charter of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. Of these, the first one corresponds with a place named Khairaputi in Buguda police station of Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district,[82] the next one, situated on one of the borders of the donated place Villagrāma in Pūrvvakhaṇḍa in Varaḍākhaṇḍavishaya appears to have given its place to a village named Khairputi in Bhanjnagar police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district.[83] Donee's place mentioned in the next grant has been identified with a place named Khairpur[84] situated to the north of Raigarh in Raigarh district.

Sandalwood: Two places named after sandalwood are Chandanvāṭaka[85]and Vakaveḍḍāgrāma.[86] While the former has been referred to in Sumandal pls. dated in G.Y. 250, of the king Pṛithivīvigraha the latter, as mentioned in Patna pls. of 6th year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of Somavaṁśin dynasty, was situated in Oṅgāṭaṭavishaya. As the name implies, the former habitation was founded in the cultivated plot amidst Sandalwood trees. It is identified with a place Chandanapalli in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. Latter name is composed of three words Vaka=Vakra, + veḍḍa –veḍa[87] = course sandalwood, +grāma =habitation of farmers. The name indicates the habitation of farmers situated on the turning of the river Onga and was surrounded by sandalwood trees. The place has been identified with a place Vankavira in erstwhile Sonepur state.

Mango: There is only one place name after mango tree. It is Āmratakshakavāsaka[88] mentioned in Soro pls. of regnal year 15 of the king Somadatta. It has not been identified.

Tamarind: Two names after tamarind are, Koṇatinthigrāma in Khaṭiyavishaya[89] and Vakratentalīgrāma in Lupattarākhaṇḍa[90] mentioned in Baud grant of 54th year of Raṇabhañja and Vakratentali grant of 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, respectively. While the name of the former place indicates that it was situated in the corner in the region with plenty of Khaṭa grass the name of the latter speaks of the place situated on the bend of the river.

Konatinthigrâma has been identified with a place Kontuani, two miles south of Baud in Phulbani district and Vakratentalīgrāma corresponds with a place Bantentili in former Sonepur state, sixteen miles west of Sonepur town.

Nyagrodha: Soro pls. of year 250 of Sambhuyaśa was issued from the place Tamparavaḍavāsaka.[91] It may be a temporary camp in the place which had obtained its name after big Banayan tree providing shelter to cows. Cowsheds around the Vaṭa tree were most common in ancient times. The name Tampa may be Tamba meaning cow. The place Tampara corresponds with a place Tampara in the same taluka in Balasore district. The other place named after this tree is Vaṭagrāma.[92] The Dhanantara pls. of the Gaṅga king inform us that donated village Vaṭagrāma was in Hāmanibhogavishaya. The name of the vishaya seems to have come from the personal name Hamba and it has been identified with the place Humma in Rambha police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. The donated place is not identified.

Sal: Sālagrāma,[93] as referred to in Puri pls. of Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman, was in Thoraṇavishaya. It corresponds with a place Salabani in Fategarh police station in Khandapada taluka, Puri district.

Mahua: Place Madhuvāṭaka[94] denoting a habitation in a cultivated plot with abundant Mahua trees mentioned in Banpur grant was attached to Thoraṇavishaya. It has been identified with a place Madhupur in Khandapada taluka Puri district.

Dukula: Place Dukagrāma[95] known from Puri pls. of Śailodbhava king Mānabhita was in Varttanī vishaya. The place may have obtained its name after Dukula plant. Its inner bark was used for making very fine cloth.

Kodaṇḍa: Koṇḍeḍḍa grant of the year 30 of the same king as above informs us that Koṇḍeḍḍagrāma[96] was in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāra. The habitation was named after Kodaṇḍa plants.

Paṭuparṇi: As recorded in Sana-khimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman donated land was in Paḍuṇigrāma[97] in Paḍuṇikhaṇḍavishaya. The place seems to have obtained its name after Paṭuparṇi trees. The place has been identified with a place Paduni in Parlakimedi taluka, Ganjam district.

Jujube: As referred to in Kama-Nalinakshapur pls. of Saṁ. 173, of Sāmantavarman donated Badaribhashṭhigrāma[98] was situated to the west of Morapāda trees and to the north of Piṇḍarā trees. The name is composed of two words Badari+bhashṭhi and denotes a place with number of decayed Jujube trees. A place named Boripadar in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka. Ganjam district seems to have taken the place of ancient Badaribhashṭhigrāma. Several damaged trees at the cyclone-affected places in modern times give us idea about the nature of the ancient Badaribhashṭhigrāma. The record provides two more

names of trees, Morapāda and Piṇḍarā, known in the region. Of these, Morapāda, probably speaks of the Morata[99] plant with sweet juice and Pinḍarā may be from Piṇḍīra[100] = Pomegranate tree. The place thus, seems to be the habitation in the jungle cleared area.

Mushkaka: A place named Mokugagrāma,[101] as registered in Khiching grant of the king Mādhavabhañja, was situated in Phaṁsurāvishaya. The name Mokuga seems to have come from the word Mushkaka[102] = a species of tree-lodha. It may be identified with a place named Mukuna in Raruan police station area in Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district. The place Phaṁsurā, the chief place of the vishaya, has been identified with the place Pasan in the same district.

Nishoth tree: A donated place Timiṇḍirāgrāma,[103] as referred to in Bamanghati pls. of Raṇabhañja, was situated in Uttarakhaṇḍa in Koroṇḍiyavishaya. Name Timiṇḍirā may have come from the name Tribhaṇḍi = White Nishoth tree. The place must have obtained its name after this particular species of tree. It has been identified with a place Tendra in Bahalda police station in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district.

Indigo Plants: Dvolladāgrāma,[104] known from Dasapalla grant of the king Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa was donated along with Valkākhaṇḍakshetra and Gokuṭa. It may be Dolavāḍagrāma. Each of these three words, Dvolla, Vāḍa and Grāma, constituting the name have something to tell us about the settlement. Dvolla may be Dola= Indigo plant, Vāḍa speaks of cultivated plot and the word grāma at the end of the name points to the develpoment of the vāḍa into a settlement of the farmers. The settlement was named after the plot of cultivated indigo plants. The place has been identified with a place Bulonda in Dasapalla taluka, Puri district.

Karañja: As mentioned in the Komanda charter of the king Nettabhañja, donated place Karañjāḍugrāma was in Sāraḍḍāvishaya.[105] The name points to the settlement of the farmers surrounded with Karañja trees. It has not been traced.

Mañjishṭha: According to Ganjam pls. of the king Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa, the king granted a village Rātaṅgagrāma[106] in Vāsudevakhaṇḍavishaya. Rātaṅga may be Raktāṅgagrāma i.e. the settlement of farmers with plenty of Mañjishṭha[107] plants. It has been identified with a place named Rottango in Bhanjnagar police station, Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district.

Priyaṅgu: Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, as stated in Sonepur grant, donated a place named Siṅgharā Mahallopīgrāma[108] on the bank of the river Vyāghra in Dakshiṇapalli Bhogīkhaṇḍa. The name Mahallopī seems to have come from Mahilāyā denoting the particular species of Priyaṅgu, which blossoms at the touch of women. The place has been identified with a place named Manupalli in Phulbani district.

Añjana tree: The timber tree known by the name Añjana is represented by a place name Añjinigrāma.[109] It is from Kalibhana grant of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. But it is not identified.

Mūsākarṇī trees: There are two places, Rāṇḍa[110] and Raṇḍāgrāma,[111] after this tree. Undated Banpur grant of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhita records the donation of some land in Madhuvāṭaka attached to Rāṇḍasīma. The other place Raṇḍāgrāma, as mentioned in Chaudwar charter of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, was one of the donated villages. The word Rāṇḍa or Raṇḍā forming the name denotes one of the species of the Mūsākarṇī tree.[112] The name thus suggests that these settlements were amidst the Mūsākarṇī trees. While the former place has been identified with a place named Randa in Ranpur taluka, Puri district the latter is identified with a place Randa in Bolangir taluka and district.

Gauḍasimiṇilligrāma[113]: This most peculiar name has been referred to in Cuttack grant of the king Bhīmaratha of Somavaṁśin dynasty. It is a very curious name denoting a place famous for three different species of trees. The word Gauḍa, meaning rum prepared from molasses implies the production of sugarcane. Simi the word forming the middle part of the name seems to denote Simika species of tree and Nīliṇī is indigo plant. The place must have been famous for its sugarcane production, sweet fruits of Simika trees and for the produce of Indigo. The place has been identified with a place Gaisima in Bargarh taluka and district.

Plants: Now we come to the different kinds of plants known from place names.

Kuntalikā: Names after the plant Kuntalikā are Kontaspārāgrāma,[114] Kontalaṇḍāgrāma, Kontalaḍḍākhaṇḍa[115] and Kontamallogrāma[116] mentioned in Dhenkanal grant, of the year 133, of the Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, Balijiri pls. and Sankhameri pls. of the Somavaṁśin king and Gurandi grant of the year 188 of the king Śatrbhañja II, respectively. According to the first grant the place Kontasapārāgrāma was given for the purpose of bringing down rains (Vṛishṭi-kāma-nimittāya). It is Kontapāḍā i.e. settlement with Kuntlikā plants. It has been identified with a place named Kaṇṭāpārā in Cuttack district. The place Kontalaṇḍāgrāma was in Sarāvakhaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala. It has been identified with the place Kantilo in Cuttack district. The third place i.e. Kontaladḍākhaṇḍa in Saṅgāṇamaṇḍala seems identical with the region round the place named Kontapāḍā in Baramba police station in Cuttack district. The place Kontamallo seems to have given its place to a locality named Kontabhalla (20°-5″N 84°-28″E). All these place seem to have obtained their names after the Kuntalikā plants. These places denote that large portion of the Cuttack district was covered with these plants.

Kurubaka: It is a plant with red flower and known, popularly, as Mehandi. Parlakimedi grant of Gaṅga king Vajrahasta refers to a place Kurubāgaḍḍa[117]

situated to the south-west of the donated place Hossaṇḍigrāma. The name speaks of the place situated at the low level among the Kurubaka plants. It has not been identified

Asura: As referred to in the same grant as above, a place named Asuravāli[118] was to the north-west of donated village Hossaṇḍi. The place name indicates the settlement with rows of Asura plants. It is not identified.

Arka Plant: A curious and interesting place name Arkigrāma[119] situated in Tulumvakhaṇḍa in Kosaladeśa is mentioned in Chaudwar pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. The name denotes the habitation named after Arka plants. Its large leaves were used in sacrificial rituals.

Mimosā: A name Liñjirāgrāma[120] mentioned in Mahākosala Historical Society pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakesarin of Somavaṁśin dynasty speaks of the settlement with abundant Mimosā plants. It has been identified with a village Liñjirāgrāma in Sarangarh taluka, Raigarh district.

Pṛthula: The grant referred to above informs us that Liñjirāgrāma was situated in Pṛthurābhukti.[121] The name may be Pṛthula, a species of a plant. The plant was so much in abundance that it rendered its name to the Bhukti division. The place is identified with a place named Pithoda in Mahasamunda taluka in Raipur district.

Leṇḍiya: We have to take cognisance of uncommon kind of plant Leṇḍiya. A place Leṇḍāgrāma mentioned in Chaudwar pls. of 31st year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of the same dynasty as above seem to represent this variety of plant. The plant is known in Bilaspur and Raipur district in modern times. The place is taken as identical with a place named Tulendi, six miles north of Bolangir or Tilundi in the former Sonepur state.

Medicinal plant 'Indrajava': According to Sambalpur museum pls. of 23rd year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of Somavaṁśin dynasty the donated place Ḍerindhagrāma[122] was in Kolleḍḍāmaṇḍala. It seems to be the place recognised after plenty of plants of Indra. As given by Monier Monier Williams Indra is a kind of plant. It is also known as Kuṭaja and its seeds are used as drug that expels intestinal worms. The prefix Ḍera may be 'ḍher' which, in accordance to the local language, means plentiful. The name thus, speaks of the place well-known for the medicinal plant 'Indrajava' in abundance. It is however not identified.

Fragrant plants: There are two names in this category. The donee of the Satalama record of 8th year of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, was the resident of the place Murujaṅgagrāma.[123] The other name after this species of plant is known from two Patna pls. and Kalibhana pls. of 6th year and Satalama grant of 8th year of the same king. All these grants were issued from Mūrasīmā.[124] The place is identified with a place Murasima situated on the bank of the river

Onga. These places must have been famous for the abundance of the Murv= Murvā plant.

Delicate plants: A place Kommāyira[125] which is the place of the donee of the Patna grant of 6th year of the same king as above, speaks of the place with large number of Ajmoda plants. The term Koma may have come from the word Komala and as given in Sanskrit English dictionary, Māyura is the species of plant. The place Kommāyira may have been famous for this delicate species of plants.

Bamboo: Apart from Vāmbivishaya and Ramalavvavishaya referred to above places named after bamboos are also known. Hossaṇḍigrāma[126] mentioned in undated Parlakimedi grant of Gaṅga king Vajrahasta might be Bānsaṇḍigrāma. It has been identified with a place named Bhusunda, Nuagaon police station, Digpahandi taluka, and Ganjam district. Besides, Bhasaṇḍāgrāma[127] mentioned in Kama-Nalinakshapur grant of Śvetaka Ganga king Indravarman also speaks of the place named after Bamboo. It may be Basaṇḍagrāma and has been identified with a village Bhasanda in Patpur police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Grass and Reed: Names after different types of grass and reed are also known from our sources. Place Vaṇḍutuṅgagrāma,[128] as recorded in the Russelkonda charter of the king Nettabhañja was in Kāmverālavishaya. Vaṇḍu is muddy place while Tuṅga may be a variety of grasses. The name points to the place with grass grown in a muddy place. It has been identified with a place Banatumba in Bhanjnagar police station, Ghumsur taluka, and Ganjam district.

Śara: Adipur grant of Narendrabhañjadeva records the grant of Śarapadrakagrāma[129] in Kerakerāvishaya. The name points to the place infested with Śara grass. The place seems to correspond with a village named Saradha in Karanjia police station, Karanjia taluka, and Mayurbhanj district.

Mahishi: The donee *Brāhmaṇa* of Baud grant of Raṇabhañja had come from Mahishipadraka.[130] Mahishi is a variety of grasses. It has not been identified.

Beṁta: According to Naupatana pls. of the Somavaṁśin king, donated place Vetrajoṅga was in Vāvannakhaṇḍa in Santamamaṇḍala. The place has not been identified. The Ganjam pls. recording the grant of Mulamāchhāḍāgrāma by Vidyādharbhañja was issued from Vañjulvaka.[131] The name Vañjulavaka speaks of the place with Beṁta variety of grass. Misra has identified it with a place Banjania in Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district.

Guṇḍa: There are two names, Guṇḍajagrāma[132] and Guṇḍapāṭakagrāma after the Guṇḍa variety of grass. Of these the first one, as mentioned in Dharakote grant of the king Śubhakaradeva III, was in Jayakaṭakvishaya. According to the Orissa museum record of the king Nettabhañja a village Guṇḍapāṭakagrāma[133] was in Nānvakhaṇḍavishaya. Gunda is a variety of grass. While the place Guṇḍajagrāma

corresponds to a place Gundribadi in Surad taluka in Ganjam district the place Guṇḍapaṭakagrāma is identified with a modern place Gundribadi in Tarsingi police station in Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district.

Naḍa: According to Hindol pls. of the king Śubhakaradeva III, a place Noḍḍilogrāma[134] was in Kaṅkaviravishaya in Uttara Tosalī. The name Noḍḍila seems to have come from the word Naḍa = species of reed and has been identified with a place Nandeilo in Balami police station, Hindol taluka in Dhenkanal district.

Kusa: Kāsiḍḍāgrāma[135] mentioned in the Badkhimedi charter of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Dānārṇava might be representing a place infested with Kuśa grass. It may be Kuśapalli in Patpur police station in Digpahandi taluka, Ganjam district.

Vāḍi: Like the grāmas there are Vāḍis i.e. settlements in cultivated plots named after trees. The names are Joḍa-vanarāivāḍa[136] and Jhārabāḍa[137] mentioned in Nivina pls. of the king of the Śailodbhava dynasty and Dhenkanal grant of Śulki king respectively. Of these, the former seems to be a settlement, between two plantations (Vanarāi). It was situated to the east of donated place Nivināgrāma in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya. It has not been identified. Place Jhārabāḍa, as the grant informs us, was in Goyilokhaṇḍa in Kodālakamaṇḍala. It is represented by a place named Jhārvāda in Sundargarh district. Sometimes these vāḍa settlements were developed into grāmas and we have names like Rāhiyavāḍagrāma[138] mentioned in Dasapalla pls. of the year 184, of Devānanda of Nanda dynasty. The donee of the grant had come from this place. The term Rāhiya forming first part of the name suggests the habitation in the cultivated plot surrounded by Rāhi (known in Marathi as rui) trees. It has not been identified. Some names like Vāḍakelāgrāma[139] from Kamalpur grant of 4th year of the Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa speak of the growth of Vāḍa into Kerā and afterwards into habitation of farmers. The place has not been identified.

Gardens: Some early habitations in garden were developed into grāmas. There are two types of names. While a name Usavāṭakagrāma[140] mentioned in Ranpur pls. of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhita represents one type a place Svalpavelūragrāma[141] belongs to second type. The name Usavāṭakagrāma points to a place with sugarcane gardens developed into habitation of cultivators and place name Svalpaveluragrāma speaks of the place Vel+ura into grāma. The word Vela = garden or grove. Rajaguru has identified the place Usavāṭakagrāma with a place Ostapada near Ranpur in Puri district. Svalpaveluragrāma is identified with a place named Belpada in Asika taluka in Ganjam district. Similarly there are places like Somavāṭaka and Dhāravāṭaka[142] referred to in Dharmalingeśvara temple inscription of year 204, of the Gaṅga king Anantavarma. These names point to the places situated in the Vāṭaka of Soma plants and in the cultivated plots situated near some stream. Both these places have not been identified.

Places Enclosed with Trees: Curiously, some places were known after the sort of fortification created by trees around it. A place Alatālaṅghapurakoṭa[143] mentioned in Nivina grant of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhita points to a place protected with Tālaṅgha trees around it. Behra has identified it with a place named Longhara,[144] one mile from Khallikote station. A place Gaḍari-dhruva[145] mentioned in Badakhimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman is the other name of this type. The place was situated to the east of donated land in Paḍalaśṛṅga in Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya. The name is constituted by two words viz. Gaḍari +Dhruva. Gaḍari seems to have come from the word *Gaḍa* denoting fence, moat, covering etc. and the word Dhruva denotes Indian fig tree. The name thus, points to a place protected with fence created by Indian fig trees. The place has not been identified.

Some More Names: Now we come to the place names that have not been associated with any term like grāma, padra etc. The names are Suvarṇaraloṇḍī, Lavāgaṇḍā, Kanteḍa, Siṅga, Ameraśṛṅga, Paḍalaśṛṅga, Jaintamurā, Muraḍa etc. mentioned in Banpur grant of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhita, Terundia pls., of the year 100, of the king Śivakaradeva, a grant of the Kara queen Vakulamahādevī, Talcher grant of Kulastambha, Bishamasrnga pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman, Badakhimedi grant of Saṁ. 100, of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman, Kumurkela charter of Rāṇaka Śatrabhañja and Pataleśvara temple inscription of the year 9, of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma II respectively. Of these, the place Suvarṇaraloṇḍī[146] seems to have been famous for two species of tree-Suvarṇara = Suvarṇāra, Amalatāsa and Londi = from Rodhra. Rodhra is a tree with yellow flowers and its bark is used for preparing red coloured powder used in Holi festival. It has been identified with a place Sollundi in Buguda police station, Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district. Place Lavāgaṇḍā[147] is composed of two words—Lavā + Gaṇḍā. Lavā = any thing cut off and Gaṇḍā means the trunk of the tree from the root to the beginning of the branches. The place seems to represent a place full of cut off trunks of the trees. It might be a store of wood. The settlement was, perhaps, founded in forest cleared area. It has not been identified. There is one more name of this type. It is Lāvaḍāvishaya known from the Patna pls. of the Somavaṁśin king I, Yayāti. It may be Lavāvāḍavishaya denoting the region occupied by the woodcutters. It has been identified, not definitely, with the place Lebda to the south-west of Bolangir. Place Kanteḍa[148] may be Kantepāḍā, a place situated in the region infested with thorny plants. It seems identical with a place Kantol or Kantikotani in Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district. A place Siṅga,[149] as mentioned in the grant was in Paschimakhaṇḍa in Pūrvavishaya. It has been identified with a place named Singara and is named after some tree. Place Ameraśṛṅga[150] speaks of the place on the top of the hill covered with species of

Pine tree. It is identified with a place Amer in Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district. In the same way place Paḍalaśṛṅga[151] denotes a settlement on the hill covered with Paṭala trees. It seems to have been represented by place Pataligura in Asika taluka in Ganjam district. While the place Jaintamurā[152] reminds us of the Jivanti plant the place name Muraḍa[153] speaks of the roots of fragrant plant Muru. Jaintamurā seems to have given its place to a village Janamaira in former Sonepur state, Bolangir district and place Muraḍa has been identified with a place Murada in Gop police station, Puri district.

Flower plants: In this category we can include two types of names viz. names after flowers in general and aquatic flowers. There are two names in the first group. These are Pushyagiripañchāli and Puṁpulli[154] mentioned in Dharmalingeśvara pls. of the G.Y. 184, of the king Devendravarman and of the year 204 of the king Anantavarma, respectively. While former denotes the group of five villages situated around the hill with the top covered by flower plants and may be the name of some hill in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district the latter name speaks of some small habitation, probably a *Palli* situated on one of the sides of donated place Tālattheragrāma in Koshṭrukavarttinī. It is not identified. According to Sumandal pls. of the king Pṛthivīvigraha, charter, recording the grant of the villages in Parakkhalmārgavishaya, was issued from Padmakholla.[155] The name denotes a place situated in flower valley. It has been identified with a place named Padmakholi near Naraynakhola in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. Gautami grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king registers the donation of the place Salavaṇikāgrāma in Hembakamatambavishaya.[156] Hembaka the chief place of the vishaya denotes the place with plenty of Hemapushpa trees. It has been identified with the place Ambapur in Brahmapur sadar police station in Brahmapur taluka in Ganjam district. According to Madras museum pls. of the time of Bhañja king Narendradhavala, a place Champā[157] was situated to the east of Taḍeśvaragrāma in Gomuṇḍamaṇḍala in Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala. The name denotes a place with Champa flower trees. Misra has identified it with a place Barampha.[158]

Vegetables and Fruits: We can divide the place names in this class into two groups, vegetables and fruits. In the first group there are names after sweet gourd. Patiakela grant of the year 283, of Mahārāja Śivarāja records the donation of a place Taṇḍulavalugrāma[159] in Vorttonakavishaya. The word Taṇḍula, forming the first part of the name, means a kind of gourd and the word Valu, in the second part of the name, seems to mean velu i.e. creeper. The place Taṇḍulavalu must have obtained its name after sumptuous gourd creepers as well as the production of gourds. It is not identified. Kumurakelāgrāma[160] mentioned in the Kumurkela charter of Rāṇaka Śatrabhañja is the other name of this group. Kumura is the white gourd and the word Kelā speaks of the settlement known as Kera-Keda with

abundant creepers of white gourd and its development into grāma i.e. a village of farmers in due course. The place has been identified with a place Kumarkali in Birmaharajpur subdivision of Sonepur district. We have two places named after fruit trees and both are after rose apple trees. As mentioned in Bamanghati pls. of the year 188, of the king Raṇabhañjadeva, Jambupadraka,[161] one of the donated grāmas, was situated in Koroṇḍiya-vishaya. It has been identified with a place Jamada in Bahalda police station in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district. Jambugrāma is the other name of this group. It is known from Kalibhana record of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. It was attached to Poṭoḍavishaya and is, probably, represented by a place named Jamgaon near Kalibhana in Sambalpur district.

Oilseeds: There is only one place named after oilseed plant. Adipur grant of the year 193, of the king Narendrabhañja informs us that the donee of the grant had come from Tilapudraka.[162] The place has not been identified.

The above survey of the flora of the region indicates that large portions of different districts of Orissa were covered with forests and many of the places situated amidst the different trees point to the habitations in forest cleared areas. Our information regarding the flora of the region obtained from place names can be supplimented with the description of the kings referred to as the lord of forests and trees mentioned as forming the boundaries of the donated villages or the lands in the inscriptions of the period. Asanpat Naṭarāja image inscription of the king Śatṛubhañja describes the king as the lord of Vindhyāṭavi.[163] Kanas pls. of the year 280 speaks of the ruler Lokavigraha as the lord of Aṭavi.[164] Both these references speak of the rulers as lords of the forested regions. Besides, there is one curious name that implies the existence of the forest. It is Vorttonoka[165] i.e. Vātānaka= loud noise of wind, noise of wind resembling to that of drum (Vāta+ Ānaka) and without forest there will be no loud noise of wind.

Now we come to the trees referred to in the text of records. Ragolu pls. of the king Nandaprabhañjanavarman mention the trees called Kaṇḍaka or Karaṇḍaka, Maricha, Nimva, Khocha and Śṛṅga as well as rows of other trees and Suhi bushes in the different directions of the donated Vāṭaka.[166] As mentioned in Dharmalingeśvara grant of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman son of Devendravarman, trees such as Kadamba, Tamarind, Nimba, Sarjja, Timira, Chinchā, Śālmali, Kośamba, Bhallātaka, Jambu, Madhuka were in the different directions of the donated Haḍubakagrāma in Pushyagiripañchālivishaya.[167] Grant of the king Anantavarma of the same dynasty and from the same place refers to the forests of trees such as, Girivaṭavanarāji, Chiñchābanarāji, Veṇubanarāji, Vakrabanarāji, Chiñchāpaṁkti and trees Chiñchāvālmika, Nimbavālmika, Kapittha, Śālmali, Saptaparṇa, Modaki, Somadruma[168] etc. According to the Vakratentali grant of the

Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya donated place Vakratentalīgrāma contained Madhuka and mango trees.[169] Patna grant of the 6th year of the same king also refers to the mango and Madhuka trees.[170]

Thus the available place names, internal evidence from epigraphs as well as evidence from other sources indicate that Orissa state had rich floral wealth in ancient past.

REFERENCES

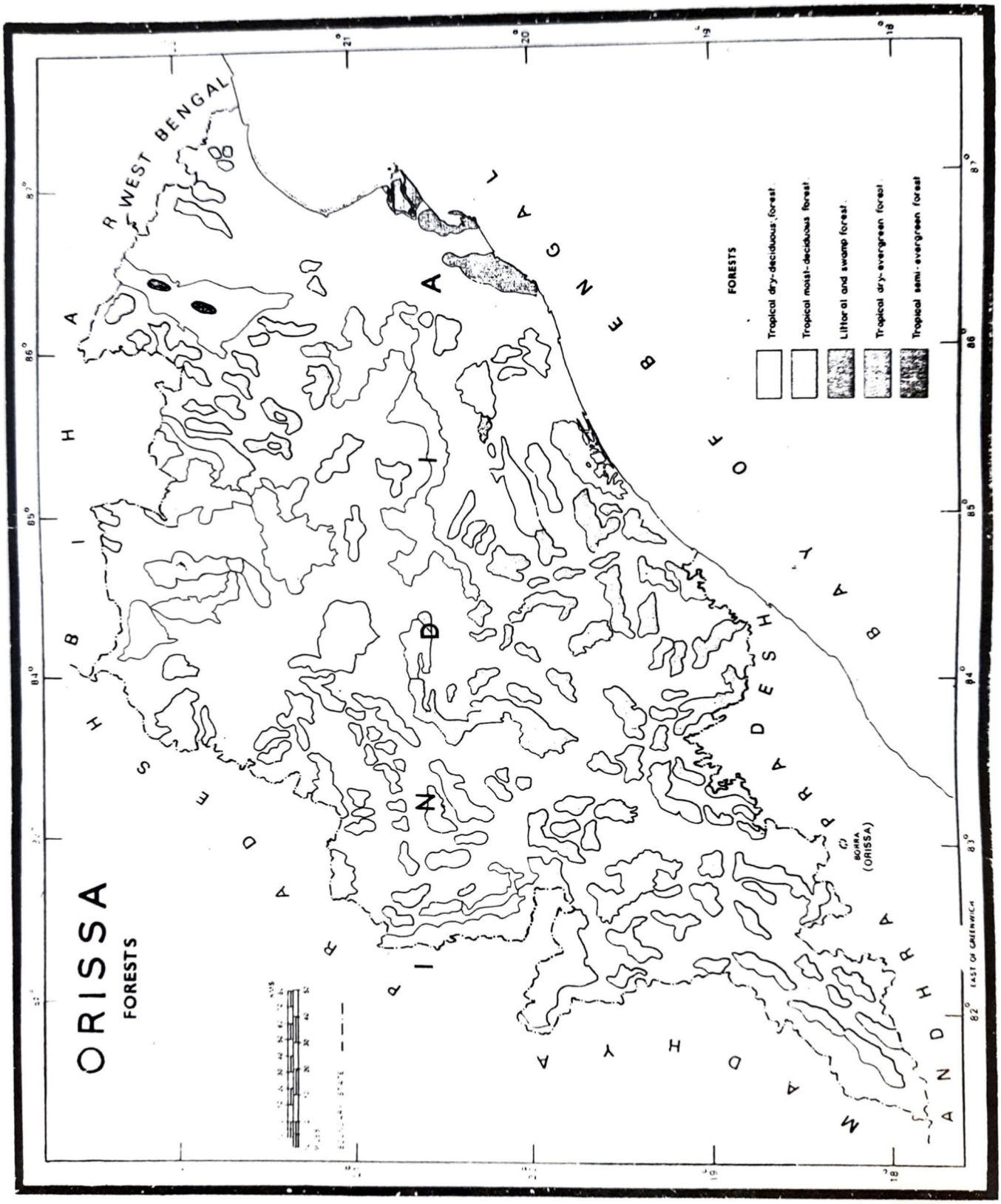
1. *Census Atlass*, p. 132, map No. 9.
2. *IRG*, p. 775- 776.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 775.
4. *ISBV*, p. 63.
5. *HGMPFER*, pp. 276-277.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *SI*, p. 38, Sanskrit translation.
8. *PBDSI*, p. 7.
9. *CII*, III, Inscriptions of the early Gupta kings, p. 212, *l.* 9.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
11. *PBDSI*, p. 24.
12. *OITM*, p. 65.
13. *IO*, vol. II, p. 123, *l.* 15, p. 168, *l.* 11; *SED*, p. 500, Col. 3, p. 1008, Col. 1.
14. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 58, 4. 82. *SED*, p. 1008, Col. 1, Vrika=kind of plant(=baka), Dravka, p. 500, Col. 3.
15. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 168, *l.* 15.
16. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 183, No. 32.
17. *EI*, XXXIX, p. 60, *l.* 27. For details see "Madhya Pradesh, *CHGFNI*" by Dr., Malati Mahajan, p. 337.
18. As number five above.
19. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 213, *l.* 15, 224, *l.* 30, 255, *l.* 40; *IOTSPS*, p. 329, *ll.* 30-31; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 407, No. 53.
20. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 187, *l.* 13; *SED*, p. 868, Col. 2, Ramaṇa=Tinduka tree; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 289, No. 207.
21. *IOTSPS*, p. 355, *ll.* 32-33, p. 357, fn. 25; Amarakośa Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 25, 4. 8, p. 75, 4. 127, p. 77, 4. 131.
22. *IO*, vol. II, p. 124, *l.* 21. Taken by Rajaguru as Purumjunā.
23. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 213, *l.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 204, *l.* 19. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 508, No. 92.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 140, *l.* 19. Tuṇḍu-tuṇḍikera =cotton plant; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 189, No. 201.
26. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 8, *l.* 12.
27. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 86, No. 85.
28. *IOTSPS*, p. 196, *l.* 19.
29. *PBDSI*, p. 102. For the details of the name see the chapter Economic conditions.

30. *IOTSPS*, p. 211 Abstracts.
31. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 66, *l.* 19.
32. *IO*, vol. II, p. 281, *l.* 9.
33. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 359, No. 107.
34. *EI*, XXIX, p. 219, *ll.* 25, 27; *SED*, p. 281, Col. 3.
35. *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 14.
36. *SED*, p. 438, Col. 1.
37. *EL*, XXIX, p. 219, *l.* 25, 27; *SED*, p. 281, Col. 3.
38. *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 19.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 53, *l.* 17.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 210, *l.* 11.
41. *TBKO*, p. 88, No. 20.
42. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 73, 4. 119.
43. *EI*, XXVI, p. 79, *l.* 24; *SED*, p. 650, Col. 1.
44. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 21, *ll.* 15-16.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 8, *l.* 21.
46. *SED*, p. 1214, Col. 2, 1215, Col. 2. It is medicinal plant, *MP*, pp. 124-125.
47. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 86, No. 77.
48. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 2, *ll.* 17.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 127, *l.* 10, p. 145, *ll.* 11-12. *SED*, p. 1059, Col. 3
50. *Ibid.*, p. 265, *l.* 13.
51. *SED*, p. 920, Col. 2.
52. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 174, No. 23.
53. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 139, *ll.* 15-16.
54. *SED*, p. 867, Ramba=Bamboo, Ramalavva =Rambaramba.
55. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 151, *l.* 18.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 228, *ll.* 16-17.
57. *SED*, p. 861, Col. 1.
58. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 281, No. 53.
59. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 187, *l.* 13; *SED*, p. 868, Col. 1.
60. *IO*, vol. V, Part I, p. 47, *l.* 123. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 161, 6. 127.
61. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 204, *l.* 24; vol. part I, p. 47, *l.* 1, p. 97, *l.* 6.
62. *SED*, p. 312, Col. 1,.p. 212, Col. 1.
63. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 336, No. 162.
64. *IO*, vol. VI, pp. 94, *l.* 22, 271, *l.* 24 (Tulasīdga), p. 114, *l.* 17.
65. *DCHB* Puri District. p. 161, No. 130.
66. *Ibid.*, Ganjam district, p. 215, No. 28.
67. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 261, *l.* 24.
68. *DCHB* Keonjhar district, pp. 256, No. 74, 25, No. 77.
69. *IO*, vol. I, p. 216, *l.* 31; Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 34. 4. 27.
70. *IOTSPS*, p. 208. *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 1273, Cols. 1, 2.
71. *IO*. vol. I. p. 184, *l.* 4; *SED*, p. 175, Col. 2.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 197, *LL*3-4.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 261, *l.* 24; *SED*, p. 164, Col. 2, Iṭa =kind of reed grass.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 100, *ll.* 21-22, p. 107, *l.* 16, p. 234, *ll.* 14-15; *SED*, p. 335, Col. 1. khaṭa=kind of grass.
75. *DCHB* Balesore district, p. 423, No. 91.
76. *Ibid.*, Kendujhar district, p. 238, p. 256, No. 74.
77. *HGDHO*, p. 60; *EI*, XXVI, p. 253.
78. *IO*, vol. I, p. 101, *l.* 14; Amarakośa Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 93, 4-169.
79. *IO*, vol. I, p. 216, *l.* 36.
80. *EI*, VI, p. 140, *l.* 43.
81. *IOTSPS*, p. 195, *l.* 18.
82. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 42, No. 9
83. *Ibid.*, p. 68, No. 32
84. *DCHB* Raigarh district, p. 61, No. 228.
85. *IO*, vol. I, p. 140, *l.* 11.
86. *IOTSPS*, p. 173, *l.* 4.
87. *SED*, Veḍa =course sandal, p. 1014, Col. 1.
88. *IO*, vol. I, p. 197, *l.* 1.
89. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 107, *l.* 16; *SED*, p. 446, col. 3. Tintika=Tamarind tree.
90. *IOTSPS*, p. 167, *l.* 5, p. 170, fn. 25.
91. *IO*, vol. I, p. 182, *l.* 1; *SED*, p. 438, Col. 2; *DCHB* Ganjam District, p. 538, No. 266.
92. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 308-309, *ll.* 16-19; *SED*, p. 1288, Col. 2.
93. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 224, *l.* 30; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 161, No. 55.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 255, *l.* 44, *DCHB* Puri district, p. 147, No. 50.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 261, *l.* 48; *SED*, p. 483, Col. 3.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 270, *l.* 48; *SED*, p. 313, Col. I.
97. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 282. *ll.* 14-15; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 359, No. 167.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 319, *l.* 12; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 213, No. 103.
99. *SED*, p. 635, Col. 3.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 626, Col. 1.
101. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 31, *L.* 16; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 439, No. 63.
102. *SED*, p. 824, Col. 2; Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 40, 4. 40.
103. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 2, *l.* 18. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam p. 69, 4. 109. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 73, No. 107; *MP*, pp. 124-125.
104. *IO*, VI, p. 152, *l.* 22; *SED*, p. 498, Col. 2. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 48, No. 151.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 168, *l.* 17.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 178, *l.* 17.
107. *SED*, p. 861, Col. 2; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 69, No. 119.
108. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 73, *l.* 21. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 46, 4. 55.
109. *IOTSPS*, p. 214, *l.* 14.
110. *IO*, vol. I, p. 255, *l.* 44b.
111. *IOTSPS*, pp. 207-208. *l.* 4.
112. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 61, 4-88.
113. *IOTSPS*, p. 259, *l.* 32; *SED*, p. 1219, Col. 1, Simika +kind of tree, Nīlinī =Indigo plants.

114. *TBKO*, p. 91.
115. *IOTSPS*, p. 287, *l.* 33, p. 355, *ll.* 32-33.
116. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 146, *l.* 16; *DMO*, p. 48, No. 15.
117. *IO*, vol. II, p. 168, *l.* 16; Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 55, 4. 75. *SED*, p. 294.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 169, *l.* 20.
119. *IOTSPS*, p. 211, fn. 56, p. 258, fn. 14; *SED*, p. 89, Col. 1.
120. *IOTSPS*, p. 269, *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 895. Col. 2. Lajjiri, Lajjami= Mimosā.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 296, *l.* 5.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 344, *l.* 8; *SED*, p. 166, p. 288, Col. 1, Kuṭaja.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 190, *l.* 17; *SED*, p. 823, Col. 2, Mura=sort of fragrant plant.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 172, *l.* 1, p. 178, *l.* 6, p. 185, *l.* 6, p. 189, *l.* 2; *SED*, p. 826, Col. 2. Murv = a sort of hemp, used for bow strings and girdles of Kshatriyas.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 180, *l.* 12; Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 70, 4. 112; *SED*, p. 811, Col. 2.
126. *IO*, vol. II, p. 168, *l.* 15.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 254, *l.* 12, p. 256, fn. 1; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 171, No. 26.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 147, *l.* 21; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 68, No. 121.
129. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 21, *l.* 16.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 122, *l.* 29.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 133, *l.* 6.
132. *TBKO*, p. 18, No. 6.
133. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 158, *ll.* 17-18; *SED*, p. 358, Col. 2.
134. *TBKO*, p. 91, No. 7.
135. *IO*, vol. II, p. 303, *l.* 15.
136. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 249-50, *ll.* 44-45.
137. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 5.
138. *EI*, XXIX, p. 186.
139. *IOTSPS*, p. 12, *ll.* 3-4.
140. *IO*, vol. I, p. 244, *l.* 48; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 593, No. 38.
141. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 270, *l.* 13; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 148, No. 74.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 87, *l.* 20, p. 88, *l.* 21.
143. *IO*, vol. I, p. 249, *ll.* 33-35. *SED*, p. 445, Col. I. Tālaṅgha = Cyprinus Rohita.
144. *RFSD*, p. 24.
145. *IO*, vol. II, p. 244, *l.* 16.
146. *IO*, vol. I, p. 255, *l.* 44b. *SED*, Suvarṇāra =Bahunia Variegata, p. 1236, Col. 3. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 33, 4. 24. Rodhra, *SED*, p. 889, Col. 2.
147. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 216, *l.* 16; *TBKO*, p. 91. *SED*, Lavā=any thing cut off, p. 898, Col. 2, Gaṇḍā-Gaṇḍi-the trunk of the tree, p. 344, Col. 2.
148. *TBKO*, p. 94, No. 34.
149. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 6; *SED*, p. 1071, Col. 1.
150. *IO*, vol. II, p. 283, *l.* 13. Amera=species of Pine tree, *SED*, p. 80, Col. 2; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 288, No. 278.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 144, *l.* 3; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 149, No. 120.
152. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 69, *l.* 9; Jivanti=Species of plant Amarakośa , Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 82, 4. 142, Jivantikā=Parasitical plant, *SED*, p. 423, Col. 2.

153. *IO*, vol. V, p. 114, *l.* 5.
154. *EI*, XXVI, p. 62 ff; *IO.*, vol. II, p. 70, *ll.* 8-12, p. 87, *l.* 19.
155. *IO*, vol. I, p. 139, *l.* 4.
156. *IO*, vol. II, p. 293, *l.* 10; Amarakośa Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 50, 4. 64.
157. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 252, *l.* 8.
158. *DMO*, p. 47, No. 12.
159. *IO*, vol. I, 188, *l.* 8; *SED*, p. 432, Col. 2.
160. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 9.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 3, *l.* 19; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 72, No. 103.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 16, *l.* 19.
163. *IO*, vol. I, p. 171, *l.* 5..
164. *Ibid.*, p. 184, *l.* 3.
165. *Ibid.*, Patiakela grant of Sivarāja, year 283.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 119, *ll.* 13-21.
167. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 71, *ll.* 13-18.
168. *Ibid.*, 67-88, *ll.* 15-27
169. *IOTSPS*, p. 168, *ll.* 9-10.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 173, *l.* 10.


ORISSA
FORESTS
WEST BENGAL
BIHAR
MADHYA PRADESH
ANDHRA PRADESH
BAY OF BENGAL
FORESTS
Tropical dry-deciduous forest
Tropical moist-deciduous forest
Littoral and swamp forest
Tropical dry-evergreen forest
Tropical semi-evergreen forest
BOMRA (ORISSA)
EAST OF GREENWICH

Chapter IV

Fauna of the Region

As we have seen earlier, the state of Orissa was very rich in its floral wealth. It must have been so in its faunal wealth as well. Here we have taken into account place names revealing the animal world of the region in the past. All these names have been mentioned in different context in the grants of different dynasties that ruled over the region in the period of our study. Animal world is always divided in two main categories, Domestic and Wild. We shall begin our survey of this world with the names after domestic animals.

Domestic Animals: Among the domestic animals there are place names after cowherds and cowsheds.

Cowherds: Place names belonging to this category are Goyilovishaya,[1] Goyilokhaṇḍa[2] and Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya.[3] All these names have been mentioned in the grants of the Śulki dynasty. While the Puri pls. of Raṇastambha refers to the grant of Pajārā in Goyilovishaya Dhenkanal charter of Jayastambha registers the grant of place Chandrapura in Koṅkulakhaṇḍa in Goyilovishaya and Dhenkanal grant of Kulastambha records the donation of the place Jhārabāḍa in Goyilovishaya in Kodālakamaṇḍala.[4] It seems that all the three grants refer to three different territories named as Goyilovishaya. Chief place of the first Goyilovishaya seems identical with a place Gailo[5] in Parajang police station in Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district but the donated place could not be traced. The capital of the next Goyilovishaya can be equated with a place named Gailo[6] in Motunga taluka in Dhenkanal district. While the donated place Chandrapura has been identified with a place Chandrapur in Chhendipada taluka, the locality called Koṅkulakhaṇḍa has been identified with Kankarai in Jarapada police station of Chindipada taluka in Dhenkanal district. Goyilovishaya in Kodālakamaṇḍala, as described in the record, was extended up to the river Sankhajoti. Hence, it has to be traced in Sundargarh district. The donated place Jhārabāḍa seems to have retained its identity in the place Jhāḍabāḍa in Sundargarh district and the chief place of the vishaya can

be identified with a place Gailo in the same district. Goyilokhaṇḍa mentioned in Puri pls. of the king Kulastambha, denoting a peace of land occupied by the people following the profession of cow rearing has, however, not been identified. One more vishaya denoting the habitation of cowherds is Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya. Hindol pls. of the king Kulastambha of the same dynasty as above, informs us about the donation of some land in Soggagrāma in Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya in Kanarddāmaṇḍala. The name of the vishaya is composed of two words, Gopāra + Śṛṅga. While the former word must be representing Gopālas i.e. cow herds the latter denotes the top of the hill or mountain. The name thus points to the settlement of cowherds on the top of the hill dominating the surrounding area. It has not been identified.

Cow stalls: There are two names, Vaṇig gotrā[7] and Gottaikelāgrāma[8] denoting cow stalls. Of these, the first one is known from the Dasapalla grant of the year 184, of Nanda king Devānanda as the place of donee. The name may be Vaṇigagotrā. Vaṇiga = traders and Gotrā = cow shed or shelter. The name thus, speaks of the place with the cow stalls of traders. Gottaikelāgrāma, the other name mentioned above, has been referred to in Sonepur grant of the 17th year, of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya as to have been situated in Luputtarākhaṇḍa attached to Kosala. It has been identified with a place Gotarkela, about three miles from Sonepur in Sonpur district. The ancient name seems to have written wrongly for the name Gotrayikerā. The word Gotrai means shelter for cows.[9] In the *Vedic* times the term *Gotrā* was used for the common shed of the cows belonging to different families. According to *Pāṇinī*, *Gotrā* means assemblage of cows.[10] Hence, the word Gottai can be taken here as Gotrai denoting cow shed and Kelā is Kerā or Keda = kheda = a village. The suffix grāma associated with the name speaks of the development of the Kheda as the cultivator's settlement. Thus both the places, former ending with the word Gotrā and the latter beginning with Gotrā, speak here of the places named after cowsheds. It seems that large portion of Dhenkanal and Sundargarh districts was occupied by the cowherds and may have been famous for cow rearing activities.

Goats: This animal is known by the names such as *Aja, Chāga, Chagalaka*[11] etc. *Varāhamihira*[12] refers to four kinds of goats viz., (1) *Kuṭṭaka* with white head or six dark spots on its head, (2) *Kuṭṭila* is a goat with white colour like pounded sesamum i.e. mixed white and yellow colour with spotted neck or head, copper red eyes, or a white goat with black legs or vica versa, (3) *Jaṭila* is the white coloured goat with black testicles and black band in the middle and (4) *Vāmana* is a goat with blue hair and feet or with slightly white forepart and blue hind part. Curiously, we have goat with red colour known from place names. Place named Leiśṛṅga[13] referred to in two Patna pls. of the 6th year, of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of the Somavaṁśin dynasty points to a place named after red goat. Lei or lohi,[14] according

to Monier Monier Williams, red goat. The place of the ancient Leiśṛṅga seems to have taken by the village named Loisinga or Loyasinga, about eleven miles north of Bolangir. Lapusoḍḍāgrāma[15] mentioned as a place of donee in Gaintala pls. of 17th year of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya was in Kosaladeśa. The name Lapusoḍḍā seems to have written wrongly for the word Lapsuḍa[16] =beard of goat. The name thus indirectly refers to the existence of goats at this place.

Ram: There are only two names after Ram. One of these is Hoṇḍalagrāma[17] referred to in Ganjam pls. of Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī. The name may have come from the word Huṇḍa meaning a ram. It has been identified with a place Hoondalu in Purushottamapur police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. A place Maramеṇḍāgrāma,[18] as recorded in Nibina pls. of 15th year, of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, was the donee's place in Kosaladeśa. The place has not been identified.

Horse: A place Āśvavanakaṭikāvishaya[19] referred to in the grant of the year 204, of Kara queen Vakulamahādevī was the division of northern Tosalī. It may be Aśvavana situated in the centre of the hilly region. As the name denotes it may be forest reserved for horses. Curiously, there is one reserved forest Aśvavana in Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district and it may have some resemblance with the ancient Āśvanakaṭikāvishaya. According to Chaudwar grant of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, the donee of the grant had come from the place Turvvunā[20] in Kosaladeśa. Turvvunā may be *turana* = swift or *turanya* = one of the Moon's horses. The place has been identified with a place named Turanga in Raigarh taluka and district.

Elephants: Place names after elephants are of two types, names referring directly to elephants and names implying the existence of elephants. In the first group there are names like Hastināpurakshetra, Hastileṇḍāgrāma, Sivarākhaṇḍa, Hastipāda, Hastigrāma etc. and in the second group there are names like Lohaśṛṅgara, Dantayavāgubhoga, Dantayavāgumadamba etc. Talcher pls. of the king Sivakaradeva III states that the place Hastināpurakshetra[21] was situated in Madhyamakhaṇḍa of Uttara Tosalī. It has not been traced. Hastileṇḍāgrāma,[22] the other name after elephants, referred to in Dasapalla charter of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja included five pallis and seems identical with a place Hatiapali in Khandipada police station in Khandipada taluka in Puri district. According to the undated Baud grant of the king Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja donated place Ambasarīgrāma was in Sivarākhaṇḍa[23] in Dakshiṇapāli in Khiñjalimaṇḍala. Sivarā, the chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place Subulia. As given in Sanskrit English dictionary Sivarā means elephant. Kalibhana pls. of 6th year, of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya informs us that donee of the grant was a resident of the place Hastipāda.[24] Sircar opined that it might be a celebrated place

Hastigrāma situated near Vaiśāli. Hastigrāma,[25] as recorded in the Jatesing Dungari pls. of the 3rd year of the king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, was the donee's place of the grant. But it could not be identified.

Now we come to the names that imply the existence of elephants. The names Dantayavāgumadamba[26] and Dantayavāgubhoga[27] mentioned in Temburu pls. of the year 6th and Brihartproshtha pls. of the year 30 of the king Umāvarman of the Pitṛibhakta dynasty, respectively, denote the region famous for elephants. The chief place of the bhoga and madamba can be equated with a place Dantavarapukota in Srikakulam district. In the 6th year it was a small division of Madamba i.e. group of eleven villages. But in 30th year it was developed and came to be known as the division bhoga. Yavāgu is rice gruel or weak decoction of any grain. Danta means an elephant. The name Dantayavāgu Bhoga or Madamba thus denotes the region famous for the gruel made for elephants and consequently for elephants. According to the Badakhimedi grant of the king Devendravaman of Kaliṅganagara, granted place Purujunā in Borudravakoṇa was in Lohaśṛṅgara.[28] Loha means iron, copper or any metal and Śṛṅgāra may be chains-Śṛuṅkhalā or some ornament for elephant. The place is identified with a place Lausinga in Seranga police station in Paralakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. Thus, these names indirectly point to the existence of elephants.

Forest Animals: Animals such as tiger, lion, jackal, deer etc. are the residents of forest. As mentioned in Cuttack museum pls. of the year fifty, of the king Mādhavavarman of Śåilodbhava dynasty, the granted village Tamataḍāgrāma was in Vyāghrapurabhukti[29] in Jayapuravishaya. It must have been situated in forested region and has been identified with Bhogbanpur in Surad taluka in Ganjam district.

Lion: Baud pls. of R.Y. 3, of the king Kanakabhañja records the donation of Sihipurapāṭaka[30] in Dharmapura. The place Dharmapura may be identical with the place of the same name in Phulbani district. Donated pāṭaka was, perhaps, the part of Dharmapura.

Boar: The only name denoting the existence of the boar is Varāhavarttinīvishaya[31] mentioned in Madras museum pls. of year 28, of the Māṭhara king Anantaśaktivarman. The division is named after Varāha presumably because of the profusion of boars in this area and has been identified with the region of Tekkali and Chicacole taluka in Srikakulam district.

Jackal: The animal is known by the place names such as Śṛugālapadrikā, Koshṭrukavarttinī, and Sivāvivāsa. As mentioned in Jayarampur inscription of 1st year of the king Gopachandra Śṛugālapadrikā[32] was situated to the west of donated place Śvetavalikāgrāma in Śvetavāliākāvīthī. The name suggests that when the first settlers came to live here the region was infested with Jackals. Charter recording the grant of a place Tālatthera in Koshṭrukavarttinī[33] was issued by the king

Anantavarman of the Gaṅga dynasty in G.E. 204 and was found at Dharmalingeśvara. According to the description of the boundaries of the donated grāma, it was situated amidst the different hills, villages with vaṭakas of different trees and was surrounded by various species of trees such as, Tālatthera, Tamarind, Neem, wood apple, Śālmali, Modaki, Soma etc. and also anthills on its different borders. The description suggests that the topography of the region was very much suitable for the living of the jackals. The region has been identified with the region to the north of Varāhavarttinīvishaya identified with the region of Tekkali and Chicacole talukas in Srikakulam district. The place Śivāvivāsagrāma[34] as described in Chandesvara pls. of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhita, year 18 was in Kiratatalaka vishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The place has not been identified.

Rhinoceros: Ukunda pls. of the Bhañja king records the grant of the place Gaṇḍogrāma[35] in Pigaṇḍabhoga in Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala. The name Gaṇḍo may be Gaṇḍa = rhinoceros and the name Pigaṇḍa seems to point to the big region with plenty of rhinoceros. The place Gaṇḍogrāma seems identical with a place Gandabaraie in Baria police station in Champua taluka, Keonjhar district.

Deer: Two names after this animal are Potavishaya[36] and Kurāṅga. Of these, the former has been referred to in two Patana pls. and Kalibhana pls. of 6th year and in Chaudwar grant of 31st year of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhagupta I Janamejaya. The region seems to have obtained its name after the young deer like animal. While in the first two grants it is spelt as Pota in the third charter it is mentioned as Povā. All the grants mention it as the vishaya. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place Pow in former Sonepur state, nineteen miles south of Binka, and eight miles northeast of Renda in Bolangir district. The region was famously known after the young animal like deer. The place Kurāṅga[37] referred to in Pataleśvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīmadeva II, year 28, contained the land donated for making offerings to the deity. The name may be Kuraṅga. It denotes the species of deer. The first settlers named it after the plenty of Kuraṅga species of deer they saw here. It has not been identified.

Noxious Animals: The only name in this group is Alāṇḍalāgrāma.[38] It is known from the Chaudwar grant of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. It may have obtained its name after the noxious animal Alāṇḍu. It has been identified with a place named Alanda to the east of Bolangir in Bolangir district.

Rodent: Some regions, as the name Kaśaloḍāvishaya[39] mentioned in Satalama pls. of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya indicates, were infested with rodent animals. The place has been identified with a place named Kusurda, ten miles to the north west of Sambalpur district headquarters of Sambalpur.

Aquatic Animals: Some names denote the places famous for aquatic animals.

According to Patna pls. of 8th year of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, the donee *Brāhmaṇa* was the resident of a place Jalajaḍu[40] in Kosala. The name suggests that the place was famous for different species of animals living in water. It has been identified with a place named Jalajodo, near Talagaja in Bolangir district.

Reptiles: Some places were infested with different species of snakes and were recognised after their humming sound. A place Chitragummī[41] referred to in Parlakimedi charter of the king Vajrahasta of Kaliṅganagara belongs to this type of place. Chitra is a species of snake and Gummī means humming sound obviously made by the snakes. The place seems to have given its site to a village named Gumma in Nugaon police station in Dighpahandi taluka in Ganjam district.

Birds: We shall begin our survey of this type of place names with the grants of the Māṭhara dynasty.

Sakuṇaka: We know this species of bird from the Madras museum pls. of the king Anantaśaktivarman, year 28. The grant states that a place Sakuṇakagrāma[42] was in Varāhavarttinīvishaya. The name may be Śakuṇakagrāma. As described in the record it was situated on the border of the villages Dirghavāla and Sindhivāsi which seem identical with places Dirgahāsi and Sindhuvāḍa, respectively in Chicacole taluka and hence, the Sakuṇakagrāma may also have situated somewhere near these villages.

Black Bee: Chaurasi grant of the king Śivakaradeva, year 93, informs us that a place named Vuvraḍāgrāma[43] was situated in Antarudravishaya. The name may be Bhāburḍāgrāma i.e. bird like black bee. The place has been identified with a place Buhurooda in Puri sadar and district.

Patridge : A place Teturagrāma[44] referred to in Badakimedi charter of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman, Sam. 100, was to the west of donated land in Paḍalaśṛṅga. The name may be Tittaragrāma, a habitation of the patridige catchers. The place seems identical with a place named Tintinipalli in Badagada police station, to the west of Padala or Patala in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Night Bird: There are two names viz., Ullakheṭa and Vāghulakhaṇḍa denoting the night bird. While the former name speaks of the small settlement in the field the latter name points to the big piece of land with plenty of night birds. According to Mahākosala Historical Society grant of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin of the Somavaṁśin dynasty, the donee of the grant was the resident of the place Ullakheṭa.[45] Ulla-owl is the king of night birds. The place has been identified with a place named Ulkhera, twenty miles to the west of Liñjira in Sarangarh taluka, Raigarh district. Abundance of these birds here must have made the first settlers to name their habitation after it. Similar must be the case with the early inhabitants of the place Vāghulakhaṇḍa[46] mentioned in the Baud charter of

the king Kanakabhañja. The name Vāghula seems to have come from the word Valgula means a species of night bird. The place must have been the resort of Valgula birds, away from human habitations and in the forest as well. Misra has identified the place with a locality named Bahali 20⁰-41″N. 84⁰-36″ E. We however could not identify it.

Bheruṇḍa: The existence of the terrific species of birds like Bheruṇḍa is also known from the place names. The Vakraṭentali grant of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya refers to the donee of the grant coming from the place Meraṇḍa.[47] It may be Meruṇḍā written wrongly for Bheruṇḍa. It is identical with a place named Menda, seventeen miles west of Sonepur in Sonpur taluka and district.

Aquatic Birds: Place names after aquatic birds are Ātaigrāma[48] and Konnayilāgrāma. Of these, the former is referred to in Bhañjanagar pls. of the king Nettabhañja as adopted place in Vāsevakhaṇḍa in Khiñjalimaṇḍala. The name may be Ātigrāma. Āti means an aquatic bird. The existence of plenty of Āti birds at this place must have made the first inhabitants of the place to name their habitation after it. It is identical with a place named Atraipalli, Tarasingi police station in Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district. The place Konnayilāgrāma,[49] as mentioned in Kalibhana charter of 34th year of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, was in Ṭokkārāvishaya in Kosaladeśa. The name Konnayilā seem to come from Koṇālaka, Konāli or Konila denoting aquatic birds. The place has not been identified satisfactorily. Sircar and Rath want to take it as equivalent with the place Kanarallā on the river Tel. But it is nearly hundred miles away from the place Tukra that is supposed to represent the capital place of Ṭokkārāvishaya.

Thus, the place names mentioned in the grants of the different dynasties ruling here in the ancient past help us to form the idea about the faunal wealth of the ancient Orissa. Let us now turn to see the peculiar features of the settlements here against this background.

REFERENCES

1. *DMO*, p. 28, Nos. 2, 1, 5; *JBORS*, vol. II, pp. 400-405.
2. *EI*, XXIX, p. 169, *l.* 29.
3. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 113, *l.* 13.
4. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 5; *JBORS*, vol. II, pp. 400, 405.
5. *DCHB* Dhenkanal District, p. 398, No. 115.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 301, No. 77.
7. *EI*, XXIX, p. 188, *l.* 30.
8. *IOTSPS*, p. 195, *l.* 13.
9. *SED*, p. 364, Col. 3.
10. *IKP*, p. 223.

11. *ISBV*, p. 297; *Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam*, p. 261, 9. 74.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *IOTSPS*, p. 137, *l.* 11, p. 180, *ll.* 12, 13, p. 176, fn. 49.
14. *SED*, p. 908, Col. 3.
15. *IOTSPS*, p. 201, *ll.* 17-18.
16. *SED*, p. 896, Col. 2. Lapsuda = Beard of goat etc.
17. *EI*, VI, p. 140, *l.* 43; *SED*, p. 1301, Col. 2; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 501, *l.* 219.
18. *IOTSPS*, p. 241, *l.* 5.
19. *TBKO*, p. 88, No, 19; p. 92 No. 33.
20. *IOTSPS*, p. 208, *l.* 11; *SED*, p. 451, Col. 1, Turana=swift, one of the moon's horses.
21. *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 18.
22. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 94, *l.* 23; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 146, No. 14.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 122, *l.* 24; *SED*, p. 1218, Col. 1.
24. *IOTSPS*, p. 185, *l.* 20.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 279, *l.* 25.
26. *IO*, vol. I, p. 112, *ll.* 6-7.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 110, *l.* 5.
28. *IO*, vol. II. p. 123, *l.* 14.
29. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 229, *l.* 29.
30. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 241, *l.* 25. We are not sure about the meaning of the name. Sihi may be Vanbhanṭā species of tree, *Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam*, p. 71, 4. 114.
31. *IO*, vol. I, p. 98, *l.* 3.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 177, *l.* 36; *SED*, p. 1087, Col. 1.
33. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 87, *l.* 8, *ll.* 8-28, the description of the topography of the donated grama.
34. *IO*, vol. I, p. 265, *l.* 27.
35. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 40, *l.* 14.
36. *IOTSPS*, p. 179, *l.* 4, p. 185, *l.* 13, FN. 31, p. 207, *l.* 4; *SED*, Potā=young animal like deer, p. 650, Col. 1. For detail description see administrative divisions of Somavaṁśin dynasty.
37. *IO*, vol. V, Part I, p. 114, *l.* 5.
38. *IOTSPS*, p. 208, *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 94, Col. 3.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 190, *l.* 9; *SED*, Kaśa = Species of rodent animal, p. 265, Col. 1.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 227, *l.* 10.
41. *IO*, Vo. II. p. 168, *l.* 17; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 252, No. 214.
42. *Ibid.*, vol. I. 98, *l.* 4; *EI*, XXVIII, p. 234. M. Venkataramayya.
43. *TBKO*, p. 87, No. 3; *HOFETBP*, p. 148.
44. *IO*, vol. II, p. 245, *l.* 18; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 131, No. 168. *SED*, p. 453, Col. 1
45. *IOTSPS*, p. 297, *l.* 11; *SED*, p. 218, Col. 3.
46. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 241, *ll.* 24, 25; *SED*, p. 928, Col. 3.
47. *IOTSPS*, p. 168, *ll.* 12-13; *SED*, p. 766, Col. 3. Meruṇḍā = Bheruṇḍa.
48. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 221, *l.* 8; *SED*, p. 134, Col. 3; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 56, No. 98.
49. *IOTSPS*, p. 213, *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 313, Col. 1.

Chapter V

Settlements

Early man in ancient Orissa, like that of any other province of India was moving here and there in search of food. As a consequence the human settlements of this period were of temporary nature and we can say that, these were not much different from those of the tents of wandering craftsmen or professionals, frequently seen in different seasons on the outskirts of many of the big cities and sometimes in different parts of the city itself. These settlements are commonly known by the term 'pāl' and the term palli seems to have come from pāl and may be similar to modern pāl only. With the knowledge of the art of cultivation man began to live near the place of his work and some times in the field itself and the place names with suffixes like *vāṭa, vāṭaka, vāḍa* etc., speaking of the nature of the habitation may have come into existence. Still later when man started cultivation on considerably large scale, establishments like *kheṭa, kheṭaka,* appeared on the scene and man's further achievement in the art of cultivation led to the rise of grāmas and puras. References to all these types of settlements in the records of our period implies that the human settlements had made much progress by the time of our period and hence, both the small and big settlements seem to exist side by side during the period of our study.

Along with these different types of settlement we get place names with prefixes and suffixes denoting mountains, hills, rivers, tanks, trees etc. These place names apart from informing us about the topography and environment of the region remind us of the rules framed by *Kauṭilya* about fixing of the boundaries of the habitations in the new land and also the rehabilitation of old land. According to him, the boundaries between the settlements were to be fixed with the help of natural objects like hills, mountains, rivers, streams, ponds, trees etc. Place names from our sources, though not all seems to indicate this type of settlements and thus speak of the further stage in the progress of human civilisation. Stability and security in life led to the emergence of large grāmas, puras, and nagaras. Man now began to distinguish his habitations, intelligently enough, on the basis of shape, size, distance,

position, atmosphere, surroundings etc. Now we may turn to the settlements in ancient Orissa. Here, the available place names have been arranged on the basis of suffixes and an attempt is made to trace the progress of the human civilisation. The units of settlement include the place names ending with the words such as, *Padra, Palli, Pallikā, Vāṭa, Vāṭaka, Vāḍa, Pāḍā, Kheṭa, Grāma, Pura, Nagara* etc. Sometimes the names are provided with double suffixes like *Palligrāma, Vāṭakagrāma, Kheṭagrāma* etc. which indicate that the early habitations with the increase in the production, population and many other factors were developed into grāmas and puras. But, by this time the first suffix was assimilated with the place name and it was not possible to replace it by the new one showing the new status of the habitation. Hence, it was retained along with the name and a new suffix was added at the end of the name. Therefore, we can take *palli, padraka, vāṭa,* and *vāṭaka* as the early form of the human settlement.

Palli: Names in this group are with the suffix palli. The word palli seems to have been derived from the word pāl. As given by Monier Monier Williams the word pāl can be taken as the habitations of wandering people that were, obviously of small size. The word pallikā seems to be the diminutive form of the palli. Surprisingly enough, there are no names ending with the word pallikā available from our records.

The names with palli suffix known from the records of the Bhañja dynasty are named after direction and denote territorial divisions. According to Taspaikerā charter of the year 16 of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañjadeva, donated place was in Uttarapalli[1] on the bank of Mahanadi. The name Uttarapalli here denotes the northern portion of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. It seems that in early period there were two pallis, one to the north and one to the south. In order to distinguish them from each other terms Uttara and Dakshiṇa were attached with the names of these settlements. In course of time with the development of the region these pallis became the centre of two divisions. The place Uttarapalli is not identified. According to Nibinna pls. of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, donated Niviṇḍāgrāma was in Uttarapalli in Gandhāṭapāṭimaṇḍala attached to Kosaladeśa. Here also palli seems to be the administrative division. As mentioned in Singhara pls. of the year 9,of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, donated Siṅgharā and Mahllopīgrāma on the bank of the river Vyāghrā in Dakshiṇapallibhogīkhaṇḍa[2] of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. It, probably, denotes southern division of Khiñjalimaṇḍala and its chief place is identified with a place named Dākapali in Phulbani district. There is one more name of this type. It is Uḍrapāli. As recorded in Kumurkela charter of the king Rāṇaka Śatrabhañja donated places Kumurkelāgrāma and Jaintamurā were attached to Uḍrapalli.[3] In the text the name is given as Uḍrapalli but in the note the editor has given it as Uttarapalli. Taken it as Uḍrapalli it speaks of the place of Uḍra people and taken it as Uttarapalli it

denotes the place situated in northern portion of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. We, however, want to take it as Uḍrapalli, as given in the text. It was the temporary habitation of Uḍra people and seems to have given its place to a village Patrapalli in Sonepur district in later period.

Palligrāma: Pataleśvara temple inscription of Ś. 1157 informs us that in 29th year of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīmadeva the king donated some vatis of land in Utpalligrāma[4] for offering of naivedya to the gods *Hali, Chakri*, and *Subhadrā* i.e. Balarāma, Krishṇa and Subhadrā, probably in Jagannātha temple at Puri. It may be Uttapalli and is identified with a place Itipura in Bhubanesvar taluka in Puri district. Double suffix palligrāma speaks of the progress made by the palli.

Vāṭagrāma: The term Vāṭa means an enclosed ground or garden, plantation or an enclosure of a village consisting of boundary trees. Place Vāṭagrāma[5] mentioned in Dhanantara pls. of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman was in Hāmanibhogavishaya. The name denotes that vāṭa was developed into grāma. It seems to be a place with plantations and is identified with a place named Batagada in Patapur police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district.

Vāṭaka: The word Vāṭaka seems to have developed from the word Vāṭa. There are two place names, Chandanavāṭaka[6] and Prastaravāṭaka,[7] of this type. Of these, the former is mentioned in Sumandala grant of the G.Y. 250, of the king Pṛithivīvigraha the latter is known from Tersinga inscription of the king Tushṭikara. Chandanavāṭaka is equated with a place Chandanpalli, about a mile to the east of Sumandala in Khallikote taluka, Ganjam district and Prastaravāṭaka has rendered its place to the village named Patharala in Kalahandi district.

Vāṭakagrāma: The names ending with the term Vāṭakagrāma are, Bahirvāṭakagrāma,[8] Usavāṭakagrāma[9] and Madhuvāṭakagrāma.[10] Of these, the first one is known from Soro pls. of year 5, of the king Bhānudatta and year 15, of Somadatta and of the remaining two, one is mentioned in Ranpur and one is from Banpur charters of the kings of Śailodbhava dynasty. While the place Bahiravāṭakagrāma has not been traced the place Usavāṭaka is identical with the place Ostapada in Ranapur police station in the same taluka of Puri district and Madhuvāṭaka seems to corresponds with a place named Madhupur in Khandipada taluka, Puri district.

Vāḍa, Vāḍī, and Vāḍagrāma: The term Vāḍa, Vāḍī seems to have derived from Vāṭa and Vāṭaka. There are places like Joḍa-vanarāivāḍa and Khollāḍa[11] known from Nivina pls. Śailodbhava dynasty, Kanteḍa[12] mentioned in the grant of the Kara queen Vakuḷamahādevī, Vāhiravāḍa[13] on the bank of Mahanadi in Dakshiṇapāli referred to in Baud pls. of the king Raṇabhañja, Jhārabāḍa[14] described in Dhenkanal grant of Śulki king Kulastambha. The word Joḍa in the beginning of the name Vanarāivaḍa may be Joda-jala and the name denotes a place in the forest

on the bank of the water stream. It is not identified. Place Khollāḍa may be Khollavāḍa and is identified with a village Khaladi in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. Similarly Kanteḍa may be Kantalavāḍa, a name after a species of tree. The wood of this tree resembles Mahogany. It can be identified with a place Kantol or Kantikotani in Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district. Place Vāhiravāḍa situated outside the Dakshiṇapāli may be identified with a place Bahira on the bank of Mahanadi in Phulbani district. The chief place of Dakshiṇapāli has been identified with a place Dakpali in Phulbani district and village Bahira comes in the northern part of Phulbani district. Place Jhārabāḍa, as described in the grant was in Goyilokhaṇḍa in Kodālakamaṇḍala. We have identified it with a place Jharvada in Panposh subdivision of Sundargarh district.

Vāḍagrāma: Names to be included in this group are Rāhiyavāḍagrāma[15] described in the Dasapalla grant, year 184, of the king Devānanda of Jayapura, as the place of donee, Vāṇivaḍāgrāma,[16] may be Vaṇivāḍagrāma, referred to in undated grant of the king Raṇabhañja situated in Āḍagrāmavishaya, Deulaḍḍagrāma[17] presumably Deulavāḍagrāma mentioned in the Orissa museum grant, year 2, of the king Śilabhañja and as mentioned in the grant it was in Śalvadavishaya, Komvavāḍāgrāma[18] in Boḍākhaṇḍavishaya referred to in Ganjam pls. of year 198, of Śatrabhañja and Dvolladāgrāma[19] known from Dasapalla grant of the king Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. While the place Rāhiyavādagrāma seems identical with the place Raimada in Dasapalla taluka in Puri district place Komvavāḍā identical with a place Konomono in Chhatrapur taluka in Ganjam district the place Dvolladā-Dvollavāḍa is identified with a place named Bulonda in Dasapalla taluka, Puri district. But rest of the places could not be identified. All these names end with the word Vāḍagrāma but there were also names, which begin with a word Vāḍa.

Vāḍa: It is Vāḍakelāgrāma[20] referred to in Kamalapur charter of the king Mahābhavagupta V Karṇa. The name speaks of the Vāḍa developed into Kerā i.e. kheda and into grāma in the later stage. It is not identified.

Vāḍapāṭaka, Vāḍapāṭakagrāma: Sometimes Vāḍa settlement was developed, first into Pāṭaka and in later period into grāma. Places Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka[21]in Koṇṭarāvaṅgavishaya and Paṭṭavāḍapāṭakagrāma[22] in Koṭarāvaṅgavishaya mentioned in Antirigam charter of Yaśobhañjadeva and Kapotesvara inscription of the time of Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima III, respectively, represent this type of habitation. Both these grants are referring to one and the same village. While the former place is only Vāḍapaṭaka the latter name is Vāḍapāṭakagrāma and speaks of the progress made by the earlier vāḍa settlement. The place is identified with a place named Patapura in Kakatpur police station Nimpada taluka in Puri district.

Pāṭagrāma: Sometimes the small habitations were also known as Pāṭa. A name Koledāpāṭa[23] referred to in Kamalpur pls. of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta I

was under the rule of his feudal chief. Khairapāṭagrāma[24] known from the Ganjam charter of the year 180, of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī is identified with a place named Khoirputti in Bhanjnagar police station of Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district is the name of this type. There are names ending with the term Pāṭi. Gandhāṭapāṭī[25] mentioned in Kumurkela grant of the king Rāṇaka Śatrabhañja and Vāmaṇḍapāṭī[26] referred to in the Kudopoli pls. of the year thirteen of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha as the residential place of his feudatory are of this variety. While the former place is identical with a place named Gandharadi in Phulbani district the latter is represented by a place named Bamra or Bamragarh, locally called Bamanda, in Bolangir district.

Pāṭaka: The term Pāṭaka is some times used in the sense of habitation. Ranpur and Banpur grants of the year 3 and 9, of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja, respectively, were issued from Mātṛichandrapāṭaka.[27] It is the same as modern Chandraputu in Tangi police station, Banpur taluka of Puri district. During the regime of the Bhauma dynasty place Guhadevapāṭaka enjoyed important status. All the grants of the dynasty were issued from this place. In some records it has also been mentioned as Guheśvarapāṭaka.[28] Misra has identified it with a place named Godhaneśvarapattana while K. C. Panigrahi locates it at Guhira-Tikra near Jajpur. Both these Pāṭakas seem to have been named after the name of the founder, Mātṛichandra and Guhadeva, respectively, of the place. According to undated copper pls. of the king Raṇabhañja, king donated a place named Pāguraśilāpāṭaka[29] to a *Brāhmaṇa* coming from Vikhati. Meaning of the term Pāgura, forming the first part of the name, is not clear. It seems to be a place that obtained its name after big *Śilā* and is equated with a place named Pandarsila in Bahalda police station in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district.

Pāṭakagrāma: When the Pāṭakas were developed into grāma the place names obtained double suffix Pāṭakagrāma and Guṇḍapāṭakagrāma[30] is the name of this type. It is mentioned in Orissa museum pls. of R.Y. 24, of the king Nettabhañja, and is identified with a place named Gundribadi in Bhanjanagar police station in Ghumsur taluka, of Ganjam district.

Pārāgrāma, Pāḍāgrāma: The terms Pārā and Pāḍā denote small habitation. When these were developed into settlements of cultivators a suffix grāma was added with their names. Kontasapārāgāma in Olāśramavishaya mentioned in Dhenkanal pls. of the Kara queen was donated, as stated in the grant, for bringing down rains. Subodhi identifies it with a place Kaṇṭāpārā 20°-8″N 86°-4″. Places Jayaḍāgrāma,[31] Eṇdeḍḍāgrāma,[32] Juraḍāgrāma[33] and Nayaḍāgrāma[34] referred to in Badakimedi grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Dānārṇava, Dasapalla charter of the Nanda king Devānanda, year 184, Jurada grant of the Bhañja king Raṇabhañja and Baud grant of the king Saloṇabhañja, respectively, may be originally Pāḍā

settlement. In course of time they developed into grāmas. Of these, the place Jayapāḍā, named after some victory, cannot be identified with certainty because there are many places with this name in different talukas of Ganjam district. We have tentatively identified it with Jayapur in Jarada police station in Chikiti taluka in Ganjam district. The place Eṇdeḍḍāgrāma in Jiloṇḍa-vishaya may be Endhapāḍāgrāma that may have been founded after burning some sort of forest. The place is not identified. Jurapāḍāgrāma seems to have given its place to a village Jurada in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. Nayapāḍāgrāma, a new settlement, is identified with a place Naupāḍā in Athmalika taluka, Dhenkanal district.

Padra: The term padra denotes a small village. Place name with padra suffix, Khadirapadra mentioned in Sonepur grant of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya is the only name of this class. It is identified with a place Khairapada in Kalahandi district.

Padraka: The names ending with the word padraka are as following. Jayarampur grant records the grant of the Śvetavālikāgrāma to the Mahāvihāra at Bodhipadraka.[35] The padraka may have been situated near Jayarampur in Bhogira police station in Jalesvara taluka, Balasore district. The grant further refers to Aśunapadraka and Yogipadraka situated in different directions of Bodhipadraka. While the former padraka is identified with place named Sundarari in Bhograi police station in Jalesvara taluka the latter is identical with a place Jugadiha in Balipal police station in Basta taluka in Balasore district. Baradipada pls. of the king Nandarāja records the grant of the place Prajñātapadraka.[36] It was, probably situated in Chikkhalikā identified with Chikhali in Kanker taluka in Bastar district. The name is difficult to interpret. It is not identified. The place Mahishipadraka[37] mentioned as donee's place in Baud grant of Raṇabhañja has not been identified.

Padrikāgrāma: Jayarampur pls. of the king Gopachandra, Year 1st, informs us that a place named Śrugālapadrikā[38] was situated in Śvetavālikāvīthī. It has yet to be identified.

Padrakagrāma: Place names with double suffix Padrakagrāma are Tilapadrakagrāma and Śarapadrakagrāma[39] mentioned in Adipur charter of the Bhañja king Narendrabhañja of Khijjiṅgkoṭṭa and Jambupadrakagrāma[40] referred to in Bamanghati inscription of Bhañja king Raṇabhañja. While Tilapadrakagrāma was the donee's place Śarapadrakagrāma was a donated place in Kerakerāvishaya. It is identified with a place named Saradha in Karanjia police station in Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district. Jambupadrakagrāma in Koroṇḍiyavishaya is identified with a place Jamada in Bahalda police station in Rairangpur taluka, Mayurbhanj district.

Padravishaya: Some times the region around the padra was developed into

vishaya and the capital place of padra became the capital of the vishaya. Division Śalvadavishaya[41] is the division of this type. The name of the vishaya may be Śalvapadra but in course of time it dropped the words 'ra' at the end and the name became Śalvada. It was the capital of the vishaya but is not identified. Śalva is kind of plant and additional word 'da' associated with it seems to be the remnant of the term padra.

Size: Some names tell us about the size of the region as well as of a place. Boḍākhaṇḍavishaya[42] and Voḍāvishaya[43] mentioned in Ganjam pls. of Bhañja king Śatrabhañja and Antirigam grant of the king Yaśobhañja of the same dynasty respectively, speak of the big piece of land which in course of time obtained the status of administrative division vishaya. The name Boḍa or Voḍa = Bada i.e. big in size. Both the names seem to speak of the one and the same region identified with the place Boḍapaṭṭi in Chhatrapur taluka in Ganjam district.

In the same way names Nanūṇichaḍḍa[44] and Nānvakhaṇḍavishaya[45] referred to in Parlakimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Vajrahasta and Orissa Museum pls. of Nettabhañjadeva, respectively speak of the small size. The words Nanūṇi, Nānva denotes small size. The term Chaḍḍa in the second part of the former name may be Chheda = Part of the village. The name thus, denotes a small part of the settlement but the later name is of the vishaya of small size. Its chief place has not been identified.

New Settlement: Deogam pls. of Raṇabhañja register the grant of a village Naupannāgrāma[46] in Loivishaya. The name seems to speak of the newly founded grāma. It is identified with a place Naupada in Sainkul police station in Anandpur taluka in Keonjhar district. According to Baud pls. of the king Saloṇabhañja, donated Nayaḍāgrāma was in Khatiyavishaya. It may be Navapāḍāgrāma and is identified with a place named Naupada in Athmalika taluka in Dhenkanal district.

Decayed Places: Juraḍāgrāma[47] referred to in the grant of Bhañja king found at the place Jurdagrama was in Gaḍavishaya. The name may have derived from a word Jur meaning old man or growing old. It is a place named Jurda in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district.

Position: Some place names show the position of the place. There are two places situated behind some objects. Of these, one is the name of the administrative division known as Aḍagrāmavishaya.[48] According to undated grant of Diśābhañja of Khijjiṅgkoṭṭa donated place Vāṇivaḍāgrāma was in Aḍagrāmavishaya. The name of the region speaks of the division that was situated behind some sort of big object. The name of chief place of the vishaya denotes that, previously it was only a grāma but with the progress of human civilisation the region was declared as vishaya and the grāma was made the chief place of the vishaya. But it is not

identified .The other place of this category is Aḍyāragrāma[49] in Sarephāhāravishaya in Uttara Tosalī and referred to in Soro pls. of the year 15, of the king Somadatta. It can be identified with one of the Adias in Balasore district.

Interior Places: Some names speak of the regions situated in the interior. The place Antarakulakoṇavishaya[50] in Dakshiṇa Tosalī mentioned in Erbanga pls. of the year 235, of the king Śambhuyaśa of Mudgala family belongs to this type. The word Antara forming the first part of the name speaks of the place in the inner region. The word Kula associated with the word Antara suggest the place situated on the bank of the river. Thus the name of the division points to the division on the bank of the river. Its chief place has been identified with a place named Antarakula situated in Gopa police station in Puri district. It is on the bank of the river Kusabhadra and the region around it was known as Antarakulakoṇa vishaya.

Region with Limits: Unlike the division referred to above, the Antarudravishaya,[51] containing the donated village Vuvṛḍāgrāma and mentioned in Chaurasi grant of the king Śiavakaradeva of Kara dynasty and in the Mahulpura pls. of the Somavaṁśin king speaks of the vishaya with its extension checked at its other end by some object. It has been identified with Antarodh pargana in Puri district and its extension on the eastern side is checked by the sea. It is situated on the inner side of the sea and as per meaning of its name, its further extension is checked by sea. Thus, its position agrees very well with the meaning of its name.

Divided Settlements and Regions: According to Santirgrama pls. of the year 280, of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī, the queen donated a place Sāntiragrāma[52] along with a place Komyasaṁgha.The name of the place may be Sāntaragrāma and it speaks, not of compact settlement but of the divided village. The place can be identified with a place named Santinagar in Badagad police station in Surad taluka in Ganjam district. We have place names such as Vāvannakhaṇḍakshetra and Brahme Aṭṭhāvisakhaṇḍa in UttaraTosalī[53] after the divided settlements from the grants of the Somavaṁśin kings. While the former khaṇḍa was in Santamamaṇḍala the latter is mentioned independent of any division like maṇḍala or vishaya. It was in Uttara Tosalī. None of these has been identified. The names speak of the region containing fifty-two and twenty-eight parts respectively.

Bend of Road: Kumurkela grant of Rāṇaka Śatrbhañja refers to a place named Vaṅgakuṭi[54] as the place of donee. It must be a place situated on the bend of road or river.

Low level: As stated in Nivina pls. of the year 5, of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja, king donated a village named Nivināgrāma[55] in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The name of the village as well as the description of its boundaries indicates that it was situated at low level amidst the hills and forests. It is modern Nimina in Kodal police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district.

High ground: Places such as Urdhvaśṛṅgagrāma[56] in Uṭidavishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosalī, Andhaśṛṅgagrāma[57] and Uschisamagrāma[58] mentioned in Kanas grant of the year 280, of the king Lokavigraha, Olsing grant of the 5th year of Bhānudatta and Liṅgaraja temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma, respectively, point to the places situated on the high ground. Of these, first two have been identified with places named Olesinga in Khorda taluka in Puri district but the last place could not be identified.

Shapes: Settlements of various shapes are known from our sources. According to Neulapur grant of Kara king Śubhakaradeva II, the king donated a place Kompārakagrāma[59] in Parvatadroṇī in Pañchālivishaya in Uttara Tosalī. The name Kompāraka may have derived from the word Kumpa =crooked arm. Here we can take it as the shape of elbow. The place has been identified with a place Kupari, Khaira police station, Soro taluka in Balasore district. Place named Guladḍa,[60] as referred to in Parlakimedi grant of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta, was to the east of donated village Hossaṇḍigrāma. The village may be of round shape. It has been identified with a place Golunda in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. It must have been founded around some object.

Straight Shape: Khambāivishaya,[61] as mentioned in Bonai charter of Tuṅga king Vinītatuṅga, contained the donated place Koñjari. The name Khambāi suggests that the vishaya of straight shape like that of *khamba*. The chief place of the vishaya is identified with a place Khamua in Patna police station in Kendujhar taluka and district.

Extended: Lambeḍagrāma[62] mentioned in Baripada museum seems to represent the extended type of settlement. It was in Poṭoḍāvishaya in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. Since it was in the maṇḍala full of fearful deep valleys it must have been extended lengthwise. Hence, it obtained the name Lambedagrāma. It has been identified with a place Lambadiha in Athmallik taluka, Dhenkanal district or with Limboo in old Narasingpur state in Cuttak district. It may have been on the bank of some river. Whole of the Dhenkanal district is covered with forests and mountains. Malayagiri, the loftiest peak in the region, is situated in Pal-lahara taluka of the district. Pal-lahara division is 1,178 meters high. Besides, low range mountains are also in plenty in Kamakshyanagar, Athmallik, Hindol and Dhenkanal talukas. Whereas the river Mahanadi forms its southern boundary in Athmallik and Angul talukas the river Brahmani divides it in two halves, roughly, east and west. Both these rivers are fed with number of tributaries.[63] Due to this peculiar topography places here had a little scope to develop breadth wise.

Twin Settlements: We also have place names denoting twin settlements. The examples of this type are Bṛhatsārāigrāma, Svalpasarāigrāma,[64] and Svalpaveluragrāma.[65] Of these, the first two are mentioned in Adipur pls. of the

year 193, of the king Narendrabhañja and of the year 233, of the king Raṇabhañja, respectively and the last one is known from the Svalpavelura grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Anatavarman. The first two places were situated in Urattivishaya and a place named Sarei in Champua taluka in Keonjhar district seems to represent one of the ancient Sarāigrāmas. Svalpaveluragrāma, the third place of the type referred to above was in Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya. It corresponds with a place named Belpādā in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Now we come to the places named after different concepts like prosperity, comforts, auspicious event, wealth etc.

Prosperity: Places like Vardhamānapura and Śrīpura,[66] Suradhipura,[67] may be Samruddhipura, and Trisampadāgrāma[68] mentioned in Tekkali pls. of Umāvarman and in Koroshonda grant of year 7, of the king Viśākhavarman of Pitṛibhakta dynasty, Talcher grant of the Kara king Śivakara III, and Adipur grant of the king Durjayabhñajadeva, respectively, represent this type of place names. While the first place seems identical with a place Vadam in Palkonda taluka in Vishakhapatnam district the place Śrīpura has been identified with the place Sripur in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. Place Suradhipura in Madhyamakhaṇḍa is identified with a place Suradhpur in Kanhai police station in Talcher taluka in Dhenkanal district and the last place has not been identified.

Auspicious Events: The place names of this variety are Kallāṇigrāma[69] in Pūrvarāshṭravishaya in northern Tosalī, referred to in Talcher pls. of year 149 of the Kara king Śivakara III and a place Sumaṅgura,[70] one of the villages situated in different directions of the donated place Tālattheragrāma in Koshṭrukavarttinī, referred to in Dharmalingeśvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Anantavarma. Of these, the former place may be Kalyāṇīgrāma and is identified with place named Kaliam in Telkoi police station in Keonjhar taluka in Keonjhar district while the latter place may be Sumaṅgalaura but has not been identified.

Comforts: Soggagrāma[71] mentioned in Hindol pls. of R.Y. 4 of the Śulki king Kulastambha represents this type of place names. As described in the grant, the donated land in the Soggagrāma in Gopārśṛṅgavishaya was surrounded by the fields with corns and grains, different species of trees and plenty of Kuśa grass essential in sacrificial rituals and probably, on this account it was named Soggagrāma i.e. Svargagrāma. It is not identified.

Immortal Cities: As mentioned in Baud pls. of R.Y. 3 of the king Kanakabhañja Amarāpurapāṭaka[72] was one of the donated places in Dharmapura. It has been identified by Misra with a place with Jamapur 20°-52″N 84°-27″E. Its name denotes that it was the city of immortals.

Atmosphere: There are some places named after peaceful atmosphere. A place

Saumyapura[73] referred to in Kondedda grant of the year 30, of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja, as the place of issue of the grant, seems to be the place of this category. It is identified with a place Soonpur in Athgarh.

Disturbed Places: In contrast to the place Saumyapura referred to above there is a place named after the disturbed atmosphere. It is Acaṇṭapura[74] mentioned in Srungvararapukota grant of the king Anantavarman of the Vāśishṭhakula. It is probably Aśāntapura. It has not been identified.

New Divisions: Neulapur grant of the R.Y. 84 of the king Śubhakaradeva informs us that donated place Saloṇapura was in Vubhyudayavishaya.[75] It may be Ābhyudayavishaya i.e. newly created division. Its chief place has been identified with a place Baghuhadi about 15 miles to the northeast of Jajpur in Cuttack district.

Fearful Valleys: Some divisions, such as Yamagarttāmaṇḍala,[76] referred to in Bonai charter of the king Vinitatuṅga, were famous after fearful and deep valleys. The chief place of the maṇḍala seems to correspond with a village named Jamardi in Pal-lahara division of Dhenkanal district.

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1. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 87, *l.* 8.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 73, *l.* 20.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 60, *l.* 9.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. V, Part I, p. 112, *l.* 4. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 277, No. 65.
5. *IO*, vol. II, p. 308, *l.* 16; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 188.
6. *IO*, vol. I, p. 140, *l.* 11.
7. *PBDSI*, p. 16, *l.* 6 (App).
8. *IO*, vol. I, p. 195, *l.* 17, p. 199, *l.* 7.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 244, *l.* 48. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 564, No. 143.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 255, *l.* 44b, p. 250, *ll.* 45-46.
11. *IO*, vol. I, p. 249, *ll.* 44-45.
12. *TBKO*, p. 94, No. 34.
13. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 79, *l.* 19.
14. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 5; *HOFETBP*, Part I, p. 197.
15. *EI*, XXIX, p. 188.
16. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 12. *L* 20.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 127, *l.* 15.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 193, *l.* 14.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 152, *l.* 22; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 48, No. 151.
20. *IOTSPS*, p. 363, *l.* 14.
21. *IO*, Vol, VI p. 204, *l.* 24. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 508, No. 27.
22. *Ibid.*, vol. V, Part I, p. 47, *l.* 123, 129; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 390, No. 131.
23. *IOTSPS*, p. 362, *l.* 5.
24. *EI*, VI, p. 216, *l.* 36.

25. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 60. *l.* 2.
26. *IOTSPS*, p. 263, *l.* 7.
27. *IO*, vol. I, p. 243, *l.* 39, p. 260.
28. *HGDHO*, pp. 46-48.
29. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 44, *l.* 17; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 73, No. 94.
30. *Ibid.* p. 158, *ll.* 17-18; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 68, No. 22.
31. *IO.* II, p. 303, *l.* 9.
32. *EI*, XXIX, p. 188, *l.* 9; *SED*, p. 232, Col. 1, Endha=to inflame, to kindle.
33. *IO*, Vol VI, p. 216, *l.* 8.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 234, *l.* 15.
35. *IO*, vol. I, p. 175, *l.* 18; p. 176, *l.* 26.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 151, *l.* 9
37. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 122, *l.* 29.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 152, *l.* 36.
39. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 16, *l.* 19, p. 21, *l.* 16.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 3, *l.* 19; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 72, No. 103.
41. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 127, *l.* 10, Orissa Museum pls. of the king Śilabhañja; *SED*, p. 1059, Col. 3.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 192, *l.* 11.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 204, *ll.* 18-19.
44. *IO*, vol. II, p. 169, *l.* 20.
45. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 157, *l.* 14.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 261, *l.* 23.
47. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 216, *l.* 8; *SED*, p. 423, Col. 3. Jur=an old man. Here we can take it in the sense of decayed place.
48. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 12, *l.* 20.
49. *Ibid.*, vol. I. p. 197, *l.* 8.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 180, *ll.* 7-8, fn. 5
51. *DMO*, p. 16, No. 2; *IOTSPS*, p. 270, *l.* 28.
52. *EI*, XXIX, p. 89, *l.* 31. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 109, No. 26.
53. *IOTSPS.*, p. 358, *ll.* 11-12, p. 311, *l.* 33.
54. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 2.
55. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 249, *ll.* 39-40; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 563, No. 186.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 184, *l.* 9; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 214, Nos. 66, 156.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 190, *l.* 1; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 214, Nos, 66, 156.
58. *IO*, vol. V, Part I, p. 78, *l.* 8.
59. *DMO*, p. 16, No. 1; *EI*, XV, p. 3, *l.* 8; *SED*, p. 300, Col. 2.
60. *IO*, vol. II, p. 168, *l.* 16; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 214, No. 105.
61. *HOFETBP*, p. 201; *DMO*, p. 40, No. 3; *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 178, No. 148.
62. *EI*, XXV, p. 79, *l.* 27; *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 184, No. 203.
63. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 18.
64. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 15, *l.* 16, p. 17, *l.* 38; *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 123, No. 54.
65. *IO*, vol. II, p. 270, *l.* 13; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 148, No. 74.

66. *IO*, vol. I, p. 106, *l.* 1, p. 126, *l.* 1.
67. *TBKO*, p. 91, No. 13; *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 85, No. 152.
68. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 47, *l.* 4.
69. *TBKO*, p. 91. No. 12.
70. *IO*, Part. II. p. 88, *l.* 25.
71. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 113, *l.* 13.
72. *DMO*, p. 46, No. 13; *IO*. vol. VI, p. 241, *l.* 25.
73. *IO*, vol. I, p. 270, *l.* 42.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 102, *l.* 9.
75. *TBKO*, p. 86; *EI*, XV, p. 3, *l.* 6.
76. *DMO*, p. 39; *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 48, Nos. 23, 25.

Chapter VI

Administrative Geography

I. Administration Machinery and Administrative Geography Upto the Rise of The Śailodbhava Dynasty

Historical Background: In ancient times, as we have seen earlier, the state of Orissa was divided into different units like Kaliṅga, Tosali, Oḍra, Utkala, Kosala, etc. Curiously, each of these units yielded a large number of epigraphic records that are immensely helpful for tracing the historical geography and cultural history of ancient Orissa. Of these, the region of Kaliṅga seems to have played most important role in the history of the region. In the broad sense, it was extended from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south. While hinterland and mountain bound it on the west its eastern boundary was formed by eastern coastal territory.

As to its political career we know that in about fourth century B.C. it formed the part of the Nanda empire.[1] The Maurya king Aśoka[2] invaded it in 260 or 261 B.C. and after the death of Aśoka it enjoyed the status of independent power under the king Khāravela[3] of the Cheti dynasty. After the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela and Prākṛita inscription of Bhadraka[4] of third century A.D. till we come to the Gupta period no epigraph providing us information of historical value related to Kaliṅga has been available for the study. Surprisingly, Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of the king Samudragupta did not mention the kingdom of Kaliṅga in the list of conquered kings of *Dakshiṇāpatha*. Instead, it mentions the kings of Koṭṭura, Pishṭhapura, Eraṇḍapalla, Devarāshṭra, Kosala and Mahākāntāra.[5] These places have been located in Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh and Ganjam, Koraput and Kalahandi districts of modern Orissa. Curiously, except the territory of Mahākāntāra[6] Samudragupta covered that portion of Orissa that later on came to be known as Kaliṅga. The available evidence indicates that prior to the invasion of Samudragupta the region was divided into different principalities ruled by different kings independently. The condition remained

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unchanged for considerably long period even after the invasion of Samudragupta. Different parts of the state of Orissa as referred to above were ruled by the kings of different dynasties and sometimes by the kings of unknown dynasties as well. In order to have the clear idea about the administrative geography of the region in the post Gupta period we have arranged the available data from the epigraphs here regionwise, such as south Orissa, south-eastern Orissa, south-western Orissa and north Orissa.

South Orissa: We shall first take into account the epigraphs of the dynasties that flourished in south Orissa in Post Gupta invasion period. The rise and fall of several royal families mark the history of the region during this period. Some of the Kings of these dynasties assumed the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* and issued charters from places, such as Pishṭhapura, Devapura and Siṁhapura. These places have been identified with the modern places Pithapuram in East Godavari district and Devapura and Singhupuram in Srikakulam district respectively. The issuers of these charters are the kings of Māṭhara, Vāśiṣṭhiputra and Pitṛibhakta family. From the internal evidence of their epigraphs and the find spots of their grants it seems that they were ruling more or less contemporaneously. For administrative purposes these dynasties divided their kingdom into divisions like *vishaya, bhoga, madmba, pañcāli* and *grāma* and ruled the kingdom with the help of officers. The designations of the administrative officers and also territories mentioned in the grants of these families throw well-come light upon the administrative machinery and administrative geography prevalent during their regimes.

Central Authority: The evidence from available epigraphic records of the period implies the prevalence of monarchical form of government during the period. The king was the head of the administrative machinery and though kingship was hereditary as in other parts of India some kings are described as to have acquired it by their own valor. Absence of the records issued by the feudatories of these dynasties indicates that kingdom was under the direct rule of the king and he appointed several officers to share his burden of administration. The officers, such as *Amātya, Dūtaka, Kumārāmātya, Deśākshpaṭalādhikṛita, Pratihāra, Mahābalādhikṛita, Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Daṇḍanetra* referred to in various grants in connection with the royal donations indicate that they were part of administrative machinery of the kingdom and some of these might have acted as ministers as well.

It is to be noted here that there was no strict division of the duties or of the departments and one and the same person was to look after different departments at one and the same time e.g. one person who is mentioned as Amātya[7] in one charter has been referred to as *Deśākshapaṭalādhikṛita*[8] in another grant. While according to the first grant he prepared the draft of the grant his designation in other grant suggests that he must also be acting as minister. Similarly, he was also

in charge of the office of the accountant general and as the Baranga grant of the king of Pitṛibhakta dynasty suggests worked as the record keeper[9] of the royal court as well.

Dūtaka: *Dūtaka* was one of the important officers of the period. The royal order regarding the grant of the land or village was conveyed to the concerned officers and the inhabitants of the donated villages through *Dūtaka*[10] only. He was thus the executor of the grant.

Kumārāmātya: The *Kumārāmātya* was perhaps the designation of the minister or the governor of a division of the kingdom and the post was generally held by the members of the royal family. Available epigraphs indicate that he was to look after various offices e.g., Madras Museum pls. of the eighth year of the king Anantaśaktivarman of Māṭhara dynasty refer to *Kumārāmātya* who worked as *Dūtaka* and also held the high offices like *Mahābalādhikṛita* and *Daṇḍanetra.*[11]

Deśakshapaṭalādhikṛita: The officer incharge of the accounts and records pertaining to the kingdom was, probably known as *Deśakshapaṭalādhikṛita.*[12]

Mahābalādhikṛita[13]: The great commander of the army was known as *Mahābalādhikṛita* and during the period he also worked as *Daṇḍanetra.*

The officers like *Daṇḍanāyaka, Mahādaṇḍnāyaka* and *Daṇḍanetra*[14]were perhaps related to the work of collection of fines and taxes.

Mahāpratihāra[15]: The official designation *Mahāpratihāra* prevalent in the kingdom of the Māṭhara dynasty denotes an officer in charge of the troops involved in the defence of the gates and also the capital. He also worked as *Dūtaka* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka.*[16]

Bhogika: Officer *Bhogika* is generally taken as officer in charge of the administration of the division Bhoga. But sometimes an officer in charge of small locality like Pura was also known as *Bhogika.* Srungavarapukota[17] grant refers to the donee *Brāhmaṇa* as the *Bhogika* of the Acaṇṭapura. These *Bhogikas* some times acted as *Dūtaka* of the grant as well.

Bhojaka[18]: The officer in charge of the administration of the grāma, the smallest unit of administration was known as *Bhojaka.*

There is one interesting official designation, *Vallabha,* known from Srungavarapukota grant of the king Anantavarman of Vāsiṣṭhikula dynasty. The king while informing about the grant of the tax-free *agrahāra* asks the officer *Vallabha-Durllabha* not to create any disturbance in the enjoyment of the grant. According to R.C. Majumdar, *Vallabha* may be an overseer, superintendent, or herdsman and probably stands for royal officer in general and *Durllabha,* meaning eminent or extraordinary, may be the adjective of the *Vallabha.*[19]

Thus it seems that the practice of appointing different individuals for the different departments was not developed till the Post Gupta invasion period in this part of Orissa. Instead, one and the same person was made in charge of different departments and except the *Bhogika* and *Bhojaka* no other officer, related to the administration of the different administrative divisions is known from the grants of Māṭhara, Vāśiṣṭhikula and Pitṛibhakta dynasty, e.g. Vishayapati.

Let us now turn to the administrative divisions prevalent during the regimes of these dynasties in Kaliṅga region under their rule i.e. in south Orissa. Vishaya was, probably, the largest territorial division of the kingdom prevalent during the period.

Kaliṅgavishaya: According to Ragolu pls. of the year thirteen of king Śaktivarman of the Māṭhara dynasty, donated place Rākaluvagrāma was situated in Kaliṅgavishaya.[20] The vishaya and Kaliṅganagara identified with the place Mukhalingam, perhaps the capital of the vishaya, both seems to have obtained their names after the Kaliṅga people or the tribe. The pls. were issued from Pishṭhapuram that has retained its identity in the place named Pithapuram in East Godavari district. According to Ningondi charter of the Māṭhara king Prabhañjanavarman, the rule of the dynasty covered extensive area stretched from lower courses of the river Mahānadi in the north to the river Krishna[21] in the south. We feel that here Mahānadi may be Badinadi shown in the map as flowing in the northern part of the Ganjam district. Thus the vishaya was quite big in size and included some part of the East Godavari district in the south and Ganjam district in the north.

Tellavallivishaya: The other vishaya division known from our records is Tellavallivishaya. As mentioned in Srungavarapukota record of the king Anantavarman, the lord of Devarāshṭara, of the Vāśiṣṭha family donated a village Kiṇḍeppagrāma situated in Tellavallivishaya.[22] The grant was issued from Pishṭhapuram. Curiously, when Samudragupta invaded the region of Devarāshṭra and Pishṭhapuram, as mentioned in Allahabad pillar inscription, were two separate independent principalities. Now both these seem to have been united under the rule of single ruler and were included in the Kaliṅga kingdom. As regards the identification of the region of Tellavallivishaya there is no unanimous opinion among the scholars. As the name denotes it must have been situated on the banks of the river Tela. According to M. Narasimha, the river Tel was known in ancient times as Telvāhi and therefore, the division could be identified with the region round Jeypore on the bank of the river Tela mentioned here as Tellavalli. R.C. Majumdar, however wants to identify it with the region round the place Tellagāmuṇḍi, situated about fourteen or fifteen miles to the south-west of the place Srungvarapukota. The place is situated at the crossing of the two roads and

on the bank of some rivulet. The donated place Kiṇḍḍeppagrāma, as Majumdar suggests, can be identified with one of the several places named Kondapalem situated in the neighbourhood of the place Srungavarapukota in Visakhapatanam district.[23] We would like to agree with this identification.

Bhilliṅgabhogavishaya: As mentioned in Barnga pls. of the sixth year of the king Umāvarman the donated place Hemaṇḍaka was situated in Bhilliṅgabhogavishaya.[24] The name is very difficult to interpret but two suffixes, bhoga and vishaya associated with it suggest that in the early period it was only bhoga and with the progress of the human civilisation it obtained the designation vishaya. The place Bhilliṅga that was earlier the chief place of the bhoga division now became the headquarters of the vishaya division. During the period of the progress the term bhoga was so much assimilated with its name that it was not possible to remove it and hence, when the division attend the status of the vishaya it was retained with the name and additional term pointing the change in its status was joined with it at the end. The peculiar name Bhillingi that literally denotes the place full of cliffs, suggests that the region may have been dissected either with hills or by the forceful water current and hence, was full of cleaves. The place has been identified with the place Bhirlingi near Baranga on the seashore in Chikiti taluka, Ganjam district.[25]

Bhoga: Now we come to the division known as bhoga. There are in all three bhoga divisions. Of these, one is mentioned in the grant of the king of Vāśishṭhikula dynasty and two have been referred to in the charters of Pitṛibhakta royal family. Following are the names of these bhoga divisions.

Pattanabhoga: According to the Siripuram grant of the king Anantavarman, the king granted a village named Toṇṭāpara in Kharpurimadamba in Pattanabhoga[26] to eighteen *Brāhmaṇas*. The Pattanabhoga seems identical with the region round the city Kalingapatnam situated on the seacoast, about 20 miles from Chicacole in Srikakulam district. The donated place can be equated with the modern place Totāda or Totavāda in Chicacole taluka in Srikakulam district. The chief place of Madamba in which the donated place was situated has not been identified.

Mahendrabhoga: As mentioned in Dhavalapetu inscription of the king Umāvarman the donated place was in Mahendrabhoga.[27] The division was named after Mahendra mountain range of the Eastern Ghats and the region situated in its vicinity must have formed the division of Mahendrabhoga. The donated place Koṭṭuragrāma has been identified with the modern locality named Kottura in the north portion of Srikakulam district.

The Mahendra mountain range of Eastern Ghats played most important role in the religion and culture of the Kaliṅga country. Many of the royal dynasties came into existence in this area .The region was originally occupied by the tribes

like, Śavaras and Pulindas.[28] But by the beginning of the Christian era civilised people began to have their settlement in this area. According to Nasik cave inscription of the Sātavāhana king Vāśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi extended his empire in the east upto the Mahendra hills.[29] Paraśurāma, the champion of *Brāhminism*, as *Mahābhārata* informs us, performed penance on this mountain. *Kālidāsa* in his work *Raghuvaṁśa* places Mahendra mountain in the very heart of the Kaliṅga. The king Raghu conquered Kaliṅga and established his overlordship over Mahendragiri that was looked upon as essential to complete the conquest of the Kaliṅga region. The poet describes the king of Kaliṅga as the 'Lord of Mahendra' and as referred to by him, the political headquarters of Kaliṅga was in Mahendra region. Even in medieval period also the conquest of Kaliṅga was recognised as complete only with the occupation of Mahendra[30] hill.

The king Mahendragiri with his headquarters at Pishṭhapura described in the list of defeated kings in Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Gupta king Samudragupta may be the king of Kaliṅga, named after the Mahendra hill and the place 'Koṭṭura' from the same inscription seems to be the same as that referred to in Dhavalapetu inscription of the Māṭhara king referred to above and Mahendrabhoga must be the name of the region around it.

Mahendragiri was one of the seven *Kulagiris* referred to in *Purāṇic* literature.[31] It enjoyed a significant place in the cultural history of Orissa. Importance of Mahendragiri as religious and cultural centre during the regime of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is known from its description in the introductory verse in the Santabommali grant of Nandavarman. According to it, their family deity 'Lord Gokarṇeśvara' was installed on the top of this mountain. The kings of the dynasty offer salutation to Gokarṇeśvarasvāmi of Mahendra in the opening verses of their grants[32] e.g. Santabommali grant, records the obeisance paid by the king to the god Gokarṇeśvara established on the crest of the Mahendra mountain and who is the creator of all the animate and inanimate as well as the sole architect of the universe. It occupied the important position as the centre of religions and culture during the rule of Śailodbhava dynasty as well. According to Cuttack Museum pls. of the king Mādhavavarman, the surface of the Mahendra mountain was covered with the different species of the flower trees. The caves here were resounded with beautiful falls of spring water and vibrated with the melodious sounds created by the panicky birds flying at the noise of the constant falls of spring water. It was like mount Meru and was famous as Kulagiri.[33] Further, the early group of temples on the mountain indicates that it was the important seat of Śaivite religion.[34]

Dantyavāgubhoga: The donated Bṛhatproshṭhāgrāma mentioned in Brihtproshta pls. of the same king, as above, was situated in Dantayavāgubhoga.[35] The donated place seems to have obtained its name after the people known as

Proshṭha and the term Bṛhatproshṭhā forming the first part of the names suggests that there were two places, big and small, known as Proshṭhāgrāma. The region was famous either for the preparation of barley gruel or for the use of barley gruel for elephants. Purāṇas prescribe some sort of barley gruel for all sorts of stomach pains of elephants[36] and the name of the division is very much interesting from this point of view. The chief place of bhoga seems identical with the place Dantavarapukota about forty kms. to the north of Srikakulam on the left bank of the river Vansadhara and about twenty kms. to the south of Kadagandi forest in Srikakulam district. The division included the portions of Palkonda and Srikakulam talukas of Srikakulam district.[37] Black elephants of the Kaliṅga region were very much famous in ancient past and have been referred to by the Chinese traveller Yuwan Chwang. Hence, the existence of the place preparing barley gruel for elephants cannot be denied.

Madamba: The other territorial designation known from our sources is Madamba. According to *Śivatatvaratnākara*[38] *Kollāla*, sixth *Taraṅga*, verse fourteen, Madamba is a group of eleven villages. There are two madamba divisions viz., Kharpurimadamba[39] and Dantayavāgumadamba.[40] Of these, the former is mentioned in Siripuram pls. of the king Anantavarman of Vāśishṭhikula and the latter is referred to in the Temburu pls. of the year forty of the king Umāvarman of Pitṛibhakta dynasty. Findspots of both these grants are in Srikakulam district.

Kharpurimadamba: It is the subdivision of the division Pattanabhoga and must have obtained its name after the areca nut trees. The place Kharpuri, the headquarters of the bhoga, in the absence of the proper maps, is difficult to trace.

Dantayavāgumadamba: It is the subdivision of the bhoga of the same name described above and may have been ruled from Dantavarapukota. The donated place Honareṅgegrāma in the madamba seems to have retained its identity in the modern place named Honjarama situated to the west of Dantavarapukota in Srikakulam district.

Both these madamba divisions contained groups of eleven villages and all these villages were, probably, inhabited by the people following one and the same profession.

Pañchāli: Now we come to the administrative unit known as Pañchāli. It was perhaps the subdivision of the madamba. While the madamba, as noted above, contained group of eleven villages Pañchāli was the group of five villages. We have only one name after this unit. According to Koroshonda pls. of seventh year of the king Viśākhavarman, the granted place Tampoyakagrāma was in Korosoḍakapañchāli.[41] The place Korosoḍaka, the chief place of the group of five villages, seems to have retained its identity in the place named Koroshonda village, about eight miles to the north-east of Parlakimedi in Ganjam district. The place

Korosodaka may a form of the name Karasaudaka. The donated village Tampoyakagrāma seems identical with the place Tampa in the same taluka as above in Ganjam district.

Pura was the small administrative unit and was placed in charge of the officer known as Purabhogika e.g. the donee *Brāhmaṇa* of Srungavarapukota pls. of the king Anantavarman of Vāśishṭhikula was the bhogika[42] of Acaṇṭapura. The word bhogika seems to have been used here in the sense of the enjoyer i.e. the administrator of the pura. Next we come to grāma, the smallest unit of administration put under the officer known as Bhojaka.[43] But at the same time the villages which were made free holdings and granted as *agrahāras* were in charge of the donee *Brāhmaṇas*.

The survey of the administrative divisions mentioned in the grants of the kings of the Māṭhara, Vāśishiṭhikula and Pitṛibhakta dynasties ruling in south Orissa indicate that the vishaya was the largest division of their kingdom. It was divided into subdivisions, such as Bhoga, Madamba and Pañchāli in descending order. These units were named after people, hills, rivers, fruits, peculiar features of the place etc. Sometimes the small divisions like bhoga were upgraded or were given status of the higher unit e.g., Bhiliṅgabhogavishaya. The name suggests hat earlier the division was enjoying the status of bhoga but in course of time, as the additional designation 'vishaya' added with its name denotes, it was given higher position of 'vishaya'. The designation Madamba, as stated earlier was the group of eleven villages and the designation Pañchāli speaks of the group of five villages. These territorial designations are not known from the epigraphs recovered in Maharashtra or Madhya Pradesh. On the other hand, the divisions accompanied with numerals which were in existence in Maharashtra are absent in the records of the region under study.

The findspots of the records, the identification of the places and the location of the divisions, the titles Kaliṅgādhipati and Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati assumed by some of the kings of these dynasties imply that in fifth to sixth century A.D. the region of south Orissa lying between the rivers Badinadi and Godavari was known as Kaliṅga.

South-Eastern Orissa: Now we come to the administrative officers and administrative geography of the region that can be described as south-eastern Orissa. The kings of the Srīrāma Kaśyapa dynasty, Vigraha dynasty, kings of unknown dynasty and Bhañja dynasty ruling from different places in the region issued the epigraphs providing us the related material. Administrative officers representing the administrative machinery of the period are *Sāmanta, Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, Rājanaka, Rājaputra, Daṇḍanāyaka, Uparika, Tadāyuktaka, Kumārāmātya, Daṇḍavāsika, Sthānāntarika, Vyāvahārin, Vaishyika, Antaranga, Rājan,* and *Āyuktaka.*

Of these, the first eight have been mentioned in the grants of almost all dynasties, the next five are known from the grants of the Vigraha dynasty and the last three are mentioned in the grant of Bhañja dynasty only.[44] All these officers, along with the inhabitants of the donated villages, were addressed by the king and were ordered not to disturb the grant. Thus, they seem to have been involved in the administration of the division. Unlike the officers of the South Orissa they were made responsible for the protection of the grant. They were, probably, administrative officers of the main divisions and subdivisions as well. There are following divisions mentioned in the grants of these dynasties.

Pāguṇāravishaya: As referred to in Taṇḍivāḍa charter of the king Pṛithivīmahārāja of Śrirāma Kaśyapa family, donated Taṇḍivāḍagrāma was in Pāguṇāravishaya.[45] Both these places have been identified with the villages situated in Kistna district. While the region of the Pāguṇāravishaya seems identical with the region of Tanem taluka Taṇḍivāḍagrāma has been represented by the place named Tadiparru in Tanem taluka. This vishaya has also been referred to in some other grants found in this region.

Kuddhāvativishaya: According to Parlakimedi grant of the same king as above, issued from the victorious camp at Virajānagara, the king granted the village named Gollāvallīgrāma in Kuddhāvatīvishaya.[46] The donated place might be a habitation of the cowherds. The name of the vishaya has been read differently by different scholars. While S.N.Rajguru and D.C.Sircar read it as Rudrāvatī S.C.Day takes it as Kudrāvatī and S.Tripathi reads it as Kuddhāvatī. The chief place of the vishaya has not been identified but the division seems to have included the portions of Parlakimedi taluka of Ganjam district and Tekkali taluka of Srikakulam district. The Virajānagara has been identified with the place named Jajpur in Cuttack district. Thus the king Pṛithivīmahārāja seems to have ruled over the region extended from Kistna district in Andhra Pradesh to Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district in Orissa.

Kaliṅgarāshṭra: While the southern part of Ganjam district was enjoying the rule of the king Pṛithivīmahārāja of Śrirāma Kaśyapa family the northern part of the district was under the rule of feudatory of certain Pṛithivīvigraha who was himself subordinate ruler, probably of Gupta king. The Sumandal grant dated in the year 250 informs us that Pṛithivīvigraha bhaṭṭāraka was ruling Kaliṅgarāshṭra[47] in the Gupta Year 250. The term Rāshṭra here denotes his whole kingdom. Roughly speaking the name Kaliṅga, in wider sense, was used for coastal land lying between the rivers Mahanadi and Godavari and in the north-east it included the valley of the river Vaitarani. The name Kaliṅgarāshṭra seems to have applied here to some portion of Puri-Ganjam area of modern Orissa. The region may have obtained its name after the people Kaliṅga.

Parakkhalmārggavishaya: The Kaliṅgarāshṭra was divided into vishaya and

we have one name after this division. Sumandal charter referred to above states that the reigning king Dharmarāja, a feudatory of Pṛithivīvigraha, donated villages named Ardhākamaṇḍuka and Chandanavāṭaka situated in Parakkhalamārggavishaya.[48] The name of the vishaya is quite curious. It has been associated with two suffixes, Mārga and Vishaya. which denote that originally it was only a mārga but when habitations came into existence on both sides of the mārga it was given the status of vishaya. By this time the suffix mārga was so much assimilated with the name that it had to be retained as it is and an additional suffix pointing its new status was attached at the end of its name. Thus the name speaks of the progress made by the mārga prior to the time of Pṛithivīvigraha bhaṭṭāraka. The name Parakkhala may be after hard soil. Here it may mean not smooth but roughly prepared road. While the chief place of mārga may be identified with the place Pankalmatha or Pharkapalli the donated place Chandanavāṭaka may be Chandanapalli and the place Padmakholla from where the order was issued seems identical with the place Padmakhola in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. The portion of Khallikote taluka of Ganjam district was known by the name Parakkhalamārggavishaya.

King Charamparāja who, probably ruled after the king Pṛithivīvigraha is known from his Khandipada–Nuapalli charter which supplies us with two new, Āhāravishaya and Maṇḍala, territorial designations. As referred to in the record he granted the village Ekakaṭikāgrāma in Khiṇḍingāhāravishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. Of these, the last one included adjacent portions of Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack districts.

Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya: The donated place Ekakaṭikāgrāma, as mentioned in the above referred to grant, was situated in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya.[49] The terms āhāra and vishaya associated with the name Khiṇḍiṅga indicate that in early period Khiṇḍiṅga was the headquarters of the division Āhāra but with the progress of the civilisation in this region it was upgraded to the status of the chief place of the vishaya and instead of removing the suffix āhāra from its name an additional suffix denoting its new status was added at the end. It was the division of Koṅgodamaṇḍala.[50] The name Khiṇḍiṅgāhāra speaks of the region situated in the hilly tract. It has been identified with the mountainous region of Banpur bordering the Nayagarh state and the chief place can be identified either with the place Khedjhari or with Khiṇḍiṅga in Kodal police station in Khallikote taluka of Ganjam district. The granted Ekakaṭikāgrāma may have acquired its name after the cave in the centre of some hills. It has not been identified. This āhāravishaya seems to have occupied some portion of the Ganjam and Puri districts.

Kāmverālavishaya: The territorial designation vishaya was in vogue in the territory ruled by the king Nettabhañja of Drumarājakula. Russelkonda grant,

issued from the victorious camp at the place Vārāḍḍā, of the king informs us that he granted a village named Vaṇḍutuṅgagrāma in Kāmverālavishaya.[51] The place Vārāḍḍa has been identified with the place named Bāradā or Bārudā seven miles from Russelkonda under Bhanjanagar police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. It may be a weekly market place or a meeting place of the board of administrators. Unfortunately we cannot locate either the donated place Vaṇḍutuṅgagrāma or the chief place of the vishaya which included it. The name Kāmverāla may be Kāmbvika[52] denoting the dealer in shell or maker of the shell ornaments or vendor of shell ornaments. The name of the donated place is composed of two words, Vaṇḍu and Tuṅga. Vaṇḍu in local language (Telugu) means muddy place and Tuṅga is species of grass which grows in muddy place. Thus the name speaks of the muddy place with abundant Tuṅga grass. It has not been identified.

Thus the survey of the territorial designations prevalent in south and south-east Orissa indicates that the entire kingdom in south Orissa was divided into vishaya, bhoga, madamba and pañchāli for the purpose of administration. In south-eastern portion of the state entire principality was termed as rāshṭra or maṇḍala and it contained vishaya subdivisions.

South-Western Orissa: This part of Orissa included the districts of Kalahandi, Koraput and adjacent portions of Raygarh, Raipur and Bastar districts. Epigraphs recovered here indicate that it was ruled by the different dynasties. In the early period the region formed the part of the ancient Kosala. But the ruling dynasties of the period did not mention the name of their kingdom in their charters. Apart from famous Nala dynasty some scions of unknown royal families also held their sway over this region during sixth century A.D.

Of the kings of unknown royal families who appeared on the political horision in this portion of Orissa we know of Nandarāja and Tushṭikara from the grants recovered from Baripada and Tersinga, respectively. Find spots of both these grants are in Kalahandi district. According to the former grant issued from Parvatadvāra, the king donated the village Prajñātapadraka in Chikkhalikā[53] in the third regnal year of the king. The donees of the grant were three *Brāhmaṇas* and they were to enjoy the grant till the existence of the sun and the moon. The place Chikkhalikā has been identified with the place Chikhali in Dhamatari taluka in Raipur district. But the charter is silent about the territorial designation of the place Chikkhalikā. The Tersinga charter of the latter king registers two grants, one given by the king and one given by the queen mother Kaustubheśvarī. The charter recording the grant of piece of land that was in possession of some other person to a *Brāhmaṇa* by the queen was issued from Parvatadvāra. The charter referring to the donation of the place Prastaravāṭaka by the king Mahārāja Tushṭikara was made from Tarabhramaraka. The village was granted as permanent *agrahāra*.[54] The territorial

division that included the donated *agrahāra* is not known from the grant. The donated place Tarabhramaraka has been identified with the place Talabhamara situated on the bank of the river Utai, a tributary of the river Tel, about two miles to the south of Belkhandi Rājapadara.

Nala Dynasty: We have Kesaribeda, Paudagadh, Rajim stone inscription and Pandiapathar grant of the kings of Nala dynasty. Of these the Kesaribeda grant of the king Arthapati bhaṭṭāraka has been issued from the place Pushkari, probably, the capital of the Nala dynasty. Scholars have identified it with the place Podagadh, the findspot of the grant in Koraput district. While the former grant registers the donation of the village Kesalakagrāma[55] the latter grant of the king Skandavarman refers to the installation of footprints of Vishṇu for worship and donation of some land and money for the maintenance of *Sattra* for the feeding of the *Brāhmaṇas*, ascetics and destitutes. The grant was made permanent and tax-free. The enjoyment of the grant was not to be obstructed by the royal officers. Undated Rajim grant of Vilāsatuṅga, is Praśasti and contains eulogistic description of the Nala kings Viruparāja and Pṛithivīrāja, father and grand father of the king Vilāsatuṅga. On the basis of paleography it has been assigned to seventh or eighth century A.D. Curiously, we don't have any territorial designation informing us about the name of the Nala kingdom from these grants. We know of the division of the Nala kingdom only from Pandiapathar grant of the Nala king Bhīmsena dated in, 89 *Krishṇa Paksha Māgh* mentioned in 26th line of the record.

Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala: The Pandiapathar charter referred to above registers the grant of the place of Kūrmatalāgrāma in Kamaṇḍalupaṭṭa in Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga-maṇḍala.[56] The grant was given from Bhīmapura. The maṇḍala is also mentioned in Madras Museum grant of the king Narendradhavala. The grant refers to the purchase of the place Taḍeśvaragrāma in Gomuṇḍamaṇḍala by one Kulaputraka Vanadeva from Śilabhañja through Rāṇaka Ghoṅkāka of the Nāga family ruling over Gomuṇḍamaṇḍala under Narendradhavala of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala[57] of Nala dynasty who was ruling as subordinate of the Bhaumakaras. According to Rajguru, this maṇḍala was situated between Kaliṅgamaṇḍala ruled by the Gaṅga dynasty and Khiñjalimaṇḍala of the Bhañja dynasty. Place Bhīmapura identified with the place Bhīmpur surrounded by hills and forest on all sides, situated in Ganjam district was its capital. D.C. Sircar wants to take the place Khiṇḍirśṛṅga, the chief place of the maṇḍala, as equivalent to a place Kandarsingha shown in S.I. sheet map 73 H/5 a2. According to N.K. Sahu, this identification is not acceptable because the suggested place is far beyond the river Brahmani. B.Misra is inclined to take Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga as identical with the place Hidsingi in Angul subdivision, Dhenkanal district. He reads Gomuṇḍa as Schamuṇḍamaṇḍala and identifies it with the place Chamundia. He equates the place Padumbā situated in the east of

Taḍeśvaragrāma with the village Baramba and the place Champa on the east of land purchased in Taḍeśvaragrāma with a place Champāsara. He reads Taḍeśvara as Guḍeśvara. But he has not identified the place. According to him, the hill Suvṛid situated in the north of west of Taḍeśvaragrāma is Sealdeo in Dasapalla division of Puri district. In accordance with these identifications all the places mentioned in the grant were situated in Dhenkanal, Cuttack and Puri district.

As stated by N.K. Sahu, The Zamindaris of Dharakota, Badagada, Seragada and Sorada in Ganjam district were collectively known as Khidsingi. V. Rangacharya informs us that Dharakota was the seat of the ancient Zamindari adjoining Badagada on the north and Ghumsur on the east. It was originally a part of Khidsingi Zamindari. These places as stated by Sahu, seem to have formed the heart of the Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala. He further states that Gomuṇḍa may be Somuṇḍa and identifies it with the place Sumandal in Ganjam district.[58] Though the identification of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala made by him seems acceptable we want to identify the place Gomuṇḍa not with Sumandal, as suggested by him, but with the place Gomundi[59] in Bhanjanagar police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. Similarly, we have taken Taḍeśvaragrāma as equivalent to the place Talasara[60] in Buguda police station in the same taluka as above in Ganjam district. The place is situated on the bank of the river and its location agrees with the meaning of its name 'Tareśvara'. But the places situated on the different borders of the donated land, however, could not be identified. Thus, the Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgmaṇḍala included adjoining portions of Asika and Ghumsur talukas of Ganjam district but its chief place has not been identified and we are not in position to trace its extent. It seems that the later kings of Nala dynasty ruled some portion of the Ganjam district for considerably long period. The donated place Kūrmatalāgrāma and chief place of the Kamaṇḍalupaṭṭa in Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala, however, have not been identified.

North Orissa: Now we come to the administrative divisions prevalent in north Orissa prior to the rise of the Śailodbhava dynasty as independent power. The records dated between fifth to sixth century A.D. recovered here tend to suggest that some portion of this region was ruled by Gupta monarchs through their subordinate kings till the middle of the sixth century A.D. Although there is no direct evidence denoting the suzerainty of Gupta kings the use of the era established by the Gupta dynasty and the close resemblance between some letters and conjuncts in some of the grants of the region and those used in Allahabad pillar inscription imply the rule of the Gupta dynasty in some parts of the northern Orissa.[61] While Sumandal pls. of the year 250 of the king Pṛithivīvigraha ruling over the Kaliṅgarāshṭra represents the records of the first category[62] the Asanapata Natarāja image inscription of Śatrubhañja[63] with some of the letters showing similarity with those used in Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Gupta king Samudragupta

can be taken as the instance of the record of the second category. With the decline of the Gupta power in north India many of these subordinate kings of different royal families who up to this time were semi-independent ruler assumed complete independence. They vied with each other for the expansion of their sphere of influence and taking advantage of this situation there arose another paramount power under the Gauḍa emperor Śaśāṅka. We shall see here the records of the rulers who flourished during the period ranging between fifth century A.D. to the end of about seventh century A.D. and trace the extent of their kingdoms with the help of administrative divisions, if any, mentioned in their grants.

Nāga Dynasty: Asanpata image inscription of the king Śatrubhañja of the Nāga dynasty refers to the king as belonging to the Nāga family. According to scholars, some letters and conjuncts used in the grant bear close similarity with those used in Allahabad pillar inscriptions. The king is described as the lord of Vindhyāṭavi.[64] It seems that here the name Vindhyāṭavi mean forested and hilly region around Keonjhar. The epithet Mahārāja[65] associated with the name of his father suggests that he also ruled the region for some time. The grant further informs us that the king Śatrubhañja travelled widely and made grants at the holy places like Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna), Gayā, Krimila (present Rajauna-Valgudar in Monghyr district), Lalāvardhana (not identified), Puṇḍravardhana (present area around Burdwan in west Bengal), Gokkhaṭi, Khandraṅga (not identified), Tāmralipti (present Tamluk in Midnapore district of west Bengal), and holy places in Ubhaya Tosalī.[66] The identification of the places suggests that his kingdom was situated amidst the territories ruled by the subordinates of the Gupta kings. The region of Ubhaya Tosalī known from the several grants of the later period speaks of two parts viz., Uttara Tosalī and Dakshiṇa Tosalī of Tosalī territory. According to Rajaguru, Uttara Tosalī included the territories to the north of river Vaitarni upto the river Kasai in the north and Dakshiṇa Tosalī included the region from the river Vaitarni to the river Rishikulya[67] in the south. Uttara Tosalī thus seems to have included district of Balasore, portion of Mayurbhanj district and south-western portion of Midnapore district of west Bengal and Dakshiṇa Tosalī comprised of Cuttack, Puri and northern part of the Ganjam district upto the river Rishikulya. It seems that the territory of Keonjhar, adjacent to Balasore district of Uttara Tosalī, under the rule of Śatrubhañja was outside the province of Ubhaya Tosalī. According to Tripathi,[68] the Nāga family to which Śatrubhañja belonged may be one of the several branches of the Nāgas which took refuse in hilly forest region of Vindhya after the defeat of the Nāga rulers of Kauśāmbi, Padmāvatī and some region comprised of Vindhya mountains in Madhya Pradesh by the Gupta king in his campaign against the kings of Āryāvarta.

We have one short record of Mahārāja Diśābhañja below the tempera painting

in a rock shelter at Sitabhinji in Keonjhar district. The inscription does not supply us with any information regarding the dynasty of the king Diśābhañja. But the royal procession of victory depicted in the rock painting and the title of Mahārāja associated with the name of Diśābhañja implies that he was independent king of the area like Śatrubhañja.[69] According to S. Tripathi, he was the successor of the king Śatrubhañja. We don't have any information regarding the administrative divisions of the kingdoms of these Bhañja kings.

During the first part of the sixth century A.D. a part of northern Orissa was ruled by sovereign ruler named Gopachandra. He ruled the kingdom with the co-operation of his subordinate kings and administrative officers, such as *Kārtākṛitaka, Uparika, Kumārāmātya, Rājanaka, Tadāyuktaka, Vishayapati, Hiraṇyasāmuvāika, Bhogin, Pustapāla, Antapāla, Vishayādhikaraṇa, Gṛhādhikshaka, Mahāmattara, Mahattara, Pradhāna* and his assistants of the grāma.[70]

Bhukti: The principality of Gopachandra which included large portion of western part of Bengal and extended up to a portion of Balasore district of Orissa was divided into bhuktis which in their turn were divided into vithi e.g. the Daṇḍabhukti division mentioned in the Jayarampur grant of *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Achyuta included Śvetavālikāvīthī. According to the grant, *Mahāsāmanta* Achyuta purchased Śvetavālikāgrāma along with the tract of land formed after receding of the sea in Śvetavālikāvīthī in Daṇḍabhukti and donated it to *Āryabhikshusaṁgha* of the *Mahāvihāra* situated at Bodhipadraka for building a *vihāra* at Bodhipadraka, for the maintenance of *Āryabhikshusaṁgha* as well as for supplying material for the worship of the Buddhist deity Avalokiteśvara.[71] The Śvetavālikāvīthī in Daṇḍabhukti which was ruled by the officer known as *Kumārāmātya Rājanaka* named Vijayavarman seems to be the name of some portion of the coastal region of Balasore district of Orissa and the vīthī must have obtained its name after the white sand tract formed here after the receding of the sea. The place Śvetavālikāgrāma must have been situated in this tract only. The village Bodhipadraka, as its name denotes, was a Buddhist establishment and may have been situated near Jayarampur under Bhograi police station in Jalesvara taluka in Balasore district. The said plates have been recovered in the colossal mound overgrown with trees and bushes in the middle of the village. Some Mahāyānic Buddhist antiquities found in the village and surrounding area[72] made us to say that the place Bodhipadraka where the *vihāra* was to be constructed must have been in this region only. As regards the identification of the territory of Daṇḍabhukti we have to say that during the regime of Gopachandra the region round the town of Daton in Midnapore district and northern portion of Balasore district was, probably known as Daṇḍabhukti.[73]

Śvetavālikāvīthī:The donated place Śvetavālikāgrāma was situated in

Śvetavālikāvīthī[74] in Daṇḍabhukti. The division seems to have obtained its name after white sandy tract formed by the receding of the sea.

Ketakapadradeśa: Midnapore grant of the eighth year of *Mahāpratihāra* Śubhakīrti, the feudatory of king Śaśāṅka informs us about the territorial designation Deśa. As mentioned in the charter, Śubhakīrti purchased a land and homestead in Kumbhārapadrakagrāma in Ketakapadradeśa[75] and donated it to *Brāhmaṇa* Dāmyasvāmin of *Bhāradvāja gotra*. Abundant Ketaki plants seem to have rendered the name to the Deśa while the place Kumbhārapadraka speaks of the settlement of potters. The record did not tell us anything either about the higher division of which the Ketakapadradeśa was the constituent or about any smaller division included in it. As Śubhakīrti was in charge of Daṇḍabhukti we can say that it was the division of Daṇḍabhukti and occupied some portion of Midnapore district of west Bengal. In the beginning, as its suffix padra denotes, it was the small settlement but with the development of the area it obtained the status of Deśa.

Dakshiṇa and Uttara Tosalī: The region extended from the river Kasai in the north to the river Rishikulya in the south, as we have seen earlier, was known as Tosalī. Before the rise of the king Śambhuyaśasa of Mudgala family it enjoyed the regime of the Nāga king Śatrubhañja. According to Asanapata image inscription, Śatrubhañja was the lord of Ubhaya Tosalī[76] i.e. Uttara and Dakshiṇa Tosalī. We know of these divisions of Tosalī for the first time from the grants issued by the king Śambhuyaśasa. According to his grants, the territories of Dakshiṇa Tosalī and Uttara Tosalī were divided into vishayas for the purpose of administration.

Administrative Officers: In the administration of his principality he was helped by officers like *Mahāsāmanta, Rājaputra, Mahārāja, Kumārāmātya, Uparika, Vishayapati, Tadāyuktaka, Daṇḍapāśika, Sthānātarika*, other officers and *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*. Besides, the officers like *Mahattara, Kuṭakola* and their *Adhikaraṇas* mentioned in the grants were probably incharge of the administration of villages. While the minister *Mahāsandhivigrahin* was also in charge of the work of the writing of the grant the officer *Peḍāpāla* was expected to look after the heating of the plates. We shall here first take in to account the divisions of Dakshiṇa Tosalī. The territory included following vishaya divisions.

Antarakulakoṇavishaya: As mentioned in Erbanga charter dated in the year 235, of the king Śambhuyaśasa the king of Dakshiṇa Tosalī, the donated village Kannirdhakagrāma was situated in Antarakulakoṇavishaya.[77] It seems to be the name of the region round the place Antarakula situated under Gopa police station of Puri district. The region is on the bank of the river Kusabhadra and the locality is situated near the place Erbanga, the findspot of the grant in Puri district. According to Shri Chitrava, the Janapadas situated on the bank of the rivers had

the names ending with the term *kula*. The location of the place Antarakulakoṇa seems to agree with this rule.

Uṭidavishaya: Lokavigraha Bhaṭṭāraka, referred to in the Kanas grant of Gupta year 280, was ruling over Dakshiṇa Tosalī comprising eighteen forest states. The charter registers the grant of the place Urdhvaśṛṅgagrāma in Uṭidavishaya.[78] The donor of the grant was not the king but the royal officers like *Vaiśvāsika*, *Vishayapati* and *Bṛihadbhogika* of the Utidavishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. The grant was made in the favour of the *maṭha* of Maninägeśvara bhattāraka at Chaikāmbaka- may be Ekāmbraka the ancient name of Bhuvanesvara. The name Urdhvaśṛṅga-grāma denotes the place situated on the top of the hill and has been identified with the place named Olesinga in Puri district. The vishaya seems to have obtained its name after Uṭa species of grass used for huts. As the chief place of the vishaya has not been identified we cannot decide the extent of the vishaya.

Vorttonokavishaya: According to Patiakela grant of Māna year 283, Mahārāja Śivarāja granted a village Taṇḍulavalugrāma in Vorttonokavishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosaliī from the place Vorttonoka.[79] The name may be Vātānaka. (Vata+anaka=wind +drum) i.e. a place famous after the loud noise of wind. It has been identified with the place Barchana nearly about twelve miles away from the village Tendra near Jajpur. The donated village Taṇḍulavalugrāma seems to have acquired its name after the Tumba creepers. The locality seems to have rendered its place to two villages, namely Tendra, a few miles to the west of Jajpur and the village Veelpara one mile south of Tendra in Cuttack district. The vishaya seems to have included, roughly, the northern portion of Cuttack district.

Uttara Tosalī: Now we shall see the administrative divisions prevalent in Uttara Tosalī. The grants of the different dynasties available to us furnish us with two types of names of vishaya division of Uttara Tosalī. These are, the vishayas developed from āhāra i.e. āhāravishaya and vishaya divisions which came into existence independently. Of these, the first type of the divisions are known from the grants of the king Śambhuyaśasa, Bhānudatta and Somadatta and the names are as given below.

Sarephāhāravishaya: The village Sarephāsaṅgagrāma, containing donated land, as referred to in the Soro charter of the year 260 and of the period of Mudgala king Śambhuyaśasa was situated in Sarephāhāravishaya in Uttara Tosalī. The division seems to have obtained its name after the Śara variety of grass used for making arrows. The chief place of the āhāra seems identical with the place Soro which was famous during the regime of Shah Shuja as one of the principal divisions of Sarkar Jalesara and Sarephāsaṅgagrāma seems to have given its place to village Saraifapura in Dhamnagar police station in Balasore district. It was probably a village of hunters well known for the use of noose in hunting the animals. The

grant was issued from Tamparavaḍavāsaka. The name suggests the king had the camp at the place named after big Nyagrodha tree famous for providing shelter to cows.

The Sarephāhāravishaya is also known from the grant of the fifth year of Mahārāja Bhānudatta. The record intimates us that the donated village Bahirvāṭakagrāma containing uncultivated land was situated in Sarephāhāravishaya. The grant was made from the temporary camp at Virañja. The chief place of the vishaya has already been identified above. The donated place Bahirvāṭakagrāma that was situated outside the vishaya was originally a vāṭaka and was developed into a grāma. It has not been identified.

This vishaya has also been mentioned in two Soro grants of *Mahābalādhikṛita, Antaraṅga, Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Somadatta. The grants are dated in fifteenth year of his reign. According to the charter issued from the victorious camp at Āmratakshakavāsaka donated village Aḍyāragrāma was situated in Sarephāhāravishaya in Oḍravishaya in Uttara Tosalī.[80] Here Sarephāhāra has been referred to as the division of Oḍravishaya. The name Oḍravishaya denotes the region with moistureous climate as well as the region named after the people. The donated village Aḍyāragrāma has not been identified. Similarly the place Āmratakshakavāsaka has not been traced. The other Soro grant issued by the same king in the same year records the grant of the land in the place Bahirvāṭakagrāma in Varukoṇavishaya in Sarephāhāra. Here the name Serapha is associated only with the term āhāra and not with the double suffix āhāravishaya. It reveals the fact that in early period it was only āhāra division and was developed as vishaya in later period. Varukoṇa the chief place of the vishaya seems identical with the place Barwa under the Bhadraka Sarkar. The grant was issued from the place Sāñcāṭaka, a place providing leaves for writing purpose.

The name Sarephāhāravishaya in Uttara Tosalī suggests that this āhāravishaya was famous for abundant growth of the *śara* variety of grass. Serepha, the chief place of the division has been identified with the place Soro in Balasore district and the region around it must have been very much famous for the *śara* grass used for preparing arrows. In the beginning the region was known as āhāra and when in course of time the region was developed it was declared as vishaya. But instead of removing the term āhāra attached to its name, denoting its earlier status, an additional suffix speaking of its new status was added at the end of its name.

Sagaḍhāhāravishaya: Balasore pls. of the fifth year of *Mahāpratihāra, Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Śrī. Bhānu informs us about the grant of the place Vandirakagrāma in Sagaḍhāhāravishaya.[81] The double suffix āhāra and vishaya associated with the name indicate that the region, in early period was known as āhāra and was changed into vishaya in later period. The chief place of the vishaya

has not been identified. The donated place Vandirakagrāma was made permanent *agrahāra* and was made over to four *Brāhmaṇas*. The name implies that it was the settlement either of the prisoners or of the illegal sons of the kings like the city of Banda in Uttara Pradesh.

Uttamālokavishaya: Now we come to the names of other type of vishaya. As mentioned in Olasinga pls. of fifth year, of *Mahāpratihāra, Mahāsāmanta* Bhānudatta granted the village Kamvukīrikshilākagrāma situated in Uttamālokavishaya[82] to the deity Maṇināga bhaṭṭāraka at Chaikāmbakā and to the monastery attached to it. The region has not been identified but the name suggests that it had obtained the name after the medicinal plant Uttama available here in plenty. Abundance of this plant must have attracted the attention of the first settlers of the place and they named their settlement after it. (The plant Uttama is known in Marathi as Utarana and in Tamil as Uttamani). The donated place may be the settlement of the conchshell workers situated on some high ground or near some rock (Kambu = Conch, Kiri= noise of cutting, Kshilāka=Śilā). The place Andhaśṛṅga from where the grant was given may be Andhasubhikshukagrāma i.e. named after some blind religious mendicant situated on the top of the hill and the place has been identified with the village Olasinga in Puri district.

Oḍravishaya and Varukoṇavishaya: Both these vishayas belong to the second category and are mentioned in Soro pls. of *Mahābalādhikṛta* Somadatta. According to the one charter, Sarephāhāravishaya was situated in Oḍravishaya.[83] Here the vishaya denotes whole of the territory under the rule of Somadatta. As stated in other inscription the donated land was in Bahirvāṭakagrāma in Varukoṇavishaya in Sarephāhāra.[84] The region of Varukoṇavishaya seems identical with the place Baraua Mahal in Bhadraka. Sarkar mentioned it in Ain-i-Akbari. During the period of our study it was the subdivision of Sarephāhāravishaya.

The survey of the administrative divisions prevalent in south, south-east, south-west, and northern Orissa indicates that the dynasties ruling over south Orissa after the Gupta expedition of Dakshiṇāpatha had organised administrative machinery and the territories under their rule were divided into *vishaya, bhoga, madamba and pañchāli*. While the *bhogika* was the administrative officer of the pura the *bhojaka* was in charge of the grāma. The officers known during the period were probably ministers in the royal court and participated in the execution of the grant. The official designations assumed by the kings and the absence of the reference to the officers of subdivisions of the kingdom reveal the fact that the kingdoms in south Orissa were under the direct rule of the kings where as some rulers of south-eastern Orissa and north-eastern Orissa were ruling on behalf of some or the other supreme power. They were the main authority for the administration of the vishayas and had under them subordinate rulers for the administration of the vishayas and also of the grāmas.

It is interesting to note here that administrative divisions of the ancient Orissa named after people, hills, grass, plants, professions etc. help us in tracing the peculiar features of the places and also of the regions in ancient past e.g. some parts of the region of Uttara Tosalī were well-known for the Śara and Uṭa variety of grass and some regions were famous for the medicinal plants like Uttama while the name Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya points to the hilly region.

Besides, some peculiar territorial units like Bhilliṅgabhogavishaya, Parkkhalamārggavishaya, Ketakapadredeśa, Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya, Sarephāhāravishaya, Sagaḍhāhāravishaya etc. with double suffixes speak of the progress of that part of Orissa. Of these, designations, Bhogavishaya is known from the southern portion of Ganjam district, Mārggavishaya from south-eastern part of Ganjam district, Padradeśa from north-eastern part of Balasore district and Āhāravishaya from Puri and Balasore districts.

Vīthī: We have two, *Vīthīs* and *Vartanī*, peculiar territorial designation mentioned in Jayarampur grant of the king Gopachandra and Madras Museum grant of Māthara king, respectively. The division Vīthī appears to be very interesting. The term vīthī literally means market, shop, road etc. According to Jayarampur grant, *Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja* Achyuta, with a permission of his overlord purchased a village Śvetavālikāgrāma in Śvetavālikāvīthī and donated it to *Āryasaṁgha* for building a *vihāra* at *Mahāvihāra* of Bodhipadraka. The grant was communicated to the officers and other people assembled in Śvetavālikāvīthī. Though the term Vīthī, like Mārgga in Maharashtra is used to denote the administrative division here it also seems to speak of the place named after market because among the officers who were addressed by the king there are *Vyavahārins* of Śvetavālikāvīthī and *Pradhānas* of different padrakas. The designation *Vyavahārin* is normally used for the merchant and though the term *Pradhāna* denotes the headman of the village it is also used for head of the traders community as well. The reference to the trader and to the head of trader's community suggests that originally, the term *vīthī* may have been used here for market. As mentioned in the grant, *Mahāsāmanta* purchased Śvetavālikāgrāma along with the tract formed by the sea after it receded. This tract must have been formed of white sand and hence, came to be known after it. Situated on the sea shore it must be a very busy trading centre and had a good market i.e. 'vīthī.' If we take these officers as the officers of the division we don't have the name of the chief place of the vithi where these officers might have assembled. The reference to *Vyavahārins* of Śvetavālikāvīthī and to *Pradhānas* of Aśunapadraka, Yogipadraka, Hulavaṇaja, *Pradhānas* of *Vetrakarmaṇi* and *Pradhāna Sāhu* of Śvetavālikā imply the settlements of the merchants in the Śvetavālikāvīthī which was, probably the division of Daṇḍabhukti.

Vartanī: Vartanī is the other peculiar division known from the grants of the

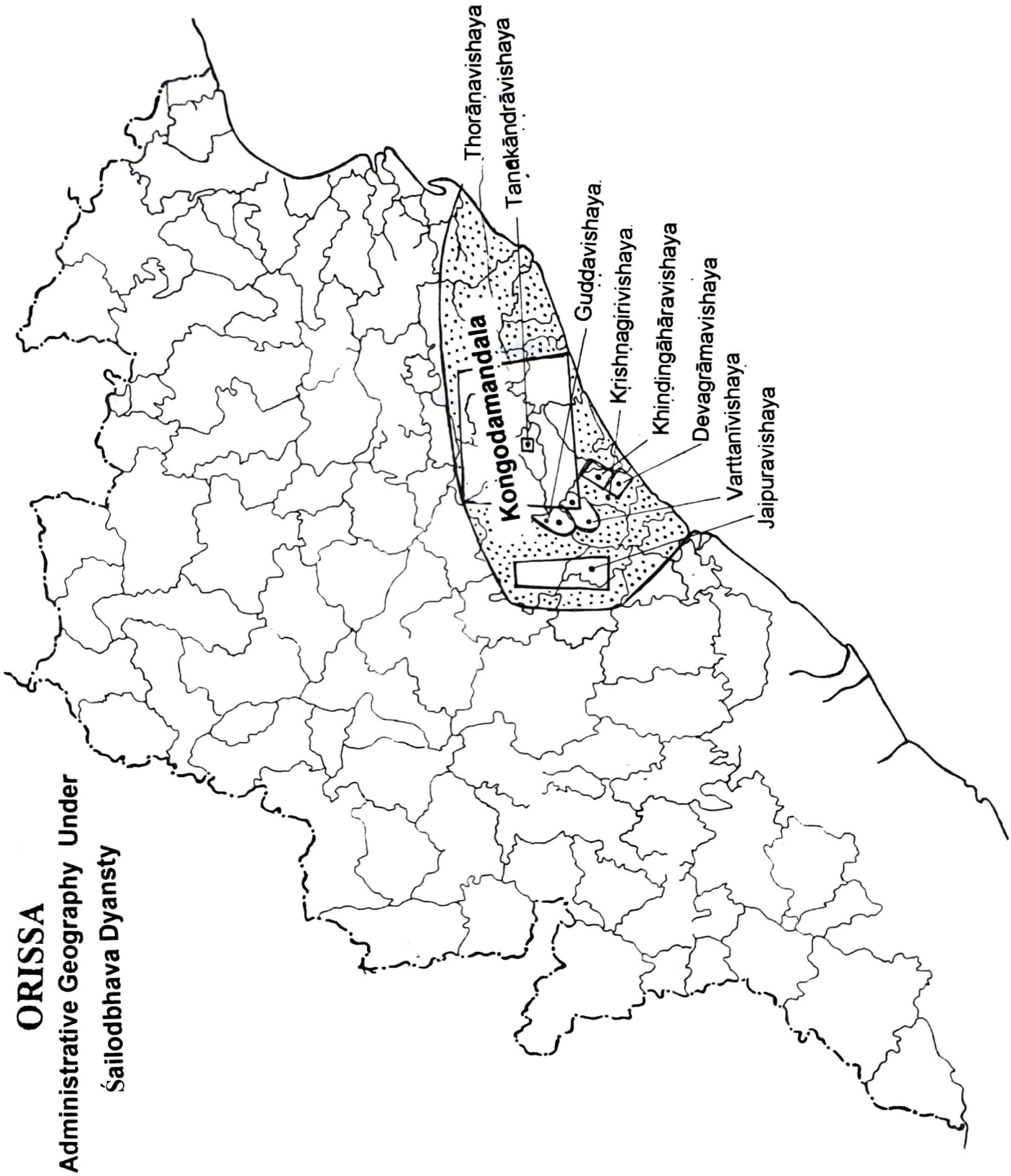
region. It has been mentioned in Madras Museum grant of the Māṭhara king Anantaśaktivarman. The record informs us that the village Sakuṇakagrāma in Varāhavartanī was granted to two *Brāhmaṇa* brothers. Scholars have taken the term Vartanī as the designation of the administrative division. The name of the division is very interesting in the sense that it denotes the region infested with Varāha and also the region situated on some river. Sten Konow has located this region along the course of Varāhanadī which rises in Golkonda hills to the north of Narasapatam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Vatada and D.C. Sircar has put it in Chicacole and Tekkali talukas. G. Ramdas wants to identify it with the region lying between the rivers Vanśadhara and Nāgāvāli. As Chicacole and Tekkali talukas are situated in this region we can identify this Vartanī division, as suggested by D.C. Sircar, with the adjacent portions of Chicacole and Tekkali talukas.[85] Besides, the region may also have been famous for the riverine trade and hence, for the collection of transit duties by the ferryman, superintendent of tolls and the boundary officers.

II Administrative Geography Under The Śailodbhava Dynasty

Historical Background:

Before the rise of Śailodbhava dynasty the region of Orissa from Ganjam district in the south to the Midnapore district in south-west Bengal in the north was ruled by the different dynasties like Vigraha, Mudgala, Datta and kings of unknown dynasties. Of these, the Vigrahas known from Sumandala[86] pls. and Kanas[87] pls. of Gupta year 250 and 280 respectively were, probably the feudatories of the Gupta power and the Mudgalas, known from Erbanga, Soro and Patiakela[88] grant of the year 235, 260 and 283 respectively, were ruling independently but were using Gupta era. The kings Bhānudatta and Somadatta of the Datta dynasty referred to in the Olsinga, Balsore and Soro[89] pls. do not mention their overlord in their grants but the terms such as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Pādānudhyātā, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra* associated with the name of Bhānudatta[90] and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Pādānudhyātā, Mahābalādhikṛta, Antaraṅga,* and *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* associated with the name of Somadatta[91] as well as the use of regnal years in their records indicate that they were, perhaps feudatories of the Mudgalas but were enjoying semi-independent status. The region ruled by these kings, as their grants denote, included the portion of Uttara Tosalī that was under the kings of Mudgala family.

It is important to note here that the territory of Tosalī was divided into two main divisions, probably even before the rise of Mudgala dynasty. Asanpata inscription, of the king Śatrubhañja describes him as the ruler of Ubhaya Tosalī.[92] Names of the two divisions viz., Uttara Tosalī and Dakshiṇa Tosalī, are, however not known from this grant. These two divisions have been mentioned for the first time in the records of the king Śambhuyaśasa of the Mudgala dynasty. While his


ORISSA
Administrative Geography Under
Śailodbhava Dyansty
Thorāṇavishaya
Taṇḍakāndrāvishaya
Kongodamandala
Guḍḍavishaya
Kṛishṇagirivishaya
Khiṇḍingāhāravishaya
Devagrāmavishaya
Varttanīvishaya
Jaipuravishaya

Erbanga grant of the year 230 refers to him as the ruler of Dakshiṇa Tosalī[93] his Soro pls. of the year 260 describe him as the king of Uttara Tosalī.[94] In Gupta year 250 the region now known as Dakshiṇa Tosalī was included in Kaliṅgarāshṭra[95]and Pṛithivīvigraha was ruling over this region. Further, as Kanas pls. inform us, in Gupta year 280 the region was known as Dakshiṇa Tosalī[96] and was ruled by Lokavigraha. By Mana year 283, as Patiakela grant of Śivarāja denotes, it was conquered by the King Śambhuyaśasa. Thus, it appears that the king Śambhuyaśasa became the paramount ruler of wide tract of the territory known as Tosalī that included the districts of Balasore to Cuttack, Puri and northern portion of Ganjam district. He assumed full royal titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Paramadaivatādhidaivata* and installed, as Patiakela grant referred to above indicates, Śivarāja as his feudatory in the division of Dakshiṇa Tosalī and entrusted the administration of Uttara Tosalī, probably to Bhānudatta and Somadatta.These Datta rulers, perhaps after Śambhuyaśasa, began to rule the territory as semi-independent ruler and hence, their charters are dated not in the Gupta era but in their own regnal years. Similarly, they do not mention their overlord. These facts speak of the weak rule of the Mudgala kings in later years. During the regime of Śambhuyaśasa the south-western portion of Bengal and region on the bank of the river Suvarnarekha was ruled by certain Gopachandra.The division under his rule was recognized by the name Daṇḍabhukti and was entrusted, for the administration, to his subordinate ruler Achyuta.[97]

About the first part of the seventh century A.D. Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa established his rule in Bengal. He had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, now known as Rāṅgāmāṭi in the Kandi subdivision of the Murshidabad district of Bengal.[98] Reference to Śaśāṅka as Mahipati in Midanapore pls. of year 19 of Somadatta and of 8th year of Śubhakīrti suggest that he was ruling over the region extended from the northern part of Murshidabad district to that of Balasore.[99] Within a few years of his coming to throne he established his rule over the region of South Tosalī and Koṅgoda and extended his sway as far as Kaliṅga. He made Somadatta in charge of the rule of Daṇḍabhukti under his overlordship. Midnapore grant of 19th year of Somadatta informs us that he was ruling over Daṇḍabhukti and Utkaladeśa on behalf of his overlord king Śaśāṅka.[100] The division Daṇḍabhukti included the region around Daton in south-western Midnapore district and the region lying to the north of the river Suvarnarekha. The name Utkala here seems to denote some portion of Uttara Tosalī i.e. the coastal area of Balasore and Cuttack district. Besides Somadatta, there was one more subordinate king of Śaśāṅka and he is known from the Midanapur grant dated in eighth year. It informs us that Śubhakirti endowed with the title of *Mahāpratihāra* was ruling over the small principality of Daṇḍabhukti.[101] Thus, Śaśāṅka, within a short period of his rule extended his sway over the entire Tosalī, ruled previously by Mudgala dynasty. He, probably, created

the province of Koṅgoda with capital at Koṅgoda out of this conquered territory and installed a scion Mādhavavarman incharge of this new province.

The rise of Śaśāṅka and down fall of the Mudgala dynasty are the most important events which paved the way for the foundation of Śailodbhava dynasty. Policy of expansion adopted by Śaśāṅka helped Śailodbhavas to establish their sway over central Orissa i.e. Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The Śailodbhava dynasty thus began to rule the region of the Mudgala dynasty under the suzerainty of Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. When the king Mādhavarman II, the most ambitious Śailodbhava king, issued his Ganjam[102] charter in Gupta Saṁvat 300 he was the feudatory of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka, the Gauḍa king. But the reference to the Aśvamedha sacrifice, performed by him, in his Puri pls. indicates that he did not continue to owe his allegiance to the Gauḍa king for long after A.D. 619. According to some scholars,[103] sometime between 619–624 A.D. king Harshavardhan and Bhāskarvarman reduced the king Śaśāṅka to submission and taking advantage of the prevalent political turmoil Mādhavavarman II asserted his independence. Puri, Buguda, Purushottamapuri and Cuttack pls. issued during this period of independence do not contain any reference to his overlord. His Puri charter informs us that he destroyed his enemies and performed Aśvamedha and other sacrifices[104] which were not performed for long and as the Aśvamedha sacrifice is performed only by the independent king we can say that the king Mādhavavarman began to rule independently sometime before 623 A.D. Hence, his Puri, Buguda, Purushottampuri and Cuttack pls. do not refer to his overlord Śaśāṅka. His undated Khurda pls. inform us that he established his rule over the entire Kaliṅga and assumed the title *Sakala Kaliṅgādhipati.*[105] Curiously enough, this title is not associated with his name in his other grants issued after the Khurda pls.

Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited the region in 638 A.D. provides interesting information about the Koṅgoda country. According to his description, the country of Koṅgoda contained several tens of small towns situated near mountains and sea. The soldiers of the country were brave and daring. They kept the neighbouring kingdoms under their influence and protected their own kingdom. People here used *Cowari* shells and pearls, as the medium of exchange for commercial transactions. The country was famous for its great greenish blue elephants, which were useful for long journey.[106] According to the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang when he was at Nalanda at the end of 642 A.D. and in the beginning of 643 A.D. king Harshavardhan invaded Koṅgodamaṇḍala with the intention of chastising Pulikeśin of the early Chālukya dynasty of Badāmī.[107] He probably defeated Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman II during this invasion and made him to acknowledge his suzerainty. With the death of Harsha in 647 A.D. Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman II assumed independence and ruled peacefully till 662 A.D.[108]

His son Ayaśobhita II Madhyamarāja who performed Aśvamedha and other sacrifices[109] succeeded him. The descriptions of these sacrifices in his charters suggest that he must be the powerful ruler. But we don't have any information regarding the political achievements of his regime. He ruled up to about the end of the seventh century A.D. After him the kingdom faced, as the six copper pls. charters[110] of his son Dharmarāja indicate, a fratricidal war between his two sons. Ultimately, his son Dharmarāja who was the most competent ruler of the dynasty succeeded to the throne of Koṅgodamaṇḍala. In his Nivina grant he is mentioned as *Parameśvara* and royal epithets like *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* associated with his name also speak the same thing. These titles are absent from the grants of his predecessors and also from his other grants. He reigned at least for thirty years. He issued grants from different places and his last grant is dated in his 30th regnal year. As the charters of the dynasty inform us, the region under the rule of Śailodbhava dynasty was known as Koṅgodamaṇḍala.

Koṅgoda and Koṅgodamaṇḍala:

We learn of the region of Koṅgoda from the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. Surprisingly, epic literature, as well as Pāli[111] works which frequently refer to Kaliṅga and Utkala did not mention this region which occupied the most important position in seventh century A.D. Similarly, even though *Kauṭilya*[112] speaks of the best species of elephants of Kaliṅga he did not refer to the region of Koṅgoda. *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasutra* describes the attitude of lovers in Kaliṅga but it is silent about the region of Koṅgoda. *Kalidāsa* in his *Raghuvaṁśa* refers to Kaliṅga and Utkala but there is no reference to the country of Koṅgoda.[113] Even *Varāhamihira*[114] who was well acquainted with the geography of India has not mentioned the country at all.

It is important to note here that we do not have any ancient inscription either of Maurya period or Gupta period referring to the region of Koṅgoda. Jaugada rock inscription[115] of Aśoka refers to a place Samāpā but not to Koṅgoda. Allahabad pillar inscription[116] of the time of Samudragupta refers to different kingdoms routed by the king Samudragupta during his invasion of Dakshiṇāpatha but it is silent about the Koṅgoda. Khāravela in 1st century B.C. and Māṭharas in 5th century A.D. assumed the title Kaliṅgādhipati[117] and kings like Pṛithivīvigraha, Lokavigraha and Śambhuyaśasa were ruling over Kaliṅga, and DakshiṇaTosalī and Uttara Tosalī[118] respectively. None of these kings claim to have conquered Koṅgoda-maṇḍala.

Koṅgoda, known for the first time from Khandipada-Nuapalli charter[119] of the king Charamparāja, was the place of issue of the charter. At that time it was not a capital of the principality. Ganjam pls. of the Gupta year 300 of Śailodbhava king

Mādhavarāja, *Mahāsāmanta* of the king Śaśāṅka were also issued from the victorious camp at Koṅgoda.[120] The grant, however, did not mention the name of his kingdom. We get the name Koṅgodamaṇḍala[121] for the first time in Purushottamapuri pls. of the year 13th of the king Mādhavavarman.

The capital of their principality of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, in early period of their rule, was known as Koṅgoda. According to the description of the city given in Ganjam pls. of Mādhavarāja II it was situated on the bank of the river Śālimā.[122] Scholars don't have unanimous opinion regarding the location of this city. While Fergusson opines that it was situated to the north of Chilka lake somewhere between Cuttack and Asika Misra wants to locate it at the present site of Ganjam. According to him the description of the city of Koṅgoda, given by Hiuen Tsang agrees very well with the situation of the present day city of Ganjam and remains of temples recovered here in large quantity also speak of the antiquity of the city. V.A. Smith identifies it with the city of Mukhalingam in Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh. While H.K.Mahtab likes to take it as equivalent to Palour some scholars want to identify it with the recently discovered temple complex site at Bankada in Puri district. The place is situated at the foot of the hills of the same name. The site is near the Sāliā river and nearly 25 miles from Banpur and Chilka Lake. But none of these suggested identifications seems to be convincing because according to the respective inscription, referred to above, the city was situated on the bank of river Śālimā. The river Śālimā seems identical with the stream Salia that flows into Chilka and the place Banpur standing on its bank, according to P.K. Ray, may be ancient city of Koṅgoda[123]. Banpur is situated only four kilometers on the north-west of Chilka Lake. The town is famous for several ancient temples, sculptures and other antiquities assignable to the ancient past. It has also yielded number of copper plate grants of different dynasties, such as, Śailodbhavas, Bhaumakaras, Somavaṁśins etc. It is said that present township of Banpur is full of antiquarian remains datable between seventh century A.D. to medieval times.[124]

According to Hiuen-Tsang's description, Koṅgoda country was 1000 Li in circuit and its capital was about 20 Li around. Further, Koṅgoda, according to his description, was the hilly country bordering on the Bay of Sea.[125] Obviously, it denotes the location of the Koṅgodamaṇḍala and not Koṅgoda city. We have, therefore, to locate the city only on the basis of its description given in Ganjam pls. and also with the help of antiquarian remains recovered in excavations. The location of the city of Banpur, already seen above, and the archaeological remains recovered here creates the impression that the locality must have continued to flourish for long period since the time of Śailodbhavas and hence, it can be tentatively taken as representing the ancient city of Koṅgoda.

Now coming to the meaning of the name Koṅgoda, according to Mazumdar,[126]

Koṅgoda is a contraction of the word Koṅgu-nāḍu and in a Tamil country the word Koṅgu denotes crooked geographical configuration. According to the description of Hiuen Tsang, Koṅgoda is a hilly country and hence, we feel that it must be of the irregular shape. Thus, name of the region seems to have obtained its name after its irregular shape and the chief place of the maṇḍala was known after the name of the principality. K.V. Subrahmanya opines that "Koṅgu means honey or flower dust or pollen and the name thus speaks of the country with abundance of honey and flowers". Dr. S. N. Rajaguru writes that the name Koṅgoda seems to have derived from the contraction of the words Kaliṅga and Oda. The country which was situated between Kaliṅga and Oda was known as Kaliṅgoda and it consequently changed into Kaṅgoda and Koṅgoda respectively. Here Kaliṅga means northern part of Ganjam district while south portion of Puri district was known as Oda and a new kingdom of Koṅgoda comprised of north portion of Kaliṅga and south portion of Oda came into existence by about 7th century A.D.[127]

As mentioned in a literary work "*Koṅgudeśa Rājakāla*" Koṅgu is one of the oldest divisions of South India. It included the region of Koimbtore and Salem with some portion of Tinnevelly and Travanacore. The city of Rājarājapuram, as mentioned in an inscription of the time of Kṛishṇadeva, was the capital of Koṅgumaṇḍalam. The name Koṅgoda thus, denotes the influence of south Indian conception.[128]

The scholars, as we have seen above, don't have unanimous opinion regarding the meaning of the word Koṅgu. We however, feel that the region may have obtained its name after its hilly configuration.

Administrative Divisions

With the identification of the capital city of Koṅgodamaṇḍala we will now try to trace the extent of the Koṅgodamaṇḍala with the help of administrative divisions mentioned in the grants issued by the kings of the dynasty. The kingdom of Śailodbhavas was known as Koṅgodamaṇḍala. It is to be noted here that the term maṇḍala was used in ancient inscriptions, sometimes, for the whole of the kingdom and sometimes for the administrative units e.g. in Śilāhāra inscriptions the name Puri-Koṅkaṇamaṇḍala denotes the whole kingdom but the name Saṁyānamaṇḍala in Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription denotes one administrative unit of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. The name Koṅgodamaṇḍala is used here, like that of Śilāhāra kingdom, for the entire dominion of Śailodbhavas and for efficient administration it was divided into vishayas. Following are the names of this unit known from the records of this dynasty.

Kṛishṇagirivishaya: As mentioned in Ganjam pls. of G.Y. 300 of the king Mādhavarāja donated place Chchhvalayakhayagrāma was in Kṛishṇagirivishaya.[129]

Hultzch identifies the vishaya with the region round modern Puri.[130] But the name Kṛishṇagirivishaya clearly indicates that it must be a region dominated by hills and hence, its identification with the region dominated by Kṛishṇagiri hill, situated about four miles to the east of village Phāsi, eighteen miles from the present town of Khallikote in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district made by Rajaguru[131] appears more convincing. As stated by Rajguru four miles to the east of a village named Phāsi, there is a great field surrounded by hills and mountains and one of these hills is known as Kṛishṇagiri. The name of the donated place is very much interesting and must also have been situated in the hilly region. It is composed of two words viz., Chavala+Khaya. Chavala-savala-s-vala= i.e. with Vali. Vali literally means a fold of the skin. Here we can take it as fold of earth i.e. sedimented hills and the word Khaya = seems to have come from root 'Kha' means to dig, (here Khāi created by river). Thus the place Savalakhaya denotes a place in the valley and small hills created or dug out by the forceful current of river. It is the place not with a plain surface but with weavy surface created by sedimented hills, which appear like folds on the earth. The name is very much similar to the name Valikhāyegrāma mentioned in the grant of the Chandella dynasty. The place has been identified with the place Chailu in Khallikote Estate in Kodal taluka of Ganjam district.[132] It is situated in hilly area and agrees very well with the meaning of its name. D.K. Ganguli wants to identify it with the place Sabuliya near Khallikote railway station, Ganjam district. But its identification with the place Chailu seems more acceptable.

Thoraṇavishaya: This vishaya has been referred to in three charters (1) Khurda grant of Mādhavarāja alias Śrī Sainyabhita, (2) Puri pls. of Mādhavavarman of year 13, and (3) Banpur grant of Dharmarāja alias Mānabhita. While the first charter records the grant of the locality named Kumbhāraccheda in Arahaṇṇagrāma in Thoraṇa-vishaya the second record registers the grant of Sālagrāma and the third one registers the donation of three *Ṭimpiras* of land in the village Suvaraṇaraloṇḍī and two and one fourth *Ṭimpiras* of land in the village Madhuvāṭaka attached to Rāṇḍa-simā in Thorāṇavishaya. The place Arahaṇṇagrāma, of the first charter, which contained the donated hamlet Kumbhāraccheda has been identified by Ganguli with the place Ayroun, in the neighbourhood of Khurda in Puri district but he has not identified the donated place Kumbhārachheda. Behera wants to identify it with the place Rahaṇapalli. The place Kumbhāraccheda in Arhaṇṇagrāma has been identified with modern place named Kumbhargaon[133] by Misra. But he has not identified the place Arhaṇṇagrāma that included the hamlet Kumbhārachheda. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Koṅgoda. Place Sālagrāma has been identified with the place GarrMalayapara, a neighborhood of Khurda by Ganguli. Behera reads it as Barāmba and identifies it with a place Budhamba. Of the other places situated in the vishaya only Suvarṇaraloṇḍī has been identified with a place Solluṇḍi.[134] But Behera has not mentioned the name of

talukas that contained these places. Now we come to the identification of the place Thoraṇa, the capital of the vishaya. It has been identified by Misra with the place Thorabonga in Ganjam district[135] but the taluka containing the place is not known. Scholars have identified some of the places situated in Thoraṇavishaya but no body informs us of names of the talukas and districts containing these identified places. Hence it is very difficult to trace these places in the available maps. Besides, no one tells us about the nature of these places i.e. the meaning of the names. Hence, fresh identification of these places is very much essential.

One thing we have to keep in mind is that all the grants mentioning Thoraṇavishaya have been found in Puri district and for this reason we are in favour of locating these places in Puri district. In addition, we want to identify the places on the basis of the meaning of the place names. In other words, before locating the places we want to take the cognizance of the probable meaning of the names, find out the nature of the places and try to identify them in accordance with the meaning of the names. First we shall find out the nature of the vishaya and also the places situated therein. The name is composed of two words, Thor+aṇa. The word Thora, forming the first part of the name of the vishaya seems to have derived from the word sthūra=thick or dense and the word aṇa forming the second part of the name may be from the vana. The name Thoraṇa thus, denotes the division in forested region. Place Arhaṇṇgrāma may be Araṇyagrāma i.e. a settlement situated in forest cleared area. Kumbhāraccheda was the hamlet of the potters in Arahaṇṇagrāma. Sālagrāma, other donated place in Thoraṇa vishaya, as the name denotes, must be a place situated among the Sāl trees. The places Madhuvāṭaka-grāma and Suvarṇaraloṇḍī[136]containing the donated land in Thoraṇavishaya seem to be the localities with abundant Mahua and Suvarṇāra[137] trees respectively. The place Suvarṇaraloṇḍī seems to have been famous for the two species of trees viz., Suvarṇāra =Amalatāsa and Loṇḍi= Rodhra tree with yellow flowers. According to the description in the grant, donated land in place Madhuvāṭaka was attached to Rāṇḍāsimā.[138] The name speaks of the place with sumptuous barren trees. Thus the vishaya, as its name denotes, was a forested region with different species of trees in abundance and the places stated as to have situated in the vishaya were in forest cleared areas.

The division thus, seems to have obtained its name after the big forest. As depicted in the map given in the census Atlas of India[139] large area of Puri district is covered with Tropical dry deciduous, Tropical dry ever green and litoral and swamp forest. It will not be too far to suggest that similar types of forests must have existed here in ancient past as well. On this account, we have tried to locate the places known from the grants in this district. Thus, the place Thoraṇa, chief place of the vishaya, seems to correspond with a place Thorab in Puri sadar police

station in Puri district. Arhaṇṇagrāma that contained donated Kumbhārachheda seems identical with a place Arihan under the same police station as above in Puri district. Hamlet Kumbhāraccheda in Arahaṇṇagrāma is, however, not available. Sālagrāma may be Salaban or Salpada in Khandapada taluka, Puri district. Place Madhuvāṭaka can be identified with a place Madhupur in Fategarh Police station in Khandapada taluka in Puri district. Place Raṇḍāsimā seems to have preserved its identity in a place named Raṇḍā in Ranpur Police station in Ranpur taluka in Puri district. Place Suvarṇarloṇḍī containing donated land can be identified with Sollundi in Buguda police station, Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district. The vishaya consequently, had occupied, roughly, the central portion of Puri district and some portion of the Ganjam district as well.

Guḍḍavishaya: According to Buguda pls.of the king Mādhavarāja, the donated place Puipiṇogrāma in Khadirapāṭaka was situated in Guḍḍavishaya.[140] The word Guḍḍa may be Guḍa and speaks of the Mahua trees,[141] Khadirapāṭaka denotes Khaira species of tree and Puipoṇi may be some flower plant. Thus, the Guḍḍavishaya seems to have obtained its name after plenty of Mahua trees. The division also contained some places with Khaira or Khadira trees and some places with different species of flower plants as well. The place Guḍḍa, the capital of the vishaya seems identical with the place Buguda, a findspot of the plates, in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. Khadirapāṭaka has given its place to Khairaputi,[142] situated to the north of Buguda in same taluka as above and the donated grāma Puipiṇo can be identified with a place Punipada[143] in Nayagarh taluka in Puri district. Misra has identified place Puopiṇogrāma with the place Puipuni in Udayagiri taluka. It is fifty miles away from Khairaputy and hence, it is difficult to accept it as ancient Puipiṇogrāma. The region of Buguda comes, as is shown in the India census map, in north Ganjam forested hilly region and the forest with different species of trees, as the names indicate, seem to have existed here in ancient past as well. Thus, the identified region of vishaya as well as places agrees very well with the meaning of their names and it seems to be ancient name of some portion of Buguda in Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district and adjoining portion of Nayagada taluka of Puri district.

Devagrāmavishaya: As mentioned in Purushottamapuri pls. the king donated a place Ambagrāma situated in Devagrāmavishaya.[144] The name of the vishaya appears interesting. It is associated with two suffixes viz., grāma and vishaya. While the term grāma denotes that in the beginning it was a small settlement the term vishaya suggests that when the region was developed, in later period, the place attained the status of the chief place of the vishaya. Besides, the term Deva in the beginning of the name indicates that it was in the possession of the king. Donated place must have obtained its name after the goddess Ambā. The chief place of the vishaya, Devagrāma, seems identical with the place Degan, under Purushottamapur

police station in Kodala taluka in Ganjam district. The donated place Ambagrāma seems to correspond with a place Ambapur[145] situated in Purshottampur police station in Kodal taluka, Ganjam district. The vishaya may have included the portion of Kodala taluka in Ganjam district. Thus the portion of Purushottamapur police station of Kodal taluka in Ganjam district was known as Devagrāmavishaya.

Jayapuravishaya: Cuttack pls. of the year 50 of king Mādhavavarman inform us that the king granted a plot of land measuring twenty *Ṭimpiras* in a village named Tamataḍāgrāma in Vyāghrapurabhukti in Jayapuravishaya.[146] The grant was issued from the place named Mādhavapura.[147] The region seems to have been named after some victory. Jayapura, the capital city of the vishaya can be identified with Jayapura on the bank of river Rishikulyā opposite to Nalabeṇṭā in Asika taluka, Ganjam district. Vyāghrapura, the chief city of bhukti, the division of vishaya, which must have been infested with tiger, can be identified with a place Bhaghbanpur in Surad police station in Surad taluka in Ganjam district. Locality Tamataḍāgrāma, containing donated plot of land may be originally Tamtaḍāgrāma. The second part of the name suggests that the place must have dissected earth surface caused by lightening or by some other reason. The name seems identical with a village Tanaradā[148] in Bhanjanagara police station in Ghumsur taluka Ganjam district. The grant was issued from Mādhavapura, which may be the other name of Purushottamapur, or the place may have been situated near it. The vishaya seems to have included portions of Ghumsur, Surad and Asika talukas of Ganjam district.

Kaṭakabhuktivishaya: Parikud pls. of the year 26 of the king Madhyamarāja Yaśobhita records the grant of twelve *Ṭimpiras* of land from Pūrvakhaṇḍa in Kaṭakabhuktivishaya.[149] The name of the vishaya is associated with two territorial designations viz.vishaya and bhukti. It seems that the place Kaṭaka was, initially, a chief place of small division bhukti. In later times with the progress of the region it obtained the status of the capital of the vishaya. But by this time the term bhukti had become the part of the name Kaṭaka. Hence, it was retained with the name and a new suffix vishaya was added at the end. Therefore, there are two suffixes with the name. Thus, these two terms associated with the place name Kaṭaka speaks of the progress made by the place in course of time and also of the prevalent practice of preserving the early suffix along with the new one denoting its previous and new status. Before tracing the identification of the place Kaṭaka we have to state that the word Kaṭaka means the side or ridge of the hill or a mountain, a valley or dale[150] and therefore, the place must have been situated near hill or in the hilly region. R.C. Majumdar wants to take it as ancient name of the modern city of Cuttack. But the present city of Cuttack seems to have been founded much later, by about Ś. 1152[151] by Anaṅgabhima III.[152] So it cannot be an ancient place Kaṭaka. According to the grant, the donated land was in Pūrvvakhaṇḍa in

Kaṭakabhuktivishaya i.e. the eastern part of the vishaya. This Pūrvvakhaṇḍa seems identical with the region round Purushottamapur situated to the east of Asika[153] a taluka place in Ganjam district. Even in modern times the region to the east of Asika in recognised as Pūrvakhaṇḍa.[154] R.C. Majumdar identifies it with the suburb named Pūrvakachch of Cuttack.[155] Due to this controversy the chief place of the vishaya we cannot locate Pūrvvakhaṇḍa, containing the donated land, with certainty.

Tanekaṇḍrāvishaya: Ranpur charter of the year 3 of the king Dharmarāja records the donation of five *Ṭimpiras* of land in the locality called Usavāṭaka in Tanekaṇḍrāvishaya.[156] We have taken the name of the vishaya as Tanekāṇḍra. It seems to have come from the word *tṛṇakāṇḍra*[157] meaning heap of grass and denotes the existence of grassy region. Similarly, in ancient times, as the name Usavāṭkagrāma containing the donated land indicates, the place must be famous for the sugarcane production. It was a settlement in Vāṭaka. But in due course it was developed into grāma and obtained an additional suffix grāma at the end of its name. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified, tentatively, with the place Kandarasingi or Karenda-ṭāṅgi in Ranpur police station Ranpur taluka in Puri district. Rajguru has identified the place Usavāṭakagrāma with the locality Ostapada near Ranpur in Puri district.[158] The grant was issued from the place Mātṛchandrapāṭaka. It seems to be the habitation founded by Brāhmaṇa named Mātṛchandra and has been identified with the place Chadraputu[159] in Tangi police station in Banpur taluka, Puri District. The vishaya included the portions of Ranpur and Banpur talukas of Puri district and some portion of Kodal taluka in Ganjam district.

Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya: Nivina pls. dated in 9th year of the king Dharmarāja informs us about the donation of the village Nivināgrāma in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The vishaya, as the name indicates was a hilly region and was named after this peculiar feature. The hilly tract near Banpur bordering Nayagarh state seems to represent ancient Khiṇḍiṇgāhāravishaya and Misra wants to identify Khiṇḍiṅga, a chief place of the vishaya with the place named Khedjhari situated in the tract bordering Nayagarh state. We however want to identify it with the place Khindingi in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. The donated place Nivināgrāma in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya[160] as the name suggests must have been situated in lowly place. Besides the description of its four boundaries given in the grant also point to the low position of the place. The record tells us that the place was bounded on its west by the Trikūṭa, Joḍapāpaḍivanarāi, an anthill, and Vaṅkasilāvaṇarāi, to the north by Trikūṭa, Pāṇisākhātarīmaṇi, Vādhaivaṇi and Digsilā, to the east by Joḍavaṇarāivaḍa, to the north-east by Somaṇī Trikūṭa, to the east again by the village Khollāḍa, to the south-east by Vāghaguhā Trikūṭa, to the south by the Pavadisilagādi (the name of the tank). Of these, names Joḍavaṇarāivāda

Joḍapāpaḍivanarāi speak of the cultivated plots i.e. vāḍa, in the forest. A place Khollāḍa on the east of the donated village may be originally Khollavāḍa or Khollapadra.The word Kholla, probably speaks of valley and the place may have been situated in the valley near the present Khalladi hillock. Though, the meaning of other place names situated on its other boundaries is not clear the place Nivinā seems to have been situated at the low level amidst the hills and forest and hence, it obtained this peculiar name. Further according to the description, the grant was issued from the place Altālaṅghapurakoṭa. The name of the town suggests that tall Rohita trees had formed some sort of fortification around it (It was probably surrounded by some species of tall Rohita trees). The place has been identified with a place Longhara, only one mile from Khallikote station. While donated village Nivinā seems to have given its place to modern place Nimmina in Kodal police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district and Khiṇḍiṅga, chief place of the vishaya, seems identical with a place Khinding in the same police station and taluka none of the other places has been identified. According to Kondedda grant of the year thirty, king Dharmarāja donated a village Koṇḍeḍḍagrāma in Khiḍḍiṅgahāravishaya[161] in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The charter was issued from the place Saumyapura that seems identical with the place Soonpur. The name of the donated place speaks of the place with abundant *Koḍaṇḍa* plant. It has been identified with the place Kodanda[162] in Ganjam district. It seems that large portion of Khallikote taluka with the place Khinding as the capital, formed the Khiṇḍiṅgahāravishaya.

Varttanīvishaya: In the Puri grant of the year twelve, king Dharmarāja refers to the donation of three *Ṭimpiras* of land in Kiṇiyācheda in Doṅgīgrāma in Varttanīvishaya[163] and one *Ṭimpira* land in Dukagrāma, probably in the same vishaya. The name of the vishaya suggests that it must have occupied the region on the bank of some river or on the turning of some road. Kiṇiyācheda in Doṅgīgrāma that included the donated land had obtained its name after the Kiṇhi plant and the place Doṅgīgrāma may be a place famous for small boat called Ḍongi used for crossing the rivers or streams. It may have been situated on the fording place of some river. Dukagrāma, another place containing donated land seems to have obtained its name after Dukula species of plant.

Identification of the capital place Varttanī is controversial. D.K. Ganguli has identified it with the modern village of the same name in Athgarh taluka in Ganjam district.[164] According to him Doṅgīgrāma corresponds with the modern place named Dongi in the Athgarh taluka in Ganjam district. On the other hand Misra[165] identifies the place Varttinī with the place Boirani in Ganjam district. Further, he has identified the place Doṅgīgrāma with the place Dongi in Nayagarh state in Puri district and the place Dukagrāma has been identified with a place named Dukkavellu near the

place Rambha in Ganjam district. Behra is not in favour of the identification made by Misra. He, like Rajguru, wants to identify Varttanī, chief place of the vishaya with a place Vartani near Polsara and places Doṅgīgrāma and Dukagrāma with the places Dungari and Sodaka, respectively, situated four miles from Vartani.[166]

The name of the vishaya and names of places included in it denote the region in the curve of some river and infested with the Kiṇhi and Dukula species of plants. As the Varttanī, chief place of the vishaya and Doṅgīgrāma identified by Behra are situated, in accordance with the meaning of their names, near the Bhagua river, tributary of the river Rishikulya we agree with the identification of these places made by Behra. All these places viz., Dongīgrāma and Dukagrāma identified with Dungari and Sodaka in Purushottamapur police station in Kodal taluka and the place Bartani in Kodal police station in Kodal taluka have the river Bhagua on their east.[167] Thus, it seems to be the name of some portion of Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. The region of the vishaya, as we shall see later, retained its important position, during the regimes of Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala and different branches of Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga. The grant was issued from the place Matṛchandrapāṭaka that has been identified with the place Chandraputu in Banpur taluka in Puri district.

Kirātatalakavishaya: Chandesvara pls. of 18th year of king Dharmarāja registers the grant of the locality named Śivāvivāsa in Kirātatalakavishaya[168] in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The vishaya seems to have been named after the forest of Kirata plants. The name is composed of two words, Kirāta =Kirāta. It is a annual herb[169] with erect branches, lance shaped leaves and is grown throughout India. It is used in the preparation of some drug and also useful in snake bite, and have antityphoid and antibiotic properties. Talaka = may be talka =a forest[170] Thus, the name denotes the region with a large forest of Kirata herb. D.K. Ganguli reads it as Rājatilakavishaya. According to this reading, we have to say that the vishaya was named after the coronation ceremony of some king. We have, however, taken it as Kirāta- a herb and the name denotes the region with Kirata forest. The word Talaka may be a form of the word Talka a forest.[171] The donated place Śivāvivāsa seems to be a famous resort of jackal that was generally regarded as animal of bad omen. The name of the vishaya as a well as of the donated place points to a habitation in the Kirāta forest. But none of these places has yet been identified. The grant was issued from a place Kontalayivāsaka. It is not identified.

The vishaya division was sometimes divided into subdivision Bhukti. There is only one bhukti division. Cuttack museum pls. of Śailodbhava king refers to Vyāghrapurabhukti situated in Jayapuravishaya. The region may have obtained the name after tiger. It seems identical with a place Bhagbanpur in Surad police station in Surad taluka, Ganjam district. The vishaya included portions of Surad and Asikatalukas.

The grāma was the smallest unit of administration and it was sometimes divided into Pāṭaka and Chheda e.g. the Khurda pls. of the king Mādhavarāja alias Śrī Sainyabhita records the grant of Kumbhārachheda in Arahaṇṇagrāma, donated village Puiponī, as mentioned in Buguda grant of the king Mādhavarāja was in Khadirapāṭaka in Guḍḍavishaya. Some scholars have taken Pāṭaka and Chheda as administrative division. But we feel that these were parts of the villages.

Thus, the kingdom of Śailodbhavas was divided into vishaya divisions and there was one bhukti unit. The designations of the divisions were changed in accordance with the progress of the unit e.g. Kaṭakabhuktivishaya or Khiḍḍiṅgahāravishaya. In the early period (of the settlement) these places were made the chief places of the group of settlements designated as bhukti and āhāra, respectively, but when the region was developed they were declared as the capital places of the vishaya division. Thus, this double suffix speaks of the progress of human settlement. The names of the donated places as well as the names of the divisions throw welcome light on the then prevalent atmosphere of the habitations and also of the region e.g. while Kṛishṇagirivishaya informs us that the division was dominated by the hill the name Thoraṇa vishaya points to the big forested region and the names of the places situated in these divisions also corroborate the fact. There are regions named after hills, forests, trees, grass, bend of the river, tank and also after king and victory. The places included in these divisions were named after flora, surface of the earth position of the place etc. The first settlers of the region named their habitations after natural objects and the settlements named after man's achievement came into existence only with the progress of the human civilization.

Now we shall try to trace the extent of the Koṅgodamaṇḍala with the help of these territorial units. Most of these units occupy the portions of the districts of Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack. While Chilka Lake and Bay of Bengal bound the Koṅgodamaṇḍala on its east, and the Eastern Ghats and Phulbani forest separating it from present districts of Koraput and Kalahandi district, respectively, seem to form its western boundary. On the south its boundary was extended upto Mahendragiri hill. According to scholars, the hill ranges running from Kaluparaghata westwards formed its northern limit. There is no pass through these ranges of hills to reach a point in the south-west frontier of the Nayagarh state.[172] But in view of the findspots of three grants, situated in Puri district, we have to extend this northern limit of the Koṅgodamaṇḍala to the river Mahanadi. In the same way in the northeast it may have included some portion of Cuttack district on the south bank of river Mahanadi.The Koṅgodamaṇḍala thus, seems to have begun from the north of Chilka Lake and not from the south of Chilka Lake near Chhatrapur as stated by R.D. Banerji.[173] Mahendra range of hills was to its south

and ex-jamindāri of Chikiṭi, Badakhimedi, and Sanakhimedi forming the kingdom of Śvetaka dynasty were outside the Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The Śailodbhavas belonged to Mahendragiri and the kingdom they carved out was named as Koṅgodamaṇḍala the region of irregular shape.

All the findspots of their copper plate grants and donated places mentioned therein seem to have been situated within these limits. In order to have clear picture of the region of Koṅgodamaṇḍala we will try to have disrictwise analysis of the vishayas known from the grants.

Ganjam District

Varttanīvishaya: Portion of Kodal taluka, Ganjam district.

Kṛishṇagirivishaya: Some region in Khallikote and Kodal taluka in Ganjam district.

Guḍḍavishaya: Portion of Buguda taluka in Ghumsar taluka.

Devagrāmavishaya: Central eastern portion of Kodala taluka.

Kaṭakabhuktivishaya-Pūrvvakhaṇḍa : Region to the east of Asika in taluka of the central eastern part of Ganjam district.

Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya: Some portion of Kodal and Khallikote taluka.

Puri District

Thoraṇavishaya: Adjoining portions of Banpur, Ranpur, Khandapada talukas of Puri district.

Tankaṇḍrāvishaya: Portion of Ranpur taluka in central eastern part of Puri district and some portion of Kodal taluka of Ganjam district.

The name Koṅgodamaṇḍala, the region ruled by Śailodbhavas, thus, denotes the territory extended from central western portion of Ganjam in the south to the river Mahanadi in the north. For efficient administration it was divided into administrative units. These units, as the identification of the places mentioned in their grants denotes, were not very big in size.

Administrative Organization : Śailodbhavas ruled their kingdom with the help of number of administrative officers. Some of the officers known from most of the grants are *Kumārāmātya, Uparika, Tadāyuktaka, Śrīsāmanta, Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, Rājaputra, Daṇḍanāyaka, Daṇḍapāśika, Vyavahārins, Vishayapati, Vaiśvāsika, Viniyuktaka, Rājānaka, Antaraṅga, Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* etc. All these officers have been mentioned in almost all charters in connection with the land grants. Regarding the departments in the charge of these officers we know nothing from the grants. But something can be conjectured from the meaning of these titles. While *Kumāra* was

the designation of prince or king's heir apparent *Kumārāmātya* denotes the officer enjoying the status of *Kumāra*. They were, probably appointed incharge of the district or province. *Uparika* is viceroy or governor of the province. He was sometimes styled as *Mahārāja* or *Rājaputra*. *Bṛhaspatismṛti* gives the list of the requisite qualities of an *Uparika*.[174] It denotes that the designation was in use in ancient times as well. *Śrī Sāmanta* and *Mahāsāmanta* may be feudatories and *Mahārāja* and *Rājaputra* were, probably members of the royal family holding some important posts. *Daṇḍanāyaka* was the leader of forces, an army officer. He was probably posted at the head quarters of vishaya to maintain law and order.[175] *Daṇḍapāśika* was police officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals[176]and *Vyavahārin* was, probably officer in charge of administration of trade[177] or controlling officer. *Vishayapati* was to look after the administration of Vishaya division. *Vaiśvāsika* was the private secretary.[178] *Viniyuktaka* was the officer serving under some higher officer, probably, *Āyuktaka*, and probably revenue officer. *Rājanaka* is a title of feudatory.[179] The designation *Antaraṅga* denotes a class of royal servants very intimate with the king.[180] Besides, the grants were most of the times, written by the officer named *Bhogin* and conveyed to the people by an officer known as *Dūtaka*. Officer in charge of the safety of the palace was known as *Pratihāri*.[181] Description of the boundaries of the donated places, given in some grants[182] indicates that there must be some officer in charge of marking the boundaries of the lands and villages as well. Similarly, reference to the grant of some *Ṭimpiras* of land e.g. Banpur grant of the king Dharmarāja registers the grant of some *Ṭimpiras* of land in the village Suvarṇaraloṇḍī in Thoraṇavishaya,[183] speaks of the existence of some sort of land measure. *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* were perhaps intelligence officers. Thus, the list of the officers given in the grants tends to suggest that the Śailodbhava dynasty had well-organized administrative machinery.

The available evidence suggests that Śailodbhava dynasty was followed by the dynasty known as Bhaumakara.

III Administrative Geography Under The Bhaumakara dynasty

Historical Background

When Śailodbhavas were ruling over the Koṅgodamaṇḍala northern portion of Cuttack district and adjoining portion of Balasore district, according to the grants issued by Bhaumakara kings Śubhakaradeva I and III and queen Tribhuvanamahādevī,[184] was under the rule of Bhaumakara dynasty founded by the king Kshemaṅkaradeva and made powerful by the king Śivakaradeva I, the real fortune maker of the Bhaumakara dynasty. The petty principality, he inherited, probably comprised of the Odra and Utkala region (Uttara Tosala). As described

in Talcher grant of the year 149 he conquered the Rāḍha country and married Jayāvatī the daughter of the king of Rāḍha.[185] He defeated, as the Badkhimedi grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman indicates, the Gaṅga king and compelled him to accept his supremacy. Śivakaradeva seems to have extended the hegemony of the Bhaumakara dynasty from Rāḍhā country in the north to Kaliṅga territory in the south. In the process of expansion of the kingdom towards south he apparently, overthrew the Śailodbhava rule in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in south Tosala and established his rule over entire Tosala region. The dynasty had its capital at Guheśvarapāṭaka[186] that has been identified with ancient city of Virajā or Jājapura in Cuttack district. It remained the capital of the Bhaumakara dynasty till the end of its rule in 11th century A.D.

Tosala: The kingdom of the Bhaumakara dynasty was divided into two main divisions viz. Uttara Tosala and Dakshiṇa Tosala. Each of these divisions contained one maṇḍala division (1)Koṅgodamaṇḍala and Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala. Of these, the former was previously ruled by Śailodbhava dynasty and the latter which included some portion of Midnapore district in west Bengal and some portion of Balasore district was ruled by Somadatta under the overlordship of king Śaśāṅka.

While the reference to the grant of a locality in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Badakhemedi charter tends to suggest that the king Śivakaradeva had conquered the kingdom of the Śailodbhava dynasty the grants of the places in Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala indicates that the region was the part of the kingdom of the Bhaumakara dynasty during the regime of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī. But we don't know when the dynasty annexed this maṇḍala to their kingdom. We know from Neulpura grant of Śubhakaradeva I that he was ruling over Northern Tosalī which was ruled, long back, by Bhānudatta. We get the reference to Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala as a part of Uttara Tosalī for the first time in Baud grants of Daṇḍimahādevī.[187] The same region was ruled by Somadatta and Śubhakirti under the lordship of the king Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa.[188] Since the king Śaśāṅka ruled prior to the times of Karas we can presume that Bhaumakaras established their rule in Uttara Tosalī and Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala after Somadatta. It is, however very difficult to ascertain the exact date of the beginning of Bhaumakara rule in northern Tosalī and Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala. It is believed that king Śaśāṅka died shortly before 637 A.D.[189] and the rule of Somadatta may have come to an end some time during the expedition of Harsha against Koṅgodamaṇḍala. Whether King Harsha appointed Kara king as his governor of the conquered region or Karas acquired it with their own might after the departure of Harsha is not known. While Dharakote pls. of the year 103 indicate the decline of the Śailodbhavas and establishment of the Bhaumakara rule over Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Dakshiṇa Tosalī the Ganjam grant dated in the year 180 and undated Ganjam record of the queen

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Goyilovishaya,
Veṇḍungavishaya
Khambaivishaya,
Yamagarttāmandala,
Jarāvishava
Kodālakamandala
Tāmālakhaṇḍavishaya
Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala,
Dakshiṇakhaṇḍavishaya
Pañchālavishaya
Vubhyudayavishaya
Pūrvarāshtravishaya
, Aśvavanakaṭikāvishaya,
Pūrvavishaya
Olāśramavishaya
Goyilovishaya,
Goyilovishaya,
Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya
Antarudravishaya
Tālamuravishaya.
Jilondāvishaya
Khindingāhāvishaya
Arttanīvishaya
Tāmuravishaya
Baradakhaṇḍavishaya
Jayakaṭakavishaya
Airāvattamandala,
Potodavishaya

Daṇḍimahādevī, referred to below, points to the continuation of the rule of the dynasty over the region upto the time of her rule. The available evidence thus suggests that the rule of the dynasty was well-established over the region by the time of Śubhakaradeva.

The rulers of the Bhaumakara dynasty, like the previous regimes, also organised their kingdom into different divisions for administrative purposes. Vishaya was the main division of their kingdom and for tracing the territorial limits of the kingdom we shall now turn to the administrative units and the granted places included in these units mentioned in their charters.

Koṅgodamaṇḍala: As mentioned in Dharakote pls.of the year 103 of Śubhakaradeva, granted village Guṇḍajagrāma was in Jayakaṭakavishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in South Tosalī. Ganjam pls. of the year 180 as well as undated Ganjam pls. of Daṇḍimahādevī refer to the grant of Villagrāma in Pūrvvakhaṇḍa of the Baraḍakhaṇḍavishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala and the place Rasambhāgrāma in Arttanīvishaya of Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Dakshiṇa Tosalī, respectively. The maṇḍala, as we have seen earlier was extended from the Ganjam district in the south to the region little beyond the river Mahanadi in the north and its capital Koṅgoda has been identified with the place Banpur on the river Śālimā. As all these places have been dealt in detail at proper places we can avoid here the repetition.

Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala: According to Baud grant of the year 158, of Tribhuvanamahādevī, donated place Koṭṭapuragrāma was situated in Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya in Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala in Uttara Tosalī. The other Baud grant of the queen refers to the donation of a plot of land in the district of Dakshiṇakhaṇḍa in Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala.

Thus, the epigraphs of Bhaumakara dynasty give us names of only two maṇḍalas. The grants of the places in both of these maṇḍalas speak of the expansion of the power of the Bhaumakara dynasty from Ganjam district in south to the Midnapore district in west Bengal in north Tosalī, respectively. Let us now turn to the vishaya units in these maṇḍalas to trace the administrative Geography of the Bhaumakara period.

Pañcālavishaya: As mentioned in Neulapura[190] charter of the king Śubhakaradeva I, granted village Kompārakagrāma was situated on Parvatadroṇī in Pañcālavishaya in North Tosalī. While the donated village seems identical with the place Koparee, Pañcālavishaya is identical with Panchmala pargana in Balasore district. The name of the vishaya speaks of the region with five hills and the name of the donated village Kompāraka seems to have come from the word Kūrpara =Kompara= elbow. Modern Koparee situated amidst the hills and in the elbow shaped region created by the rivers Salandi and Gomai, tributaries of the river

Vaitarani in Khaira police station in Soro taluka of Balasore district has been identified with ancient Kompāraka and its position agrees very well with the meaning of the name as well as the description of the place in the grant. Western portion of Soro taluka of Balsore district was known as Pañchālavishaya in ancient times.

Vubhyudayavishaya: Same grant, as above, records the donation of the place named Daṇḍāṅkiyokagrāma in Vubhyudayavishaya[191] in North Tosalī to two hundred *Brāhmaṇas*. The donated place has not been identified but the vishaya seems to have covered the region around the place named Baghuādi situated about 15 miles to the north-east of Jājapura in Cuttack district. According to the description in the charter, the grant was given to two hundred *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*. The name of the granted place as well as that of vishaya is curious. The name Vubhyudaya may be *abhyudaya* meaning the rise or the prosperity, here apparently of the region. It may have been a newly created division. According to R.D. Banerjee donated Daṇḍāṅkiyoka was one village and it was combined with the place Kompāraka. Misra interprets it as two villages viz., Daṇḍāṅki and Yokagrāma situated in one vishaya.[192] As mentioned in the grant, Kompāraka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka, were situated in two different vishayas. The grant also states that donated places were combined as one village under the name Saloṇapura. As combining of two places situated into two different vishayas under one name seems improbable than joining of two places in one vishaya we would prefer to accept Misra's interpretation. The name of Daṇḍāṅki is composed of two words viz., Daṇḍa=staff, Aṅki-Aṅka=mark. It, probably, denotes the habitation dominated by the people applying Daṇḍa mark on their body. Yoka i.e.Yoga[193] may be adjoining village. Both the donated places i.e. Daṇḍāṅki+Yokagrāma were combined and named as Saloṇapurādhivāsa. Place Saloṇapura has been identified with the modern place Salonpur on the north bank of river Vaitarani in Dhamnagar taluka in Balasore district. It is about 15 miles from Jājapura in Cuttack district. The name may be Salavaṇapura i.e. a pura famous for salt, perhaps obtained from saline earth or seawater. The charter was addressed to different officers of the state.[194] The vishaya seems to have included adjoining portions of Cuttack and Bhandari pokhari police station of Dhamnagar taluka of Balasore district.

Antarudravishaya: Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śivakaradeva II, as recorded in Chaurasi[195]charter, granted a village named Vuvraḍāgrāma in Antarudravishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. The name of the vishaya may be Antarodha. It is constituted by two words, Anta =end and Rodha[196] =checked or obstructed. The region of the vishaya has been identified with Antarodha Paragana in the sadar subdivision of modern Puri district. It seems to have occupied the territory where many rivers join the sea and as its name suggests, its further expansion is checked by the sea. The location of the region agrees very well with

the meaning of its name. The place Vuvraḍāgrāma seems to have given its place to modern locality of Buhuruda (Behereda of the map) about ten miles to the north-east of Puri in Gop police station in Nimpada taluka of Puri district. The place Vuvraḍāgrāma may have obtained its name after some bird like black bee i.e. Bhuburda. The vishaya seems to have occupied, south-eastern portion of Puri sadar division of Puri district and south-western portion of Nimpada taluka of Puri district. The region is situated between the river Bhargavi and Kushbhadra.[197]

Sutantarakumbhavishaya: Like the administrative division referred to above the present one was also in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. As Terundia pls. of the year 100 of the king Śubhakaradeva II inform us, Sutantarakumbhavishaya in South Tosalī included donated place Lavāgaṇḍāgrāma.[198] The donee of the grant had come from the place named Taramiṇḍapagrāma.[199] Neither the donated place nor the chief place of the vishaya has been identified. But the place Terundia in Puri district seems identical with the place Taramiṇḍapagrāma, a place of the donee. It is situated on the bank of river and it may have been a riverine port and also toll-collecting centre on the riverine trade in the past. The name of the vishaya speaks of the region that obtained its name after some Tantra rituals. The name Sutantara-Kumbha. Sutantara –Sutantra = well versed in doctrines and commanding good troops[200]. Kumbha=name of the mantra pronounced over weapon. The people of the region were, probably, famous for the good troops and well-versed in the technique of worshipping the weapon with Kumbha[201] mantra. The name of the donated place Lavā+gaṇḍā speaks of the locality in forest cleared area. Lava[202] = anything cut off, Gaṇḍā-Gaṇḍi[203]= the trunk of the tree from the root to the beginning of the branches i.e. the region with lots of cut off trunks of trees. It is possible only in forest cleared region.

Kaṅkavirāvishaya: According to the Hindol grant of the year 103 of the king Śubhakaradeva II, the king granted villages named Noḍḍiḷogrāma in Kaṅkavirāvishaya.[204] The grant was issued from a place Yavāgulopāṭaka. The donated village was bounded on the north-east by the Dhānyamāda-joṭa, on the east by Śṛgālajoṭa on the south-east by Vanamandāra, on the south by Panktāpolla, on the west by Vendrākaṭaka and on the north by Gaṅgeṭi-joṭa. While the donated place Noḍḍilogrāma seems identical with the place Nandeilo[205] under Balami police station in Hindol taluka in Dhenkanal district the donated place Yavāgulopāṭaka has not been identified. The region included in the vishaya has been identified with the area around the place Konkarei[206] on the south bank of the river Brahmani in Jarapada police station in Chhendipada taluka in Dhenkanal district. The word Koṅka seems to have been written for Kaṅka[207] people. The place name Noḍḍilogrāma may be Naḍḍilagrāma i.e. the place with abundant Naḍa[208] species of reed. The name Yavāgulopāṭaka may be originally Yavāgupalla and developed

into Pāṭaka in later period. The word Yavāgu[209] means Yava gruel and according to Purāṇas[210] the mixture of Yava and sugarcane was given to elephants for strength. The place may have been famous for the use of Yava gruel prepared, probably, for elephants and indirectly it implies the place famous for elephants as well. It has not been identified. Thus the vishaya comprising the portion of Dhenkanal district and inhabited by the Kaṅka people was infested with Naḍa species of grass and was famous for the production of Yava and Yava gruel, may be for elephants and also for sugarcane. The vishaya seems to have included the adjoining portions of Hindol and Chhendipada taluka of Dhenkanal district.

Jayakaṭakavishaya: The king Śubhakaradeva III, as recorded in the Dharakote pls. granted a village named Guṇḍajagrāma in Jayakaṭakavishaya[211] in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. The region seems to have obtained its name after some victory. The place Jayakaṭaka, capital city of the vishaya seems identical with the place Jaugada in Asikataluka Ganjam district. The granted village has been identified with the modern place Gundriavadi about ten miles north-west of Dharkote in Surad taluka in Ganjam district. The place seems to have obtained its name after Guṇḍa[212] kind of reed. The vishaya must have included the adjoining portions of Surad and Asika talukas in Ganjam district.

Olāśramavishaya: The object of the Dhenkanal charter of the year 160 of Bhaumakara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī was to record the grant of the village Kontasapārā[213] in Olāśramavishaya[214] in Tosala to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara for bringing down the rains (*Vṛṣṭī-Kāmanimittāya*). Olāśrama, chief place of the vishaya seems to have given its place to modern locality Olas in Cuttack district and the vishaya must have included the territory around this village. As its name Olā[215] implies, it must be a damp region. Modern village Kantapara situated near the bend of the river, to the south-west of Olas, in Cuttack district seems to have taken the place of the ancient donated Kontasaparāgrāma. It may be Kontapārāgrāma. The word Pārā may be pāḍā and the term Konta in the beginning of the name suggests the place with some species of plant. It seems to be a small habitation with sumptuous Konta plants and known as Pārā in ancient times. It was developed into grāma in later period. The vishaya had occupied the region between two rivers in Cuttack district and as its name suggest, must be a wet or damp region.

Māneravishaya: Talcher charter of the year 145 of the Kara king Śubhakara IV refers to the place Aḍḍhendrakoṇāgrāma[216] in Maneravishaya in South Toṣalī.[217] While the place Aḍḍhendrakoṇāgrāma has been identified with modern place Adhaigandi in ex-Narasingpur state in Cuttack district the chief city of the vishaya remains untraced. Its name may be Mānura i.e. the region occupied by the Manya[218] people. The name of the donated place may be Ardhendukoṇagrāma i.e. the place

situated in the corner of the crescent shaped region. The name thus speaks of the shape of the habitation.

Pūrvarāshṭravishaya: According to the Talcher grant of the year 149 of the king Śivakaradeva III donated a place named Kallāṇīgrāma situated in Pūrvarāshṭravishaya[219] in North Tosalī at the request of Rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga. The deed was executed at Jayāśramavihāra. It seems that eastern portion of Yamagarttāmaṇḍala, the Tuṅga kingdom, was known as Pūrvarāshṭravishaya and our record might be speaking of the same region only. Misra wants to identify the region of Yamagarttāmaṇḍala either with Jamagadia in ex-Angula state or with Jamurdi in Pallahara taluka of Dhenkanal district. The name Yamagarttāmaṇḍala speaks of the region full of ferocious river valleys. The Dhenkanal district is physically divided into two parts viz, Dhenkanal upland and Kanaka Hills. Asymmetrical range of Kanaka Hills –Kapilas Parvat run to the north of Mahanadi and the river Brahmani that flowing between two hills in the central region roughly forms the western boundary of the Pallahara taluka in Dhenkanal district. The river has created valleys in the eastern part of this region and this region with the valleys in Pallahara division in Dhenkanal district can be taken as Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. Hence, we want to identify the chief place of the maṇḍala with a place Jamurdi situated in the hilly region in Pallahara. Its eastern portion Pūrvarāshtravishaya included northeastern part of Dhenkanal district and adjoining central-western portion of Keonjhar district. The donated village Kallāṇīgrāma may have been written wrongly for the name Kalyāṇīgrāma and its place is taken by modern place Kaliam in Keonjhar district. It must have been named after some auspicious event. The place Jayāśramavihāra, as stated by Misra may be located at Jagati, the findspot of the pls.

Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya : Here is again a division of Uttara Toṣalī. Talcher grant of the same king as above registers the gift of the village named Suraddhipura in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya in North Toṣalī.[220] The Madhyamakhaṇḍa seems to be the region of Talcher state and Suraddhipura is Saradharpur in Kanhai police station Talcher state now in Dhenkanal district. Originally, it may be Samṛiddhipura or Suvṛddhipura named after prosperity of the place. In course of times it was corrupted as Suraddhipura. The grant also refers to places situated in the different directions of the donated village in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya.[221] The village was bounded on north-east by Tamālakhaṇḍakshetra and Sumeyi river, on the east by Devālaya Jola and by the river flowing close to Pustariyāpur, on the south by the river close to Gayāḍapura, on the south west by Trikatā and the river close by Kalyāṇīpura, on the west by the river close to Hastināpurakshetra and Koroṇḍiyakshetra, on the north-west by the river close by Śaṅkhapura and on the north by Janapaṅgā. Of these, Pustariyāpur, probably, speaks of the settlement of the clay modelers. The

place was situated on the bank of the river and clay available here must have given rise to the profession of clay modelers. The place, however, has not been identified. Similarly, Gayāḍapura on the south, a place founded by the king Gayāḍa, has not been identified. Place Śaṅkhapura, on the north-west, may be a settlement amidst Śaṅkha trees. It has been identified with the place Sonkmur in Khamar police station, Pal-lahara taluka, Kalyāṇīpura on the south-west has not been identified. Besides, the record gives us three names ending with the term Kshetra, viz. Tamālakhaṇḍakshetra, Hastināpurakshetra and Koroṇḍiyakshetra in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya. Of these, the first one has been identified with the place Tamur or Tambur in Khamar[222] Police station in Pallahara taluka in Dhenkanal district, the second one has yet not been traced and the third place seems identical with the place Kolanda (21⁰-14"N-85⁰-11"E). The name Tamālakhaṇḍakshetra[223] points to the region with abundant black Khadira tree. The place name Koraṇḍa may be Kāraṇḍa and it speaks of a place with Kāraṇḍa species of tree. In addition, there is one interesting place name. It is Janapaṅgā.[224] It probably denotes a habitation of the people following different professions and has been identified with the place Jonapara (Janapārā or Jenapādā) in Khamar police station in Pallahara taluka in Dhenkanal district. River Sumeyi on the north-east is river Somakoi in Pallahara state and Devālaya Jola is Duliā river in Keonjhar. Rests of the rivers have not been identified. Thus, this vishaya had obtained its name after its central position. It was surrounded by the rivers Kukura on the north and north-east, Brahmani on the west and river Somkui on the south and south-west. The donated place Suraddhipura which was situated in the region surrounded on all sides with rivers must have rich fertile soil and other natural resources. Hence, it was named as Samṛddhipura Suvṛiddhipura. Thus the division Madhyamakhaṇḍa occupied the region of Khamar police station famous for Śaṅkha and black Khadira trees in Pallahara taluka and some portion of Kanhai police station well-known for its prosperity in Talcher taluka of Dhenkanal district. Apart from the peculiar species of trees, the vishaya was famous for elephants, clay modelers and it also included the settlement of the people doing all sorts of works or professions, and habitations founded by the king.

Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya: The Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī in her Baud charter of the year 158 records the grant of the place named Koṭṭapuragrāma in Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya in Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala[225] in Uttara Tosalī to the temple of Nanneśvara. Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala denotes the region round the place Daton in Midnapore district and territory to the right of the river Suvarnarekha in Balasore district. Tamālakhaṇḍa seems to have been represented by the place Tamluk in Midnapore district. In Mughal revenue accounts it has been referred to as Paragana. It must have been famous for a sort of black Khadira[226] tree. The place

Koṭṭapuragrāma has not been identified. In the beginning, it may be a small settlement in side the fortification wall and was developed later into a grāma.

Dakshiṇakhaṇḍavishaya: According to Baud charter issued by the same queen as above, a place named Utthukākshaṇḍakshetra in Dakshiṇakhaṇḍavishaya[227] in Uttara Tosalī was donated to the deity Umāmaheśvara. Dakshiṇakhaṇḍavishya seems identical with Dakinamal in the Contai subdivision of Midnapore district. It is mentioned in the Mughal revenue accounts as Pargana. The donated Utthukākshaṇḍakshetra[228] is, however, not identified. The name may be Utthā-Kāsakāṇḍakshetra i.e. the area full of roots of Kāsa species of grass. Thus the southern part of Midnapur district, of the Uttara Tosalī was with abundant black Khadira trees and was infested with roots of Kāsa grass.

Arttanīvishaya: Undated Ganjam pls. of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī register the grant of a village named Rasambhāgrāma in Arttanīvishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Dakshiṇa Tosalī.[229] The name of the vishaya may be Varttanī = circumference, course of rivers. Place Bartani near Polsara Kodal taluka in Ganjam district corresponds with the ancient place Arttani or Vartani. The donated place Rasambhā has been identified with the village Rambha on the bank of Chilka Lake in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. The vishaya thus included the adjoining portions of the Kodal and Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district.

Baraḍakhaṇḍavishaya: Ganjam charter of the year 180 of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī registers the donation of the place named Villagrāma (Vilvagrāma) in the Pūrvakhaṇḍa in Baraḍakhaṇḍavishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala to a doorkeeper named Dhavala, son of Vāsu and grandson of Apratidaghosha an immigrant from Viṅgipāṭaka.[230] The name Baraḍakhaṇḍa may be speaking of the hard soil. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place Baruda in Bhañjanagar[231] police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. The donated place Villagrāma, named after Bhilla, a mountain tribe, seems to have given its site to the village named Bealgaon on the south side of the river Rishikulya under Hinjali police station Chhatrapur taluka in Ganjam district.[232] Place Viṅgipāṭaka cannot be identified. The charter further states that Dhavala, donee of the grant, donated a quarter of the village Villagrāma to a *Brāhmaṇa* and the grant also refers to the places Hoṇḍalagrāma and Khairapāṭakagrāma[233] in the context of boundaries of the Villagrāma. A village Hoṇḍalagrāma seems to have obtained its name after some animal like ram or tiger[234] and has been identified with a place Hoondalu situated on the south bank of the river Rishikulya in Purushottamapur Police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. A place Khairapāṭakagrāma seems to have earned its name after the abundant Khaira trees. Modern village Koirapatty under Bhañjanagar Police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district seems to have taken the place of the ancient Khairapāṭakagrāma. B. Misra[235] places Pūrvakhaṇḍa[236]

in the region just above the confluence of the rivers Rishikulya and Ghorababara in Ganjam district. As mentioned in the charter, the vishaya was in Koṅgodamaṇḍala and grant was issued from Guheśvarapāṭaka. The region known by the name Baraḍakhaṇḍavishaya, with the chief place Baruda located in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district, seems to have been famous for its hard soil in ancient past. It contained some region in Hiṅjali police station in Chhatrapur taluka inhabited by the mountain tribe 'Bhilla' and the portion of Bhanjanagar police station in Ghumsur taluka famous for the black Khaira trees and also some area infested with wild animals.

Tāmuravishaya: Santigrama record of the year 180 of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī registers the grant of the village Sāntīragrāma together with another place Komyosaṅga in the Paschimakhaṇḍa in Tāmuravishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. The donee had come from the village Dharmapaṭṭī but his family originally belonged to a place Ṭakārī. The headquarters of the Tāmura, the chief place of the vishaya can be equated with a place named Tamberi and donated place Komyasaṅgā may be Kamasargada in Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district.[237] Place Dharmapaṭṭī and Ṭakārī; donee's places cannot be identified. Similarly, one of the donated places has not been traced. The charter further informs us that the donation was given on the request of Paramamāheśvara Rāṇaka Śrībhṛd-Apsorodeva, the lord of Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. It seems that the chief of the Yamagarttāmaṇḍala was the feudatory of Daṇḍimahādevī. The name Tāmuravishaya may be Tāmbravishaya given after the copper and included portion of Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka, Ganjam district.

Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya: A copper plate grant of the year 187 of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī refers to the donation of the place named Kaṇṭasarānagarī in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya.[238] Modern place named Ghantasila, about 15 miles to the west of Chilka Lake in Banpur police station in Banpur taluka in Puri district, seems to have taken the place of ancient Kaṇṭasarānagarī and the vishaya seems to have covered the region of hilly tract bordering the Nayagarh state on the south and the place known as Khindingi, in Kodal taluka, Ganjam district can be taken as ancient Khiṇḍiṅga, chief city of the vishaya. The vishaya, as its name indicates, was situated in the hilly area and included portions of Banpur taluka of Puri district and Kodal taluka of Ganjam district.

Gahaṅguvishaya: Undated, damaged and unpublished Ambagaon charter of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī records the grant of a village in Gahaṅguvishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Dakshiṇa Tosalī.[239] Gahaṅgu, chief place of the city seems identical with a place Gahangu in Gangapur police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district. The territory of the vishaya may have included region of Gangapur police station of Asika taluka.

Āśvavanakaṭikāvishaya: Vakulamahādevī who ascended the Bhaumakara throne after Daṇḍimahādevī issued a copper plate charter recording a grant of the place Chhodātavatsā and Kanteḍa in Āśvavanakaṭikāvishaya in Uttara Tosalī[240] in the year 204. While the name of vishaya speaks of a region with the forest reserved for horses its chief place Kaṭikā was situated on the edge of this Aśvavana. Curiously, there is one reserve forest named Aśvakhola on the bank of the river Brahmani in Dhenkanal district and ancient place Kaṭīkā may have been situated somewhere in this region only. While the place Kanteḍa one of the donated places, may be identified with places like Kantol or Kantikotani in Kamakshyanagar taluka Kaṭikā, chief place of the vishaya, can be identified with a place Katakamada in Dhenkanal taluka and district. The other donated place has not been identified and the meaning of the names of donated places cannot be made out. The vishaya included the portions of Kamakshyanagar taluka and Dhenkanal taluka of Dhenkanal district.

Talamuravishaya: Dharmamahādevī who followed Vakulamahādevī granted places in Uttara Tosalī. Her Taltalai pls. refer to the places Tarataloi, Kolañca and Komasara in Talamuravishaya in Uttara Tosalī.[241] While the chief place of the vishaya seems identical with the place Talmul the place Tarataloi has been identified with the place Taltalai and Komasara seems to have given its place to a locality of Kamsara in Angul taluka of Dhenkanal district. The village Kolañca has not been located. The name Talamura suggests that the area be covered with species of fragrant plants Mura and the vishaya included portion of Angul taluka, Dhenkanal district.

Veṇḍahāravishaya: Arual copper plate grant informs us about the donation of the village in Veṇḍahāravishaya[242] in Uttara Tosalī by the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī in the year 187 of an unspecified era. The region has not been identified but it may have been situated in the region with not plain but with wavy earth surface. Veṇḍāhāra =Beṇda+hāra, Beṇda=Curve, Hāra = row. Here a row of curves.

Thus, Bhaumakara dynasty ruled over the region known as Tosalī. It was divided into two main divisions viz., Uttara Tosalī and Dakshiṇa Tosalī. Each of these was subdivided into Maṇḍalas (1)Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala and (2) Koṅgodamaṇḍala and each of these contained vishaya divisions. The names of the vishayas as well as those of the granted villages situated in these vishayas throw important light on the location and nature of the places as well as inhabitants, flora, fauna, grains, metal etc. available during the regime of Bhaumakara dynasty. Further, the names like Sutantarakumbhavishaya and Daṇḍāṅki+Yoka also tell us about some religious practices and beliefs prevalent during the period. In order to have a clear picture of the administrative geography of the Bhaumakara period it would be better to have districtwise analysis of these divisions.

Koṅgodamaṇḍala: Southern portion of Cuttack district and Puri, Ganjam district.

Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala: Adjoining portions of Midnapore and Balasore district.

Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya. Dakshiṇakhaṇḍavishaya: Midnapore district.

Pañcālavishaya: Western portion of Soro taluka in Balasore district and south-eastern portion of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts.

Vubhyudayavishaya- Portion of Dhamnagar taluka in south portion of Balasore and north-eastern portion of Cuttack district.

Pūrvarāshṭravishaya: Adjoining portions of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, and Mayurbhanj districts.

Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya: Portions of Pallahara and Talcher talukas in Dhenkanal district.

Āśvanakaṭikāvishaya: Portion of Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district.

Kaṅkavirāvishaya and Talamuravishaya : Chhendipada taluka and Hindol taluka of Dhenkanal district. Angul taluka Dhenkanal district.

Antarudravishaya: South-eastern part of Puri sadar and western portion of Gop police station, Puri district.

Olāśramavishaya: South-eastern portion of Cuttack district.

Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya: South-western part of Puri and north-western part of Ganjam districts.

Tāmuravishaya: Portion of Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district.

Jayakaṭakavishaya, Arttanīvishaya, Baraḍakhaṇḍavishaya: Asika taluka, Kodal and Khallikote taluka, Ghumsur and Chhatrapur taluka, Ganjam district.

Besides, there is a unit like Sutantarakumbhavishaya, which has not been identified.

Extent of the kingdom :The district wise arrangement of these territorial units indicates that the kingdom of the Bhaumakara dynasty was extended from Midnapur district in the north to Ganjam district in the south and during its palmy days it had established its rule over adjoining portions of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Phulbani districts.

Capital: The dynasty had its capital at the place Virañja or Virajā. It has been identified with the place Jajapura in Cuttack district. The place has been mentioned in Dhavali cave inscription[243] of the time of the king Śāntikaradeva. Its antiquity goes back to Mahābhārata period. People of the later Vedic period, as mentioned in *Baudhyāyana Dharmasutra*, looked upon eastern coastal region as impure and it was rarely visited. Some times afterward people were allowed to visit the region

only on pilgrimage. By the time of *Mahābhārata* the situation was completely changed and the region on the bank of river Vaitarani came to be regarded as holy land fit for pilgrimage. While describing the importance of the Vaitarani valley, *Mahābhārata* refers to the place Virajā as one of the most important *Tīrtha* place fit for pilgrimage. It came to be known as *Sarva-Pāpamochana-Tīrtha*. As described in *Gayāsura Mahātmya* section in *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, the naval portion of the demon Gayā fell down at this place and hence, it came to be looked upon as sacred place. The place is still considered as the most proper place for offering oblations to departed souls of ancestors.[244]

During the regime of Bhaumakara dynasty the city enjoyed glorious status. We know from the endorsement to a charter of the Gaṅga king Jayavarman of Śvetaka branch, Bhaumakara king Unmattakesari alias Śivakaradeva had his residence at Virajā.

It retained its important position upto the Muslim rule. During the period it was a famous centre of *tāntrika* worship and also mother goddess cult.[245] Number of temples constructed and carved in accordance to the prescribed rules of *Śilpaśāstras* and dedicated to goddesses, such as *Chāmuṇḍā*, *Vārāhi*, *Saptamātṛkā*, *Durgā*, sixtyfour *Yoginis* and images of *Vigrahas* discovered on the bank of the river Prachi near Cuttack speak of the prevalence of Śaivism as well as Tantrism in this territory of Orissa during the regime of Bhaumakaras.[246] It also developed as the seat of Mahāyāna Buddhism under the rule of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Finely carved colossal statues of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tāras, and many other Mahāyāna deities[247] recovered in Udayagiri, Rāmagiri, Lalitagiri and Alatigiri in the Asia range of hills running to the south of the town indicate that it had become the centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism during this period.[248]

Guhadevapāṭaka: Most of the grants of the dynasty were issued from the place Guhadevapāṭaka. In later grants it has been named as Guheśvarapāṭaka. It was famously known as *Jayaskandhāvara* that literally means camp of victory. But in later period, as medieval lexicons indicate, it was also used in sense of capital of the kingdom. According to Misra,[249] it is identical with the place Godhanesvara-paṭaka, a part of Jajpur in Cuttack district.

Administrative officers: Though monarchy was the rule of the day and king was the head of the whole administrative organization there were following officers to carry out his orders. *Mahāsandhivigrahi*, a minister of War and Peace, *Mahākshapaṭalādhikṛta*, who has been referred to in almost all charters was, perhaps, the chief keeper of accounts and records. He was helped in his work by *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Antaraṅga* and *Rājasatka*, probably a royal physician, *Kumārāmātya* provincial governor and *Pratihāra*, in charge of the safety of the palace. *Dūtaka* the executor of the royal charters as well as conveyor of the royal orders was, most

important officer during the period. Besides there were other officers like *Tadāyuktaka, Daṇḍapāśika, Sthānāntarika, Mahāmahattara, Vṛhatbhogī, Pustakapāla, Sādhyādhikaraṇa, Uparika* etc. to look after the administration of different units of administration such as vishaya and grāma.

Apart from the administrative units which were under the direct rule of the king there were territories that were ruled by the feudatories who were to enjoy the autonomy, to certain extent, under the overlordship of the Bhaumakara dynasty. These feudatories are mentioned in the grants of the Bhaumakara kings with the titles such as, *Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, Rājaputra* etc. Some of the feudatories of the dynasty have been referred to directly while there are some who have been referred to indirectly in the grants issued by the Bhaumakara kings. Sometimes, they are known from the grants of feudatory kings e.g. Badakhimedi grant of Gaṅga king Jayavarmadeva states that the grant of the village in Koṅgodamaṇḍala was given with the permission of king Śivakaradeva I Unmattasimha.[250] A reference to the Bhaumakara king in the context of giving donation implies that Gaṅga king Jayavarmadeva was ruling under the overlordship of Bhaumakaras. Among the feudatories who are directly referred to, there are kings of unknown families as well e.g.Hindol pls. of the king Śubhakaradeva registers the donation of the village to the god Vaidyanātha bhaṭṭāraka installed in the temple constructed by his feudatory some Pulindarāja.[251] The family of the Pulindarāja is, however, not known. Santigrama charter of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī refers to the grant of the village Sāntiragrāma together with other locality named Komyosaṅgha in Paschimakhaṇḍa in Tāmuravishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosala made at the request of one Rāṇaka Śrībhṛd-Apsarodeva[252] who was the lord of Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. Apsorodeva was probably, a feudatory of Daṇḍimahādevī. His family is not known. Talcher pls. of the king Śivakaradeva III inform us about the grant of the village made at the request of Rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga.[253] The grant thus indicates that the Tuṅga dynasty was the feudatory family of the Bhaumas. Further, *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgalakalaśa*[254] mentioned in the context of the grant of the village in Tamālakhaṇḍa in Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala in Baud pls. of the queen Pṛithvīdevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī, probably of the Bhañja family, was a feudatory of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Apart from Gaṅga, Tuṅga and Bhañja rulers, Śulki kings of Kodālakamaṇḍala, Nandas of Jayapura and the Nalas of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala who used the era of Bhauma-Kara dynasty were, probably, ruling under the overlordship of Bhaumakara dynasty. But none of these refers to Bhaumakaras as the overlord. The fact suggests that they enjoyed semi-independent status and managed the administration of their region independently and were also not required, except the Gaṅga ruler, to take the permission of their overlord for making grants of the villages. These feudatories, as the Dhenkanal pls. of Tribhuvanamahādevī I suggest, sometimes played an important role in solving

the internal problems of the kingdom. We shall now turn to the territorial designations prevalent in the principalities of these feudatories.

Śulki Dynasty: All the findspots of the grants and donated places mentioned in the charters of the Śulki dynasty have been situated in Dhenkanal district and its neighbouring region. The place Kodālaka, a place from where all these grants were issued, seems identical with the place Kualo under Parajang police station in Kamakshyanagar taluka of Dhenkanal district.[255] The place is well known for the rich antiquities, including the remains of temples, big and small, of historical interest, it yielded in recent times. The evidence, thus, indicates that it must be a place of an importance in ancient past. The principality of the dynasty was divided into two maṇḍalas viz. Kodālaka and Kannardā. Of these, former seems to be of big size. According to Ganguli, it included a place named Sadā-śivapura and curiously, the temples recovered here are mostly of Śiva.[256] The maṇḍalas were divided into vishayas. We will first study the vishaya units included in the Kodālakamaṇḍala.

Kodālakamaṇḍala: The region under the rule of the family, as mentioned in Dhenkanal grant of the king Kulastambha, was known as Kodālakamaṇḍala. The charter further informs us that the king granted a village named Jhārabāḍa in Goyilokhaṇḍa in Kodālakamaṇḍala. According to its description in the grant, the Kodālakamaṇḍala was surrounded by Śaṅkhajotivalaya. As in Oriya the word Jodi means =a water stream. (Joti-Jodi-jhori-Jhari =a water stream) we have taken the word Jodi in the sense of stream and many rivers with the names ending with the word Jhori found in Orissa support this contention. The name Śaṅkhajoti can be taken here as the name of Śaṅkha river, a tributary of the river Brahmani in Sundargarh district. The same grant also informs us about the inhabitants of the region during the regime of the Śulki dynasty. As stated in the grant the king was known as the lord of Gondramas i.e. Gonda people and as informed by Misra the valley between the rivers Śaṅkha and Koel the other tributary of the river Brahmani and the states of Gangapur, Bamra and Bonai in Sundargarh district are occupied even in modern times, mainly by the Gonda people.[257] The available evidence implies that the region under the rule of the Śulki dynasty was extended from the hills on the border of Hindol state in the south to the confluence of the river Śankhajoti and Palamara in the north and it included the territory on both banks of the river Brahmani in eastern portion of Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts and western portion of Dhenkanal district. Its capital city Kodāla has been identified with the place Koalu situated in Parajang police station of Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district. The Kodālakamaṇḍala was divided into following administrative units.

Goyilavishaya: Puri pls. of the king Raṇastambha records the grant of the place named Padāragrāma attached to Goyilokhaṇḍa and a place named

Kaṅkavirā in Goyilavishaya.[258] While the former donated place has not been identified the latter place seems to have given its place to a modern village Kankili under Parajang[259] police station and the place Goyila, chief place of the vishaya, seems identical with the place Gailo[260] in Parajang police station in Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district. The chief place of the Goyilokhaṇḍa is however not identified. The name suggests that the region must have obtained its name after cowherds. The charter was issued from the place Kodālaka i.e. modern Koalu in Dhenkanal district. The Goyilavishaya has also been referred to in two more grants, (1) Dhenkanal grant[261] of the king Kulastambha and (2) Dhenkanal[262] grant of Jayastambha. Of these, the former grant registers the donation of a place named Jhāravāda in Goyilavishaya in the maṇḍala extended upto Śaṅkhajotivalaya and donated place named Chandrapura, as mentioned in the charter of Jayasiṁha was in Koṅkulakhaṇḍa in Kodālakamaṇḍala. The place Jhāravāḍa,[263] as described in the grant was surrounded by Śaṅkhajotivalaya. It seems identical with the place of the same name situated in the bend of Sankhajyoti river in Panposh subdivision of Sundargarh district. The chief place of the vishaya seems identical with a place named Gailo in the same subdivision in Sundargarh district. Misra has identified the place Jhāravāḍa with a place named Jharaveda in Dhenkanal district and the place Goyila, capital of the vishaya, with the place Goyilu situated to the northeast of Dhenkanal. But the location of Jharaveda does not agree with that given in the grant and identified place Goyilu is situated far away form Jharaveda, the identified Jhāravāḍa. Hence the identification made by Misra does not appear convincing.

The donated place Chandrapura of the latter grant seems to have retained its identity in the place named Chandrapur in Chhendipada taluka of Dhenkanal district and the locality named Koṅkulakhaṇḍa which included Chandrapura seems to have been presented by a place named Kaṅkarai in Jarapada police station in Chendipada taluka in Dhenkanal district[264] and Goyilo, chief place of the vishaya can be identified with the place Gailo,[265] situated in Motunga taluka in Dhenkanal district. Place names Goyilokhaṇḍa and Goyilavishaya speak of the habitations of cowherds and name Jhāravāḍa denotes the settlement in the forest-cleared region. The locality Koṅkakulakhaṇḍa may be the region occupied by the Koṅka people. Thus it seems that in ancient times large area of Dhenkanal, Sambalpur and Sundargarh district i.e. ancient Kodāla was occupied mainly by the cowherds and Koṅka people and man here had long before started, as the place name Jhāravāḍa suggests, clearing of jungle for habitation as well as for cultivation. The place name Jhāravāḍa, as its components, Jhāra-Jhāda=tree and Vāḍa-a settlement in the cultivated area denotes, was the settlement in forest cleared region as well as in the cultivated plot of land.

Jarāvishaya: A copper plate charter issued by the king Raṇastambha records

the grant of some land in Jarāgrāma in Jarāvishaya.[266] The donated place may be Jalagrāma and the name of the vishaya Jalavishaya. As mentioned in the grant it was bounded by the place Chakalika.The donated place is represented by the place named Jali on the bank of tributary of the river Vaitarani under Baria police station in Champua taluka in Keonjhar district. Situated between two rivers its position agrees with the meaning of its name. This region may have been known during the period, because of its position, as Jalavishaya. Its chief place was also known by the same name. Jarā-Jharā = stream, water. A place Chakalika forming its boundary seems to have retained its name in modern place name Chakulia which is situated to the south-west of the place Jali in Baria police station in Champua taluka in Keonjhar district. The name is very much interesting. It seems that some portion of Baria police station in Champua taluka in Keonjhar district was known by the name Jarāvishaya.

Pūrvavishaya: Talcher grant of the king Kulastambha refers to a place named Siṅga in Paschimakhaṇḍa in Pūrvavishaya.[267] The grant was issued from Kodālaka. The place Siṅga seems to have retained its identity in a place named Singa in Gandia taluka in Dhenkanal district. The eastern region of the territory, as the reference to the donated place suggests, under the rule of the dynasty was divided into two parts viz. Pūrvavishaya and Paschimavishaya and these were again divided into subdivisions like Paschimakhaṇḍa and Pūrvakhaṇḍa. We, however, do not know any thing about the Paschimavishaya and Pūrvakhaṇḍa from the grant.

Kanarddāmaṇḍala: Now we come to Kanarddāmaṇḍala[268] mentioned in Hindol pls. of the king Kulastambha. The charter records the grant of the village Soggagrāma in Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya in Kanarddāmaṇḍala. The chief place of the Maṇḍala may be identical with a place Kanarda in Barbil taluka in Keonjhar district.

Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya: The grant referred to above informs us about the gift of some land in Soggagrāma in Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya in Kanarddāmaṇḍala.[269] The name of the vishaya is composed of two words, Gopāra and śṛṅga. While the former must be representing Gopālas i.e. cowherds the latter denotes top of the mountain and the name thus speaks of the habitation of Gopālas on the top of some hill. It has not been identified. The land in Soggagrāma had on its borders Pañcaśasya, Puñyavṛiddhi, Sarvvadā, Sāratura- Khāraṇḍava and Kuśagrass used in sacrificial rituals. Though meaning of all these words is not very much clear we can say that the donated land was surrounded by fields producing different kinds of grains i.e Pañcaśasya, Sāratura may be the plantation of plantain and Khāraṇḍava may be Kāraṇḍava =sort of duck.[270] It implies a tank with Kāraṇḍava birds. The place Soggagrāma containing the donated land and fields producing different kinds of grains, plantation of plantain, a tank with beautiful ducks and

abundant Kuśa grass must have been looked upon by its early settlers as Soggagrāma i.e. Svargagrāma a place with all sorts of prosperity and facilities and hence, it obtained the name after it. It must be a place with fertile land. It is not identified. The meaning of the name Kannarddāmaṇḍala is difficult to make out.

Besides, there are three grants mentioning the names of donated places but no names of the vishayas, which contained these places, are known. Dhenkanal grant of Raṇastambha registers the gift of a village named Kolāmpaka.[271] The grant was issued from Kodālaka. Place Kolāmpaka has been identified with the place Kolambi in Sundaragarh district. Remaining two charters are of the king Jayastmbha. Both these are from Dhenkanal and have been issued from Kodālaka. While one of these does not mention the name of a donated place the other one refers to a place named Lolāpura. It seems equivalent to a modern place named Lonipara in Dhenkanal district. The names of the vishayas and donated places suggest that the adjoining portions of Dhenkanal, Sambalpur, Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts formed the Kodālakamaṇḍala ruled by the Śulki family. The cowherds occupied large portion of the region and many places were situated in the forest-cleared area and on the bank of the rivers. The maṇḍala contained three vishayas named Goyilo. Of these two have been located in Dhenkanal district and one was in Sundargarh district.

Nanda Dynasty: Now we come to the administrative divisions mentioned in the grants of kings of Nanda dynasty. The family was ruling from Jayapura which has been identified with Jayapur in Dhenkanal district.

Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala: The principality ruled by this family was known as Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala and the region lying between the hill ranges situated to the north of Hindol district and hill ranges forming the southern border of Ranpur and Nayagarh talukas in Puri district has been identified as Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala.[272] The name Airāvaṭa, a chief place of the Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala seems to have come from the word aira=water.[273] It has been identified with the place Ratāgarh under Banki police station in Cuttack district. The place is situated between rivers and this peculiar feature must have made its early settlers to name it after the water. The maṇḍala was divided into subdivisions known as vishaya. Two vishaya divisions known, so far, from the grants of the dynasty are as following.

Jiloṇḍā or Siloṇḍāvishaya: Dasapalla grant of Nanda king Devānanda states that the king donated a village Eṇḍeḍḍāgrāma in Jiloṇḍāvishaya in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala. The donee of the grant was the resident of the place named Vaṇiggotrā and had migrated from the place known as Rāhīyavaḍa.[274] The place Jiloṇḍā, the capital city of the vishaya has retained its ancient identity in the place Jilinda in the former Dasapalla state in Puri district.[275] The name may be Jalaoṇḍa-Jalodha=stream. It may be jalaoda-jalaogha. B.Misra reads the name as Silodā. Both

these names i.e. Jiloṇḍā and Śiloṇḍā, imply the place situated on the bank of some water source and from this point of view we want to identify it with a place Jilinda situated on the bank of the river Beshalia in Dasapalla taluka in Puri district. Donated place Eṇḍeḍḍāgrāma and also places of donee have not been identified.

Poṭoḍāvishaya: The object of the Baripada charter of the king Devānanda was to record the grant of a place named Lambeḍagrāma in Poṭoḍāvishaya in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala.[276] The area of Poṭoḍāvishaya has been identified with the former Hindol[277] state. The vishaya seems to have obtained its name after some species of plant known as Poṭaka.[278] Originally the name may be Poṭakavāḍa i.e. the settlement in cultivated plot. The chief place of the vishaya may be identified with a place named Patala in Hindol taluka in Dhenkanal district. Early settlers must have obtained the area required for their habitation by removing the Poṭaka plants and named their habitation after that plant. The name Lambeḍa or Lambpadra seems to have been preserved in the modern place name Limboo in old Narasingpur state. It is situated on the right side of the river Brahmani at the foot hills in Cuttack district. As its name suggests, it may be a horizontally extended settlement.

Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala : Thus, the identification of the vishayas with the region lying between the rivers Brahmani, Mahanadi and their tributaries indicate that the region of Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala was surrounded by water on all sides and hence, was named after this peculiar feature. According to Baripada grant, Jayānanda, the founder of the dynasty was the ruler of Samasta Gondrāma. In one charter there is reference to Aṣṭādaśa Gondrama.[279] The name indicates that the region contained, probably, eighteen Gonda Ārāmas i.e. settlements under the king Jayananda and the name seems to have been preserved in the name Aṭhāragadhjāta applied to the feudatory states of Orissa. The name Gondrāma suggests that the hill tribe known as Gonda occupied quite a large area of the Nanda principality. Thus, the Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala, ruled by the Nanda dynasty, situated to the south of Kodālakamaṇḍala was surrounded by water and was extended upto the hill ranges to the south of Nayagarh state and Ranpur in Puri district. The Gonda, famously known hill tribe, occupied large portion of this Maṇḍala. Some of its area was covered with some species of water plant. The grants of the dynasty were issued from Jayapura in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala. According to Misra the place of Jayapura seems to have been taken by a modern locality Nandapura in Dhenkanal district.

Tuṅga Dynasty: Now we come to the administrative units known from the grants of the Tuṅga family. The principality of the dynasty was known as Yamagarttāmaṇḍala.

Yamagarttāmaṇḍala: According to Bonai grant of Vinita Tuṅga, donated village Kuñjari was situated in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. The king has been described here as the lord of eighteen classes of Gonda people (*Aṣṭādaśa Goṇdra Mahādhipati*).

Fiercely deep valleys were the peculiar feature of this region. It must have been situated in the hilly territory and river valleys. As described in modern geographical works some of the highest peaks of hills and mountains in Orissa are Malayagiri in Pallahara, Gandhmardan and Mankadnacha in Keonjhar and Panchadhara in Sambalpur district.[280] The Yamagarttāmaṇḍala as referred to above included the adjoining portions of Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts and the chief place of the maṇḍala has been identified with the Jamurdi in Pallahara taluka Dhenkanal district. It was occupied, mainly, by the Gond people.

Grants of the family, so far recovered, begin with the description of hill named Ṛiṣivāsaka and the founder of Tuṅga dynasty had come from the place named Rohitasa = modern Rotasgarh. It seems that family had come from the hilly region. It belonged to Śāṇḍilya Gotra.[281] The principality of Yamagarttāmaṇḍala was divided into following vishaya units.

Khambāivishaya: Bonai pls. of Tuṅga king Mahārāja Rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga register the donation of a place named Koiñjari in Khambāivishaya in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala.[282] The place Khambāi, the capital of the vishaya seems identical with the place Khamua[283] in Patan police station Kendujhar taluka and district. The donated grāma seems identical with the place Keonjhar, headquarters of the district of same name. The place seems to have obtained its name after some species of tree (Kendu).

Tuṅkeravishaya: Talcher charter of Tuṅga king Gayāḍatuṅga states that donated village Vāmaitallagrāma was situated in Tuṅkeravishaya in Yamagarṭṭāmaṇḍala.[284] Place Tuṅkera, capital of the vishaya, has been identified by Misra with a place named Tonkour in former Pallahara state in Dhenkanal district. (We have not found the place in the map of the district in District Census Hand Book of Dhenkanal district). The name Tuṅkera may be Tuṅgakera-Tuṅga= Nāgakeśara[285] species of tree, Kerā=Khedā-Village.The name thus, suggest the region with sumptuous Nāgkeśara trees. This feature must have impressed the first settlers of the region very much and the settlement got the name after it. In the same way the donated place obtained its name after the beautiful tank. The name is composed of two words, Vāma+ Talla. Vāma= pleasant, Talla= Tank. The place may have a pleasant tank when its first settlers cleared it for their habitation. The locality, however, is not identified.

Veṇḍuṅgavishaya: One copper plate grant of the same king as above registers the donation of some land in a village named Torogrāma in Veṇḍuṅgavishaya[286] in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. It may be the region with wavy surface. The name Veṇḍuṅga may be Beṇḍaṅga-Beṇḍa+Aṅga,Beṇḍa=Bāṅk=Curve, Bent, Aṅga=Body.The name thus speaks of the hilly territory. The chief place of the vishaya can be identified with the place named Balanga in Sundargarh district. It is situated near the spot

from where the river Brahmani moves backward and takes a winding course or creates bent. Similarly a donated place Torogrāma may be a Taragrāma. Tara = Boat, or to cross the river. It seems to be the place famous for manufacturing boats as well as for the spot from where the river could be crossed or was fordable. The place has been identified with the modern place Thoracoat situated on bank of the river Brahmani in Sundargarh district and its location seems to agree with the meaning of its name.

The Yamagarttāmaṇḍala ruled by the Tuṅga family included northern portion of Dhenkanal district, eastern portion of Sambalpur and Sundargarh district and western portion of Keonjhar district. Apart from these inscriptions of the feudatory families, there is one single plate inscription of certain Jayasiṁha. It has been found in Dhenkanal district and as mentioned in it Jayasiṁha donated a place in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala. As this maṇḍala is also known from the grants of the Tuṅga dynasty, referred to above, we can say that it must be same region. According to the grant Jayasiṁha was the lord of all the Gond people and had obtained the privilege of attending the court or moving anywhere with the playing of five musical instruments from the camp on the bank of Mandākini. This Mandākini river may be identical with the stream of the same name flowing near Jajapur in Cuttack district. Some Bhaumakara king may have bestowed the privilege of *Pañchamahāśabdas* upon him.

Thus the kingdom of the Bhaumakara dynasty had Kodālakamaṇḍala ruled by Śulki dynasty, roughly, on its west, Airavaṭṭamaṇḍala ruled by Tuṅga family in the centre, and Yamagarttāmaṇḍala under the Nanda dynasty in the north-east. These dynasties, as stated earlier, were feudatories of the Bhaumakara dynasty and after the practice prevalent in the main kingdom they divided their principalities, mentioned as Maṇḍala, into vishayas. The rulers of these Maṇḍalas describe themselves as the lord of Gonda people and in modern times also some portions of Dhenkanal, Sambalpur, Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts are occupied by Gond tribes. As place names, such as Goilokhaṇḍa, Goyilo, Gopāra etc, inform us, large area of Kodālakamaṇḍala was inhabited by cowherds as well as by the people such as Koṅka, Māna etc. The maṇḍala, as its name denotes was famous for abundant Kadala plants. Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala, as stated earlier was situated between hill ranges to the north of Hindol in Dhenkanal district and hills to the south of Nayagarh and Ranpur in Puri district. Its chief place Rathgarh is situated on the right side of the river Mahanadi and tributaries of Mahanadi on the south and Brahmani on the north are the main water suppliers of the region. The Maṇḍala seems to have obtained its name after water and one of its divisions (Jiloṇḍāvishaya) was also named after streams. The region was hilly and the Gond tribe inhabited large potion of the Maṇḍala. The Yamagarttāmaṇḍala included the adjoining parts

of Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Keonjhar districts. It is a hilly region and its name implies that the existence of fierce valleys in the region. As mentioned in one of the grants, Gond people as it is today, inhabited it. Some place names available from the grants of the dynasty denote that while some portion of the Maṇḍala was covered with tall Nāgakesara trees some portion was famous for the species of plant known as Kendu.

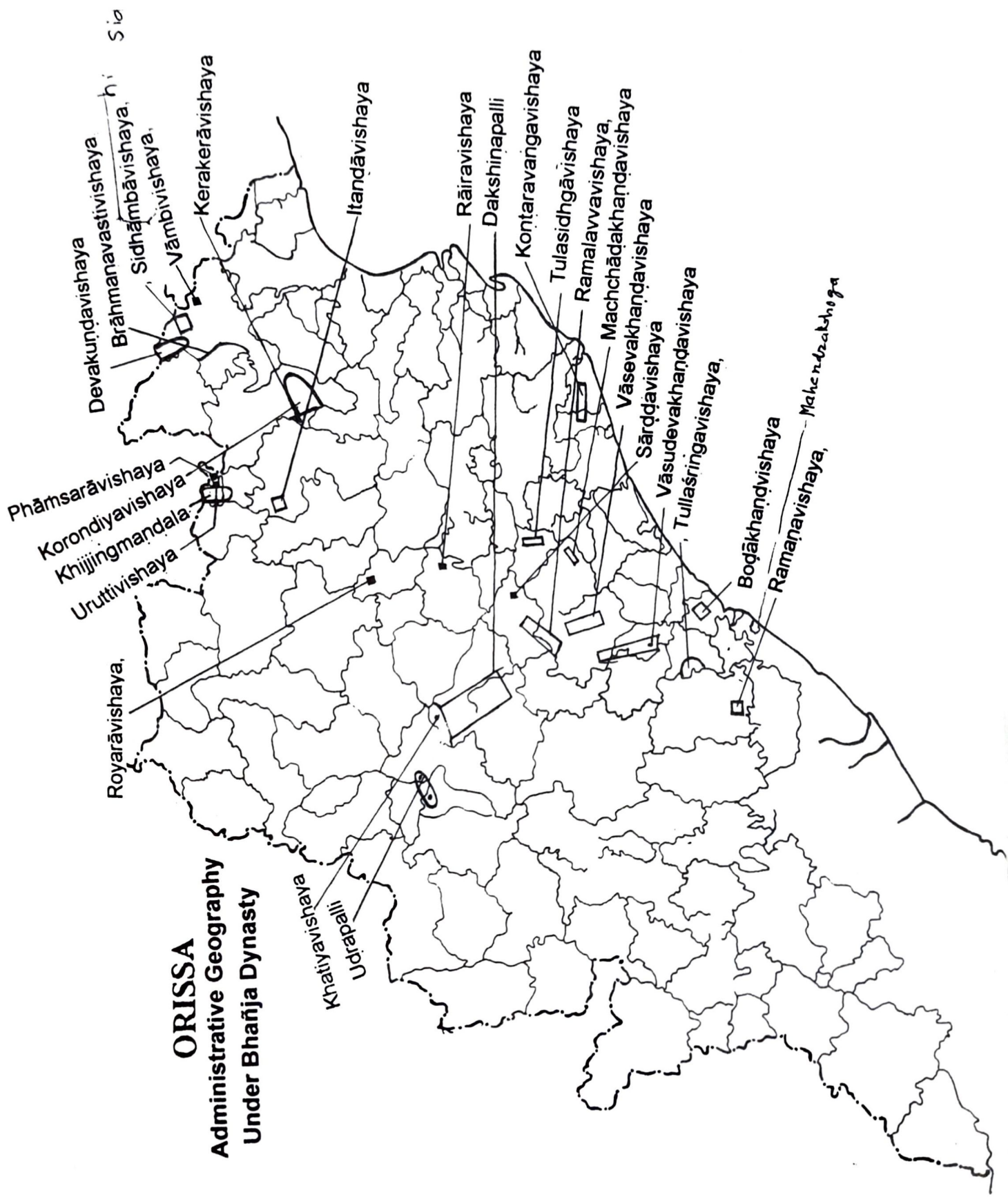
Thus, the during the regime of Bhaumakara dynasty Tosalī region was divided into two main divsions, Uttara Tosalī and Dakshiṇa Tosalī. Each of these contained one Mandala division. The kingdom of the Bhaumakara dynasty, as stated earlier, during their prime time, included district of Dhenkanal and portions of Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts. This region was divided into four maṇḍalas viz. Kodālakamaṇḍala, Kanarddāmaṇḍala, Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala and Yamagarttā-maṇḍala. Of these first two were ruled by the Śulki dynasty and other two by Tuṅga and Nanda dynasty, respectively, as feudatories of Bhaumakara dynasty.

The Bhaumakara dynasty began to decline by the end of ninth century A.D.The last four rulers of the dynasty were female members of the family. Among them Daṇḍimahādevī was the most powerful. She ruled over both the Tosalīs. According to her five charters she granted villages situated in south Tosala i.e. in Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack district, south of Mahanadi river in Orissa and her unpublished Aural grant registers the grant in north Tosala. It seems that after her reign the Bhaumakaras lost this region to Somavaṁśins since the Orissa state Museum pls. of Mahaśivagupta Yayāti records the grant of the villages in Oḍradeśa.[287] Let us now turn to the administrative divisions prevalent in the region ruled by the Bhañja dynasty.

IV Administrative Geography Under the Bhañja Dynasty

Historical Background: From the inscriptions of the Bhañja rulers, recovered at different places, it seems that Bhañjas were divided into several branches and they ruled as subordinate rulers of different imperial families reigning over different parts of Orissa. We can arrange the grants of these Bhañja families, broadly, into three groups. (1) Ādibhañjas of Khijjiṅgkoṭṭa or The Bhañjas of Mayurbhanj, (2) Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala and (3) Miscellaneous.[288] Of these, the Ādibhañja family appears to be the earliest one and inscriptions issued by the kings of this line form the main source for the study of the history of this family.

Bhañjas of Mayurbhanj: When the Bhañjas established their influence in highlands of Orissa there were, probably, several tribal organisations of various aboriginal people and there did not exist any state.[289] According to the epigraphical evidence, Gaṇadaṇḍa Virabhadra was the progenitor of the family and he was, as the Kesari pls. of Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śatṛubhañja


ORISSA
Administrative Geography
Under Bhañja Dynasty
Devakuṇḍavishaya
Brāhmaṇavastivishaya,
Sidhāmbāvishaya,
Vāmbivishaya,
Kerakerāvishaya
Itaṇḍāvishaya
Rāiravishaya
Dakshiṇapalli
Koṇṭaravaṅgavishaya
Tulasidhgāvishaya
Ramalavvavishaya,
Machchāḍakhaṇḍavishaya
Vāsevakhaṇḍavishaya
Sārḍḍavishaya
Vāsudevakhaṇḍavishaya
Tullaśṛiṅgavishaya,
Boḍākhaṇḍvishaya
Ramaṇavishaya,
Phāṁsarāvishaya
Korondiyavishaya
Khijjingmaṇḍala
Uruttivishaya
Royarāvishaya,
Khativyavishaya
Udrapalli

inform us, was the lord of 88000 villages. He is also described as Chakravartisamah. According to the account of the origin of the dynasty preserved in the records of its kings, Virabhadra, the founder of the family came to the world by breaking the egg of peacock in which he was encased in the forest. It seems that the family obtained its name Bhañja after this act of breaking of the egg Mayura by its founder. The name Mayurbhañja is composed of two words, Mayura+ Bhañja. While the second part of the name speaks of the act of breaking the former part, speaks, perhaps, of the family totem of the tribe with which Virabhadra was connected.

It will not be out of place to state here that one section of Bhuians and the Kurmis living near Rairangpur in Bamanghati subdivision, of Mayurbhanj district honour the peacock as a totem and at one time, as recorded in Settlement Report by Mr. Srinath Dutt, they were the ruling tribes of the region.[290] Gaṇadaṇḍa Virabhadra may be a leader of some such tribe. He organized his people under his leadership and the story of his birth in Koṭṭyāśrama in the Tapovana, in tune with the practice prevalent in ancient past, seems to have been composed in later period in order to enhance the status of the family. Further, many dynasties of the ancient times sought to enhance the importance of their pedigree by tracing their origin to some god and it seems to be the case with Bhañjas as well. The people organized under the leadership of Virabhadra have been taken by scholars as Gaṇas of god Śiva. Thus, according to scholars, Gaṇadaṇḍa Virabhadra was probably a mythical personage. It is also supported by the mysterious account of the origin of Virabhadra given in their grants and hence, King Koṭṭabhañja, known from the inscriptions of the other members of the dynasty, can be taken as the real founder of the dynasty.

Bhañja grants issued from Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa refer to Koṭṭabhañja, the second ruler of the dynasty, as the destroyer of the host of enemies.[291] The family ruled from Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa identified with modern Khiching in Raruan police station in Karanjia taluka of Mayurbhanj district and the place names mentioned in their grants indicate that they were ruling over the present districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. B.C. Mazumdar states that the main branch of the Bhañja dynasty had Bamanghati as its headquarters and major portion of the state of Mayurabhañja and western portion of Keonjhar was under their sway. The story of the birth of Virabhadra referred to above indicates that the forest of Koṭṭyāśrama in Mayurbhanj was once known as Tapovana. The place Koṭṭyāśrama has been identified with a modern place named Kutiṅga only 32 miles from Baripada. The reference implies that when Virabhadra established his rule it was a forested region and was abode of sages practicing austerities.

The name Keonjhar also appears to be very interesting. According to some scholars it seems to have derived from the favourite place name Kinchi of the Kurmis and is converted as Kendujhar. In fact Kendu trees and hill streams are found in

many regions of Orissa and it is not the peculiar feature of the Kendujhar region only. Hence, states Mazumdar, the name Keonjhar need not be taken as to have come after Kendu trees and hill streams. It must have been formed from the name of the deity that is still worshipped as the Goddess Kiñchikeśvari in Bamanghati area. It is Kinchi-ar turned into Kendujhar or Keonjhar.[292] We however, want to take the name of the region after the Kendu trees and hill streams for two reasons. Firstly because the early man always named his habitation after the natural peculiar features, hills, streams, trees, fauna etc. and place names after the gods or divine beings appeared on the horizon with the progress of the human civilisation. Keeping this fact in mind we can say that the first settlers of the region cleared large area of forest of Kendu trees for their settlements and as the early man always wanted to live near water sources, the region that early Bhañjas cleared must have been full of hill streams. Hence, they named their habitation after these peculiar features of the place and in later period the name came to be applied to the whole region. It is just possible that Bhañjas may have brought the practice of worshipping the goddess Kiñchikeśvari with them from the Bamanghati region when they entered Keonjhar forest. Similarly, there must be some places, like Kiñchi of Kurmis, inhabited by the devotees of Kiñchikeśvari. But there is no reason to take the name of the region Keonjhar after the goddess Kiñchikeśvari well known in the region.

Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala: Now we come to the Bhañja branch of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. The, available evidence indicates that the Bhañjas, like other minor dynasties, such as, the Śulkis, Tuṅgas, Nandas etc., were contemporaries of the Bhauma-Karas, Somavaṁśins of Kosala and Imperial Gaṅgas as well. The use of Bhauma era by Raṇabhañja of Ādipura family and also by some kings of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali denotes that the Bhañjas started their political carrier as the feudatories of the Bhaumakaras and retained that status in later period as well. Besides, the titles like *Rāṇaka, Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* etc. assumed by the rulers of this dynasty also speak of their subordinate position under some dynasty.[293] But their charters are without reference to their overlord. The fact implies that they were defacto independent rulers. Some rulers of the dynasty, as the royal titles *Mahārāja* and *Parameśvara* etc. associated with their names indicate, tried to rule independently. Whether the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala were related to Bhañja dynasty of Mayurbhañ cannot be said with certainty. We don't have epigraphical evidence, except the reference to Virabhadra's egg born origin in the records of both the dynasties, to connect these dynasties with each other.

Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjalimaṇḍala can be divided into two groups viz. the early Bhañjas and the later Bhañjas. Of these, the former Bhañja dynasty was the most prominent dynasty and its rule seems to have begun with the king named Śilabhañja I alias Āṅgadi. He is known from the grants of his successors. The charters

of his son, grandson, and great-grandson are issued from Dhṛtipura. His son and successor Śatṛabhañja and his grandson Raṇabhañja are styled as Lord of Khiñjali. Their records are issued from Dhṛtipura but the grants of their successors are issued from Vijaya Vañjulvaka. The place Dhṛtipura, the capital city of the dynasty is, however, not identified. But the rich antiquities recovered at the town of Baud and identification of the granted places mentioned in the grants of Raṇabhañja with the places located in former states of Sonepur and Baud[294] region tempt the scholars to take the town of Baud as the ancient Dhṛitipura.

Ubhaya Khiñjalimaṇḍala: During the period of the king Śatṛabhañja the kingdom of Khiñjalimaṇḍala was divided, as the name Ubhaya Khiñjali denotes, into two divisions and King Śatṛabhañja was the lord of Ubhaya Khiñjalimaṇḍala.[295] According to scholars, the region of these two Khiñjalis seems identical with the region on the southern and northern bank of the river Mahanadi and its immediate neighbourhood.[296] Curiously enough, while the region under the rule of the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgkoṭṭa included the forest of Kendu trees the territory under the Bhañjas of this branch was famous for Hijjala trees, a small species of tree grown in wet and saline soil or in low grounds near the sea. B.C. Mazumdar wants to identify the region of Khiñjalimaṇḍala with Northern Khemdi, now divided into Bar Kimedi, Sān Kimedi, Parla Kimedi and the tract of Gumsur.[297]As he has described, whole of this region lies outside the seaboard tract of Ganjam. According to R.D. Banerji,[298] the region lying on the upper reaches of the river Mahanadi was known as Khiñjali and it included the old states of Gangapur, Bonai, Bomra, Rairakhola, Sonepur, Patna and Karond with a portion of the district of Sambalpur. He further, opines that the river Mahanadi divided this region into two parts. B. Misra identifies the place Khiñjali with the place Iñjali in Angul district. He wants to take it as northern Khiñjali and territory round a place Indragadia in Nayagarh State, locally called Hiñjalagadia as southern Khiñjali.[299] Taking into account the conditions, suitable, for the growth of the Hijjala tree, referred to above, we would like to identify Hiñjalagadia with Khiñjali. It may be the capital of southern Khiñjali, as suggested by B. Misra. The second phase of the rule of the dynasty of Khiñjalimaṇḍala began, probably, with the defeat inflicted upon it by the Somavaṁśins of Kosala.

The Somavaṁśins conquered the region of Sonepur, Baud and Dasapalla ruled by the Bhañjas and drove them out towards the south.[300] The branch began its rule with the king Śilabhañja-II alias Tribhuvanakalaśa-I. This branch had its capital at Vañjulvaka, Nettabhañja alias Kalyāṇakalaśa, Śatṛabhañja-III alias Tribhuvanakalaśa-II and Netrabhañja-II alias Tribhuvanakalaśa-III were the most prominent rulers of this branch of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. Kings Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja, later Bhañja kings, were contemporary of the Gaṅga king Aniyankabhīma-III ruling in the first quarter of the 13th century A.D.[301] In the later period, the Bhañjas were

divided into several branches that ruled different parts of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. Their grants were issued from the places such as Kolāda-Kaṭaka, Kumārapura, Khollapāṭī etc.

Miscellaneous Branches: Besides the records issued by these two main branches of the dynasty, a few records showing no connection with the main branches have been recovered at different sites. Some of these records, according to scholars, belong to eighth or ninth century A.D. while the rest are of later period.[302]

Thus, the kingdom of Bhañjas that seems to have comprised, broadly, the Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sonepur, and Baud region in early part of their regime was extended to the south in later period. We can have broad idea about the extension of the kingdom of the different Bhañja families only by the study of the administrative divisions and places mentioned in their records. We shall begin the study of the administrative geography of the Bhañja kingdom with the Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj or Bamanghati. All their charters are issued from Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa identified with modern place Khiching in Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district. The place has yielded several antiquities of historical importance. The kingdom of this branch of Bhañja dynasty was known as Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala. It was divided into khaṇḍas, bhogas and vishayas.

Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala: The kingdom of the dynasty was known as Maṇḍala. According to the Ādipur grant of Narendrabhañjadeva, the donee had come from Rāmaprakaṭigrāma in Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala.[303] Khijjiṅga is obviously a place Khichinga in Mayurbhnaj district. The place Rāmaprakaṭigrāma is not identified. Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala was divided into khaṇḍa divisions named after directions. There are two Khaṇḍas viz., Uttarakhaṇḍa and Pūrvakhaṇḍa. These were divided into vishayas e.g. Koroṇḍiyavishaya, as stated in Bamanghati grant of Raṇabhañja, was in Uttarakhaṇḍa. Suhagpur pls. of Narendrabhañja records the grant of a village Daṇḍapañchikagrāma in Vāmbivishaya in Purvakhaṇḍa of Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala.[304] But we don't know whether there was Dakshiṇakhaṇḍa or not. The Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala which seems to have been extended from Singbhum in Bihar included some portion of Kendujhar district as well. Its Purvakhaṇḍa may have included some adjoining portions of Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts. The maṇḍala also included bhoga divisions. Ukunda pls. of Pṛithvibhañja refers to a donated place named Gaṇḍogrāma in Piganḍabhoga in Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala.[305] The headquarters of the maṇḍala was at Khijjiṅga that seems identical with a place Khiching, situated in Karanjia taluka Mayurbhanj district. According to Sahu, Keonjhar district, very likely comprised Dakshiṇakhaṇḍa of the Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala.[306] But, in view of the fact that modern Keonjhar district comes on the west of Mayurbhañj district it will not be proper to treat whole of the Keonjhar district as Dakshiṇakhaṇḍa. On the other hand we will have to include south-eastern portion of Keonjhar, south-

eastern portion of Balasore and south portion of Mayurbhanj districts in Dakshiṇakhaṇḍa of Khijjiṅgmaṇḍala. In short, with the available scanty evidence we cannot identify Dakshiṇakhaṇḍa with certainty.

Bhoga: There is only one bhoga division. The grant referred to above mentions the donation of Gaṇḍogrāma in Pigaṇḍabhoga. As given in Sanskrit English Dictionary the word Gaṇḍo, here in Gaṇḍo+grāma, denotes a place named after rhinoceros and the name Pigaṇḍa points to the large region infested with rhinoceros. The places, however, could not yet been traced.

Koroṇḍiya and Devakuṇḍavishaya: Bamanghati pls. of the year 188 of unspecified era of the king Raṇabhañjadeva records the grant of the villages Timiṇḍirāgrāma, Nāṅkolagrāma, Jambupadrakagrāma and Pasantagrāma in Uttarakhaṇḍa in Koroṇḍiyavishaya and Devakuṇḍavishaya.[307] All these grāmas were donated upto their already settled limits in the four-directions. The villages were not to be entered by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*. The place Koroṇḍa, capital of the former vishaya, can be identified with the place Karanjia, to the south-east of Khiching in Mayurbhanj district. It seems to be a place famous for the Karañja[308] species of trees and as depicted in the available map it is in forested region. The place Nāṅkolagrāma, one of the donated grāmas in Koroṇḍiyavishaya seems to be a place famous for various species of trees. The name may be Nānākola. Nānā[309]=Always used to denote varieties. Kola[310] is the name of a plant, may be of black pepper and fruit of the jujube tree. It is also a name of the people. As the large area of Mayurbhanj district, especially Similipal plateau at higher level, is covered with tropical semi-evergreen forest and has tropical dry deciduous forest on its southern fringe[311] it would be appropriate to take the name Nāṅkolagrāma in the sense of different species of trees. From this point of view a place named Nana[312] situated on the bank of Burhabalang river, near Similipalgarh in Similipal plateau, forested region, in Jashipur police station, Karanjia taluka seems equivalent to the ancient Nānkolagrāma in Koroṇḍiyavishya. Timiṇḍirāgrāma[313] which was situated in Koroṇḍiyavishaya in Uttarakhaṇḍa has been identified with a place Tendra situated to south-west of Bamanghati in Bahalda police station Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district.[314] Timiṇḍirā may be Tribhaṇḍirāgrāma -Tribhaṇḍi = white Nishoth tree. The place must have obtained its name after plenty of white Nishoth trees.[315]

Place Devakuṇḍa, chief place of the other vishaya, has retained its name in modern place name Devakonda,[316] about seventy five miles west of Baripada and eight miles to the north of Bamanghati in Bahalda police station in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district. The place Jambupadraka,[317] obtaining its name after Jambu fruit, seems to have yielded its place to a locality Jamada,[318] eight miles west of Bamanghati in the same police station and taluka and district as above. The

donated place Pasantāgrāma seems identical with the place Pasan in Mayurbhanj district.[319]

The grant thus, refers to two vishaya divisions viz., Koroṇḍiyavishaya and Devakuṇḍavishaya. As donated villages, Timiṇḍirāgrāma, Jambupadraka and Pasantā and also the chief city of Devakuṇḍa of the later vishaya have been located in the northern portion of the district Mayurbhanj we can say that this portion of Mayurbhanj district was known as Devakoṇḍavishaya. In the same way on the basis of identification of the places Nānakola and chief place Koroṇḍa in the Similipal plateau and on the bank of the tributary of Vaitarani, respectively, we have to treat the region extended from the bank of the river Tel, tributary of Vaitarani in the region, in the central-western portion to the central portion of the Mayurbhanj district as Koroṇḍiya vishaya.

Brāhmaṇavastivishaya: According to undated Bamanghati pls. the king Raṇabhañja, donated grāma named Brāhmaṇavastigrāma in Brāhmaṇavastivishaya in Uttarakhaṇḍa of Khichiṅgkoṭṭa. The place seems to have been represented by a modern place named Bamanavas.[320] The name of the vishaya as well as donated place are very interesting in the sense that while the former speaks of the habitation of Brāhmaṇas the latter points to the region occupied by Brāhmaṇas. The division was in northern portion of the district of Mayurbhanj.

Sidhāhimbāvishaya: Khandadeuli, undated, charter of the king Raṇabhañja, son of Digbhañja and grandson of Koṭṭabhañja registers the grant of a place Bontalāgrāma in Sidhāhimbāvishaya[321] in Uttarakhaṇḍa. The donated place has been represented by a place of the same name i.e. Bontalā in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district. The name seems to have been written wrongly for the name Banatalā. It may be a place situated at the end of the forested region. The region Sidhāhimbā seems to have obtained its name after white plants in abundance. The chief place of the vishaya may be identified with the place Ambadih in Rairangpur police station and taluka, Mayurbhanj district. It seems that this district was known in ancient times as Sidhāhimbāvishaya.

Before proceeding further we shall try to identify the region of Uttarakhaṇḍa. There are, as grants referred to above indicate, four vishayas situated in Uttarakhaṇḍa. As the place Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa, identified with modern place Khiching in Mayurbhanj district, was the capital of the kingdom of Bhañjas of Mayurbhanj dynasty the reference to Uttarakhaṇḍa obviously denotes the region to the north of Khijjiṅga i.e. modern Khichinga situated near the confluence of two hill streams viz., Kotrobandan and Kantakhair. On the basis of the identification of the places located in these vishayas in Uttarakhaṇḍa we can say that the region of Uttarakhaṇḍa was extended upto Chaibasa in adjoining district of Singbhum in Bihar in the north and little beyond the locality of Koroṇḍiya or, roughly, to the river Tel in the south.

Aḍagrāmavishaya: As mentioned in copper plate charter[322] of the king Raṇabhañjadeva, the king donated a village named Vāṇivaḍāgrāma to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Nārāyaṇamitra resident of Vikhati. Vāṇivāḍagrāma may be the correct form of the name of the donated place Vāṇivaḍāgrāma. The name speaks of the habitation of traders in the cultivated plot. The division Āḍagrāmavishaya that contained the donated place must have been situated behind some hill, forest or some other object. As its name denotes it was not easily visible. Both the places have not been identified.

Urattivishaya: Adipur pls. of the year 193 of the king Raṇabhañjadeva refer to the grant of Svalpasārāigrāma in Urattivishaya.[323] The same grant further refers to the grant of a place named Bṛhatsārāigrāma in Urattivishaya[324] to a *Brāhmaṇa*, an immigrant of Tilapudraka, by Mahārāja Raṇabhañjadeva. The name Uratti may be *Vṛitti* = denoting the region occupied by the *Brāhmaṇas* with share in gifted lands known as *Vritti*. Some times the kings donated lands either in the same place or from different places to number of *Brāhmaṇas* e.g. Twenty three Ṭimpiras of land to twenty three *Brāhmaṇas*, twelve Ṭimpiras of land to twelve *Brāhmaṇas*. Thus each *Brāhmaṇa* was to get some shares in gifted land. The donee *Brāhmaṇas* were to enjoy these shares free from taxes without any disturbance. The practice of giving donations of shares of land to number of *Brāhmaṇas* led to the creation of large area occupied by the *Brāhmaṇa Vṛitti* holders. The rights and privileges of these donee *Brāhmaṇas* may have made them whole and sole authority for the administration of the share of their land and in later period whole of this region came to be known as Vṛittivishaya i.e. the division dominated by *vṛitti* holder *Brāhmaṇas*. The donated grāmas, as the name denotes, were, probably Savarāi i.e. the settlements of Savaras and the terms Bṛhat and Svalpa associated with these names speak of the existence of two places of the same name but of big and small size respectively. Ptolemy refers to Savaras as Savarāi. The authors of *Kādambarī* and *Daśakumāra Charita* were aware of Savara influence all throughout Orissa and highlands of Central India.[325] The names from our records speak of the migrating activities of the Savara people. The place has been identified with the place named Sarei in Champa taluka in Keonjhar district. Uttivishaya mentioned in Kesari pls. of the king Śaṭṛabhañja may be the same as Urattivishaya mentioned here. The grant informs us that donated grāma Syallāmāyi was situated in Uttivishaya.[326] The findspot of this pls. is situated ten miles north–west of Khiching in Mayurbhanj district. While the rugged hilly terrain with rocky mounds covers the central portion of the district the eastern portion comprises gently undulating plains. Besides, the district is very rich in mineral deposits. The vishaya may have been enclosed on all sides with some hills and the donated place Syllyāmāyi may be a place situated amidst hills famous for Śilājit or for any such fossil production. The place may be identified the place named Saloi in Tiringi police station in Rairangapur taluka in Mayurbhanj district. While

the former grant refers to the places occupied by the Savara people the latter grant refers to a place situated among hills and as its name indicates, it must have been enclosed on all sides by hills famous for the production of Śilājit. The vishaya seems to have included the portion of Champua taluka in Keonjhar district, adjoining region of Bihar and Tiringi police station of Rairangpur taluka of Mayurbhanj district.

Loivishaya: In Deogaon pls. of Raṇabhañjadeva he is described as *Aṣṭāsitisahasrādhipati, Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati, Mahārājādjirāja Parameśvara*. The grant records the donation of Upannāgrāma in Loivishaya[327] to Rāṇaka Umbasiṁha to be enjoyed till the existence the moon and the sun. The word Loi speaks of availability of some kind of mineral in this region. The pls. are found at Deogam in Keonjhar district that contains large deposits of minerals such as iron ore, manganese, chromite, bauxite and steatite. While regions like Joḍā, Thakurāni and Gandhamadan hills are famous for iron deposits the places Nalda, Barbil and Joda are well known for manganese ore. The region is also rich in the deposits of different rocks[328] and there must be some region like Loi, of the grant, famous for Borax as well. The region is tentatively identified with the region round Lunaghar in Kendujhar taluka Keonjhar district.[329] The name of the donated grāma according to S. Tripathi, is Nāupannāgrāma. It probably denotes nau-upa-annagrāma i.e. newly founded grāma in addition to the Annagrāma, already in existence, related to food producing activities. Thus there were two Annagrāmas, newly founded and old one. Places Naupannāgrāma may be modern Naupada[330] in Patana police station in Kendujhar taluka of Keonjhar district and the vishaya seems to have been occupied some portions of Patana police station and Kendujhar sadar police station in Kendujhar taluka Keonjhar district.

Itaṇḍāvishaya: The same grant as above informs us that the king granted a village named Tuluvaraigrāma in Itaṇḍāvishaya.[331] The vishaya seems to have its name after kind of reed grass and granted village Tuluvaraigrāma seems to denote a settlement with abundant or as the word Rai points to the settlement established in the forest of Tulu trees. Chief place of the vishaya can be equated with the place Indupura, Anandapur police station and taluka of Keonjhar district. The donated place Tuluvarāigrāma seems to have given its place to a locality named Talagaon in Anandpur taluka in Keonjhar district.

Kerakerāvishaya: As mentioned in the Adipur charter, the king Narendra-bhañjadeva donated a place named Śarapadrakagrāma in Kerakerāvishaya[332] to a *Brāhmaṇa* associated with Rāmaparkaṭigrāma in Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala and a resident of the place Bhaṭṭagrāma Allavid in Oḍravishaya. The name of the vishaya denotes a region with stretches and stretches of land covered with Kadali plants. It is Kadalikheḍāvishaya. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the

place Kerakera in Karanjia taluka and donated place Śarapadrakagrāma speaks of the place with plenty of Śara grass and seems identical with a place named Saradha under Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district. The name Bhaṭṭagrāma, donee's place, seems interesting in the sense that it was occupied by the *Brāhmaṇas* or inhabited mainly by *Brāhmaṇas* who were bearers of *Bhaṭṭavṛitti.*

Vāmbivishaya: According to Suhagpur pls. of Narendrabhañja, granted place Daṇḍapañchikagrāma was situated in Vāmbivishaya in Pūrvakhaṇḍa of Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala.[333] The name Vāmbi denotes a region with sumptuous Bamboo plantations and from this point of view we can take the modern place Baunsbani in Kolian police station in Baripada taluka in Mayurbhanj district as representing the ancient place Vāmbi, the capital of the vishaya. Place Daṇḍapañchikagrāma seems to speak something about five types of fine but has not been identified. Khijjiṅga is Khiching in Mayurbhanj district and the division Pūrvakhaṇḍa containing donated village has to be equated with the eastern portion of the Mayurbhanj district and identified place Baunsbani is in north-east portion of the Kolian police station, Baripada taluka of Mayurbhanj district.

Phaṁsarāvishaya: Granted village named Mokugagrāma was situated, as mentioned in the charter[334] of Mādhavabhañja of the year 3, in Phaṁsarā or Pāṁsurāvishaya. It may be Pānsura = dusty region with abundant Mokuga = Mukūlaka[335] species of the plant. Phaṁsarā, the chief place of the vishaya, has been identified with a place Panasi and the place Mokuga seems identical with the place Mukuna in Raruan police station in Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district. It seems to be the name of some portion of Raruan police station of Karanjia taluka Mayurbhanj district.

The Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala thus seems to have comprised of the adjoining portions of Singbhum district in Bihar and Keonjhar, Balasore and Mayurbhanj districts of Orissa.

Now we come to the divisions mentioned in the records of Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. The maṇḍala, as reference to Ubhaya Khiñjali in Sonepur grant of the king Śatṛabhañja indicate, was divided into two parts. The grant states that the king was the ruler of Ubhaya Khiñjali.[336] Scholars don't have unanimous opinion regarding the identification of these two Khiñjalis. Hiralal wants to take it as equivalent to Keonjhar district. According to latest Imperial Gazetteer, the district of Keonjhar can be divided in to two parts, lower and upper Keonjhar, on the basis of their widely distinct peculiar natural features. While the lower Keonjhar is a region of valleys the upper one includes mountains and high lands. As these are natural divisions these must have been existed during the regime of the Bhañja dynasty as well and can be taken as representing the Ubhaya Khiñjali.[337] But R.D. Banerji states that the villages that were included in the maṇḍala have been

identified with the places situated on both banks of the upper reaches of the river Mahanadi. According to him[338], the region included old states of Gangpur, Bonai, Bomra, Rairakhola, Sonpur, Patna, Karond and some portion of Sambalpur district. The river Mahanadi divided this region into two parts and the region on both banks of the river may be taken as equivalent to Ubhaya Khiñjali.[339] B. Misra wants to include the portions of Angul taluka and Nayagarh state in region of Ubhaya Khiñjali. He identifies the region round Injili in Angul to the north of the river as north Khiñjali and a place Khijaripara in Baud to the south of the river Mahanadi as southern Khiñjali.[340] A place Indargadia, in Nayagarh state is also known famously as Hiñjalagadia.

Here the name Khiñjali seems to denote a kind of tree commonly known as Hijjala or Ijjala. This small tree grows in wet and saline soil or in the low grounds near sea.[341] According to this meaning, the region of Ubhaya Khiñjali must have the soil suitable for the growth of the Hijjala tree. Puri, Khorda and Nayagarh districts that contain places named after Hijjala tree form a part of Mahanadi delta. The territory can be divided into four major divisions viz. hilly tracts, rolling land, deltic plain and coastal plain. In general, the elevation of land in this region is higher in the west and much low in deltic part of Mahanadi and bay coast. It is sometimes below ten mts. While the eastern part of the region is covered with alluvial soil the littoral tract inside, lying few kilometers from sea in the east, is covered with saline soil.[342] As the small Hijjala tree is grown in wet and saline soil we have to locate the place named after this tree in this region only. But before coming to the conclusion, it is very much essential to take into account the administrative divisions and the places mentioned in the grants.

The kingdom of the Bhañjas was known as Khiñjalimaṇḍala. It was, as the term Ubhaya Khiñjali denotes, divided into two parts viz., Northern Khiñjali and Southern Khiñjali. Though some of the kings have been referred to as the ruler of both the Khiñjalis all the donated places are described as to have been situated in Khiñjalimaṇḍala only. The kingdom was divided into administrative divisions such as Vishaya and Palli. Following are the vishayas and pallis known from their grants.

Royarāvishaya: As mentioned in Sonepur charter, the king Śatrubhañja of Ubhaya Khiñjalimaṇḍala donated a village Milupāḍikhaṇḍakshetra in Royarāvishaya[343] to a *Brāhmaṇa* for his permanent enjoyment. The name Royarāvishaya may be Rāyapuravishaya or Rājapura. It suggests that the territory be in the possession of the King. Each royal family in ancient times owned some land or the region for their own use. The land here was to be cultivated with the help of prisoners and servants in the royal court and the king used the produce of the region for different purposes. The place has been identified with the place Rohila in Kanhai police station in Talchera taluka of Dhenkanal district. The donated

village Milupāḍikhaṇḍakshetra may be a group of settlements in cultivated plots. The name is composed of two words, Milu+Pāḍi. Of these, Milu seems to have come from the word Mil = bringing together, assemble etc. Pāḍi seems similar to wādi in Marathi. The name thus denotes a small settlements in the cultivated plot and the term Khaṇḍakshetra implies that this group of settlements was to render some sort of revenue jointly, to the government. (Khaṇḍa = revenue. Kshetra = field). It has not been identified. The vishaya contained the region around Rohila in Talcher taluka Dhenkanal district.

Rāirāvishaya: According to Orissa Museum pls. of 9th year of the king Raṇabhañja, granted village Vāriśāmāgrāma was in Rāirāvishaya[344] in Khiñjalimaṇḍala. It was the region in the possession of the king. The donated place Vāriśāmāgrāma was situated on the bank of the river Mora. It may be Moharani River, a tributary of the river Mahanadi in Phulbani district. First part of the place name also suggests that the place be situated on the bank of the river with abundant Śāmā plants. The plant is also known by the name Priyaṅgu and as mentioned in Sanskrit English dictionary the plant Śāmā is useful for curing Leprosy.[345] The name Vāriśāmā thus speaks of the peculiar features of place. It is not identified. But the chief place of the vishaya can be equated with the place Raigoda in Bantala police station in Angul taluka in Dhenkanal district and the region around it may be famous as Rāirāvishaya.

Tulsīdgavishaya: As referred to in the Phulbani grant of regnal year 9 of the king Raṇabhañjadeva donated place Kokaṭigrāma was in Tulasīdgavishaya.[346] While the name of the donated place speaks of its Kokaṭa[347] inhabitants the name of the vishaya denotes a region with Tula=silky cotton plants and Sidga=kind of reed or Durvā[348] grass. Same vishaya has been mentioned in Dasapalla pls. of the year 24 of the same king. As mentioned in the grant donated place named Hastileṇḍāgrāma was situated in Tullasīdgāvishaya.[349] Meaning of the name of the donated grāma is not clear. It may be after some species of plants or related to elephants. It seems identical with a place Hatiapali in Khandapada taluka of Puri district. The chief place of the vishaya can be identified with the place Tulasipur in Fategarh police station in Khandapada taluka in Puri district. The vishaya must have included the region of Fategarh police station. It was, as already stated, covered with different species of plants and grass and was occupied by the Kokaṭa people.

Tullāśṛṅgavishaya: This is other division named after tulu plants. Tullāśṛṅgavishaya[350] as referred to in the Baud pls. of the year 58 of the same king as above, included the donated place Turallāgrāma. While the chief place of the vishaya seems identical with the place named Tulasingi in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district donated place Turullāgrāma is identified with the place Turum situated to the north-west of the place Tulasingi, on the bank

of the branch of the river Rishikulya. It must be a fording place. It seems to be the name of the region round Tulsingi in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district.

Khaṭiyavishaya: Baud pls. of the year 24 of the same king as above inform us that he donated a plot of land from a place named Vāllāśṛiṅgakhaṇḍakshetra in Khaṭiyavishaya. While the western border of the donated land was formed by the river Śālaṅki on its north there was a river Mahanadi.[351] The name Khaṭiya denotes a region with abundant Khaṭa variety of grass. Scholars have taken the chief place of the vishaya as equivalent to the place Kaintragarh in Athmalik state situated on the north bank of the river Mahanadi in Angul subdivision of Dhenkanal district and not far away from the chief place of the Athmalik state.[352] We however would like to identify the chief place of the vishaya with a place Khatkhatiya in Baud division of the Phulbani district. The word Vāllā forming the first part of the name of donated locality speaks of the place situated on the bend of the river and the word Śṛiṅga in the second part of the name means top of mound i.e. the place might have been situated on the top of the mound near the bend of the river. The ancient place seems to have retained its identity in the modern village Ballasringa about two miles from Baud on the Bagh river. The donee *Brāhmaṇa* had come from the place Bhaṭataralā in Oḍravishaya. It has not been identified. Same vishaya is also known from the grant issued in 54th year by the same king and also from the same place. As mentioned in the charter the granted place named Kontinthigrāma was in Khaṭiya vishaya and the donee *Brāhmaṇa* had come from Ambasarasarā.[353] Donated place, as its name denotes, was a place with plenty of Tamarind trees and was situated in the corner. The place seems identical, with the modern place named Kontuani, two miles south of Baud in Baud subdivision of Phulbani district and a place known as Ambasarabhitlo in former Sonepur state can be taken as equivalent to ancient locality Ambasarasarā, the place of the donee.

Now we come to the Palli divisions known from the epigraphs of the dynasty. There are only three Palli divisions.

Uḍrapalli: The division Uḍrapalli has been mentioned in Kumurkela grant of Rāṇaka Śatṛabhañja. As stated in the record, donated places Kumurakelāgrāma and Jaintāmurā were in Uḍrapalli.[354] The term Palli in the name of the vishaya denotes that in the early days there were small habitations of the wandering people. The name is composed of two words Uḍra + Palli. While the former word denotes the region with plenty of small species of plant the latter points to a small settlement of wandering people. When in due course the region was developed it came to be known as the vishaya division and the Uḍrapalli obtained the status of the chief place of the division. The place has been identified with the place Utrapali situated on the bank of Mahanadi in Angul subdivision of Dhenkanal district. In the text it is mentioned as Uḍrapalli. But the editor has taken it as Uttarapalli, probably,

because in the other grant there is a reference to Uttarapalli. We, however, want to take it as Uḍrapalli. The word Uḍra may have derived from the name Uṇḍa = some species of plant. The place Kumurakelā has been identified with Kumarakali in Birmaharajpur subdivision of Sonepur district and the place Jaintāmurā gave its place to the modern place Janmaira in the Sonepur district. Both these names are after vegetation. The name Jaintāmurā is composed of two words, Jaintā and Murā. Jaintā may be a form of the word Jivantī[355] species of plant. It is a parasitical plant and Mura means root. The name thus, points to the division infested with Jivantī species of plant. The donee of the grant was migrant of the place Vaṅgakuṭi and was resident of the place Gandhaṭapāṭi[356] Place Gandhaṭapāṭi has been identified with the place Gandharadi near the headquarters of Baud district. Abundant relics of antiquarian interest recovered here indicate that it is an ancient site. It was very important place in Khiñjalimaṇḍala, probably founded by Bhañja king Śatṛbhañja Gandhaṭa. Twin temples of Siddheśvara and Nilamādhava at this place speaks of the synthesis between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. During the regime of Somavaṁśins it was made chief place of the Gandhaṭapāṭimaṇḍala. The vishaya seems to have been formed of some portions of Angul taluka of Dhenkanal district and Sonepur district.

Uttarapalli: The palli, as the Taspaikera charter of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja denotes, enjoyed existence in the later period. According to the charter, donated village Taspaikerāgrāma was in Uttarapalli that was bounded by the river Mahanadi.[357] The name of the donated village is very interesting in the sense that it is associated with two suffixes viz. Kerā and Grāma. Though both these words speak of the small settlement the suffix Kerā i.e. Kheta, Kheda speaks of the habitation in the cultivated field itself while the word grāma points to the settlement of cultivators. Thus, the name implies the progress of the place that came into existence as Kerā and developed into a grāma in later period. Besides, the first part of the name is also fascinating for its meaning. The name is composed of four words Tas+Pai+kerā+grāma. Tas may be the form of Chasas, the cultivators, the word Pai may have come from Paik i.e. the descendents of ancient military class in Orissa who were paid from Chakrin or Service land. Kera denotes field and grāma i.e. the habitation of the farmers. Taken these meanings together the village Taspaikerāgrāma seems to be the settlement of the retired warriors busy in agricultural activities.[358] It seems to be the division to the north of Mahanadi.

Dakshiṇapalli: According to Singhara grant, Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja donated a place Singharāmahallopīgrāma on the bank of the river Vyāghrā in Dakshiṇapalli Bhogikhaṇḍa[359] to a *Brāhmaṇa* Bhaṭṭaputra Vohi. It seems to be the name of the southern part of the Khiñjalimaṇḍala. As we have seen earlier there were two pallis and in order to distinguish these from one another these were recognised as northern

palli and southern palli. With the progress of the region these pallis became administrative divisions of the northern and southern part of the kingdom. The chief city of Dakshiṇapalli can be identified with the place Dakpali on the bank of river Salki in Phulbani district. The name of the palli is associated here with the term Bhogikhaṇḍa. It may be Bhogakhaṇḍa i.e. the region paying the tax bhoga or reserved for the enjoyment of the king. The name of the donated place Singharāmahallopīgrāma seems to be the combination of two place names, Singharā and Mahallopīgrāma. Misra has identified the donated place Singharā with Sunagara and Mahallopīgrāma with Moholi. Both these places have been shown in the map, provided by him, on the bank of the river Mahanadi.

As mentioned in the grant donated places were on the bank of the river Vyāghrā and not on Mahanadi. The river Vyāghrā must be Vyāghrā, the southern tributary of the river Mahanadi in Phulbani district. In such circumstances the identification of the places made by Misra seems difficult to accept. We can take a place Sagara and Mannupali on the Vyāghrā in Phulbani district as representing ancient Singharā and Mahallopīgrāma, respectively. Mahallopīgrāma may be Mahilāropyagrāma i.e. a place with plants of Mahilā[360]=Priyaṅgu. It denotes a place with abundance of a particular creeper which blossoms at the touch of women and the place Singharā, probably, denotes a place infested with lions. Both these villages were founded, not far from each other, in forest cleared areas and in course of time came to be recognised by the joint name.

The division has again been mentioned in Patna Museum pls. of the year 22 and undated Baud grant of the same king as above. As referred to in the former record donated place Vāhiravāḍa was on the bank of the river Mahanadi.[361] The name of the donated place suggests that it was situated on out-skirt of Dakshiṇapalli on the bank of river Mahanadi. It seems to have been represented by a place named Bahira on the bank of the river Mahanadi in Phulbani district. Mahanadi, probably, formed the northern boundary of the division of Dakshiṇapalli. The latter charter informs us that granted place Ambasarigrāma was in Sivarākhaṇḍa in Dakshiṇapalli.[362] Ambasarigrāma has been identified with the place called Ampara to the north of Mahanadi and a place Śivarā, chief place of Sivarākhaṇḍa, has been taken as equivalent to a place Subulia[363] on the north bank of river Mahanadi. In view of the fact that when the grant specifically informs us that these places were situated in Dakshiṇapalli the identifications made by Misra does not appear convincing. We feel that both the places have to be searched to the south of the river Mahanadi. The chief place of the Palli has been identified with the place Dakapali in Phulbani district. While the place Ambasarigrāma seems to have been named after the Amba plant and may have been situated on the bank of some stream. The place Śivarākhaṇḍa may be Śivarāikhaṇḍa and must have obtained

the name after a piece of land with different species of Śami[364] tree. The former locality seems to have given its place to a village named Ambazari in Phulbani district and, as the major portion of the district is covered with forest some part of this region may have been famous for different species of Śami trees in ancient past. The place Śivarākhaṇḍa may be identical, as suggested above, with the place Sabuliya. Different *Brāhmaṇas* who received the grant were an inhabitant of Mahishipadraka. It may be Mahishapadraka a place named after buffalo. It is not identified.

Thus, the findspots of the grants as well as identification of the divisions and also the place names suggests that Khiñjalimaṇḍala included south-western portion of Dhenkanal district, adjoining northern portion of Nayagarh state, north-eastern portion of Phulbani district, some portion of Sonepur district and south-eastern portion of Sambalpur district. River Mahanadi had divided it into two parts and the reference to Ubhayakhiñjali in the grants of the dynasty seems to denote the regions of Khiñjali on the north and south bank of the river Mahanadi. It is to be noted here that the grants of the dynasty nowhere mentioned the regions as north Khiñjali and south Khiñjali. The term Ubhayakhiñjali associated with the names of some of the rulers led us to believe that their kingdom was divided in two parts i.e.Uttarakhiñjali and Dakshiṇakhiñjali. In fact, Khiñjalimaṇḍala was divided into two divisions viz. Uttarapalli and Dakshiṇapalli. The former division may be the same as Uḍrapalli mentioned in Kumurkela grant. The capital of the former division has been identified with the place Utrapali in Angul subdivision of Dhenkanal district and chief city of the latter division seems identical with the place Dakpali in Phulbani district. While Uttarapalli must have included, roughly, the region to the north of Mahanadi, the adjoining portions of Puri and Dhenkanal district the regions constituting the Dakshiṇapalli were adjoining portions of Puri, Phulbani and Ganjam districts.

Now we come to the grants of the Bhañja dynasty issued from Vañjulvaka. Khiñjalimaṇḍala, during the regime of this branch of Bhañja dynasty was divided into following vishaya divisions.

Machchāḍakhaṇḍavishaya: According to Ganjam pls. of Vidyādharabhañja alias Amoghakalaśa the place Mulamāchchāḍagrāma in Māchchāḍakhaṇḍavishaya was granted to a *Brāhmaṇa* coming from Taḍisamāvishaya in Varendri.[365] Māchchāḍakhaṇḍa has been identified with Māchhuājungle ten miles to the north of Dasapalla. The name of the donated place Mulamāchchāḍagrāma denotes that the original habitation was divided into two grāmas viz. Mula i.e. original and a new one and the king donated original habitation. The name seems to denote the place situated in grassy region in Khiñjalimaṇḍala. It is Majjaḍakhaṇḍa (Majjhāḍakhaṇḍa-Māchchāḍa) pronounced locally as Māchchāḍakhaṇḍa and

must be a habitation in the jungle cleared area. Majjara is a kind of grass and it seems that some portion of Orissa was covered with this variety of grass.[366] Name Mulamāchchāḍagrāma again suggest the migrating activities of the period. When the available means of production proved insufficient to produce required amount of commodities to sustain the increasing population some people migrated forward and founded a new settlement. This new settlement attained prosperity but the old one may have been, in course of time, decayed and hence, the king donated it. The contention has been supported by the redonation of the place Māchchāḍagrāma in Māchchāḍakhaṇḍa-vishaya during the regime of Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. Ganjam pls. record the grant of the place to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Rudraṭa. A place Machchāḍa has been identified by C.R. Krishnamacharlu with a place Majhigrāma in Behrampur taluka in Ganjam district. Hiralal wants to identify it with Machhgaon in Cuttack district and obviously the Māchchāḍakhaṇḍavishaya with the region around the place.[367] It seems that there were many places named after Majjara variety of grass. But the one situated to the north-east of Dasapalla in Sarankul police station, in Nayagarh taluka in Puri district, as it comes in the central region of Khiñjalimaṇḍala, appears to be equivalent to the ancient Māchchāḍagrāma.

Vāsudevakhaṇḍavishaya: Undated Ganjam charter of Nettabhañja alias Kalyāṇakalaśa registers a gift of a locality known as Rātaṅgagrāma in Vāsudevakhaṇḍavishaya[368] to a *Brāhmaṇa* for his permanent enjoyment. The name of the vishaya suggests that during his regime there existed a region that was occupied by the devotees of Vāsudeva. The chief place of the vishaya seems to have retained its identity in a modern place Vāsudevapura and the region round it must have been included in the vishaya. Donated place Rātāṅga seems a form of the word Raktāṅgu = species of grass or Mañjishṭha plant and has been identified with a place Rottango in Bhanjanagar police station in Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district[369] and chief place of the vishaya seems to have been represented by the place Basudevapura in Gangapur police station in Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district. As mentioned in Bhanjanagar pls. of 3rd regnal year of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Nettabhañjadeva, the donated place Ataigrāma was situated in Vāseavakhaṇḍa in Khiñjalimaṇḍala.[370] Scholars have taken this name as the other name of Vishṇu but we, however are not inclined to accept this interpretation. Vāsevakhaṇḍa may be Vāsavakhaṇḍa, named after some species of plant. It has been identified with Vasudevapur, Patapur police station in Asika taluka Ganjam district. The name of the donated place Atai may be after Āti = an aquatic bird or Ā-tāyin = falcon.[371] The place seems identical with the place Atraipalli under Tarsingi police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. The grant was issued from Khollapāṭī which is identical with the place Khallikote in Ganjam district. The donee was the resident

of Harapura. It seems that large portion of Ganjam district was covered with the Vāsava species of plants and it was also famous for aquatic birds.

Nānvakhaṇḍavishaya: As mentioned in Orissa Museum grant of Mahārāja Nettabhañjadeva alias Pṛithvīkalaśa gifted village Guṇḍapāṭakagrāma was in Nānvakhaṇḍavishaya.[372] The name Nānva seems to denote the size of the vishaya. Nānvā=Nanhā=small and seems to speak of the vishaya divided into small parts. The donated place Guṇḍapāṭkagrāma may be a name after guṇḍa[373] variety of reed. The name is associated with two suffixes viz. pāṭaka and grāma. While the term Pāṭaka denotes a small habitation the word grāma speaks of the settlement of cultivators. The Pāṭaka settlement was developed into grāma. It has been identified with the place Gundribadi in Tarsingi police station of Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. The same vishaya has also been known from Orissa Museum pls. of Nettabhañja alias Tribhuvanakalaśa III. The record informs us about the grant of the village Seḍāgrāma in Nānvakhaṇḍavishaya.[374] Donated Seḍāgrāma seems to have obtained its name after its founder Seḍā, King Śilabhāñjapāti II.[375] But none of these places have been identified.

Boḍākhaṇḍavishaya: In contrast to the Nānvakhaṇḍa there is one Boḍākhaṇḍa as well. It is known from Ganjam pls. of Śatṛabhañja III alias Tribhuvanakalaśa. As recorded in the charter, Śatṛabhañja donated a village Komvabāḍagrāma in Boḍākhaṇḍavishaya.[376] The name Boḍākhaṇḍa may be Baḍākhaṇḍa = khaṇḍa big in size and its chief place Boḍā has been equated with the place Boddapatti in Chhatrapur taluka in Ganjam district. Donated Koṁvabāḍagrāma may be Kommavāḍagrāma i.e. a habitation of the Kommo people in the cultivated fields. In course of time Vāḍa was developed into grāma, a habitation of hundred to two hundred cultivators. It retained its identity in the place Konomona in Chhatarpur taluka in Ganjam district which is three miles from Boddapatti. The vishaya has been mentioned as Voḍāvishaya in Antirigrāma charter of saṁvat 3rd R.Y. of king Yaśobhañja. As stated in the record, granted village Komyāṇagrāma was in Voḍāvishaya.[377] The donee *Brāhmaṇa* had migrated from Vapabhumigrāma in Thohāravishaya and was resident of Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka in Koṇṭarāvaṅgavishaya. The name Voḍā, of the vishaya, must be Badā denoting the size of the vishaya. The name Komyāṇagrāma may be Kāmyavanagrāma. It seems to speak of the settlement in the forest rich with all species[378] of trees. It has not been identified.

Śalvaddavishaya: Śatrabhañja alias Maṅgalarāja, king of Bhañja dynasty of Vañjulvaka, as mentioned in his Tekkali or Gurāṇḍi pls. granted a village named Kontmallogrāma in Śalvaddavishaya.[379] Misra has identified a hill known as Sulia in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district as Śalvadda. We feel that name of the vishaya may be Śalvavāḍa and want to identify it with the place Siuli in Tarasingi police station in Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district. The place Kontamallogrāma may be

Konta+bhalla. Konta may have come from Kaunti, a species of plant. As given in Amarakośa,[380] Kaunti means Reṇukā seed. It is some fragrant medicinal substance with bitter and slightly pungent taste.[381] Bhalla is semecarpus Anacardium.[382] Both the words denote the place named after medicinal plants and the place has been identified with a place Kontabhalla.[383] We, however, did not find this name in list of the place names of Ganjam district in District Census Handbook of 1981.

Ramalavvavishaya: Orissa Museum pls. of the year 26 of Vidyādharabhañja informs us that the donated place Tuṇḍurāvagrāma was situated in Ramalavvavishaya.[384] Place Ramalavva, capital of the vishaya has been identified by Misra with a place Rāvagada[385] 19°. 64" N-84°. 53" E. It seems to be same as Raiguda in Nuagaon police station Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district.[386] Name of the donated place may be Tuṇḍurāvanagrāma. It must have obtained its name after cotton plant Tuṇḍikera.[387] It was a settlement with the stretches and stretches of land covered with Tuṇḍikera plants. The place seems identical with the place Tundura[388] Patapur police station, Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. The vishaya was also known, as Dasapalla charter of the king Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa indicates, in later period as well. As mentioned in the grant a place named Dvolḷḍāgrāma in Ramalavvavishaya was donated along with Valkākhaṇḍakshetra.[389] The name may be Dollapāḍāgrāma[390] and speaks of the place with Indigo plants. The place has been identified with a place Bulonda in Dasapalla taluka in Puri district.

Here we have to add that the correct form of the name Ramalavvavishaya may be Ramba+lamba–Rambaramba = Bamboos and Bamoos i.e. region with stretches and stretches of land covered with Bamboo plantations and taking into account this form of the name Ramalavva-Rambalamba and meaning of the name the identification of the chief place of the vishaya with the places like Rambha or Rambhapalli[391] in Bhanjanagar police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district, instead of Raiguda in Digpahandi taluka, referred to above, will be more appropriate. Curiously both these places are situated near the Rambha reserve forest. It seems that the region from Digpahandi to Dasapalla was covered with forests of Bamboo, Tuṇḍikera and Indigo plants.

Sāraḍḍāvishaya: Nettabhañja alias Kalyāṇakalaśa granted a place, as Kommand pls. inform us, Karañjāḍugrāma in Sāraḍḍāvishaya.[392] The name may be Sāradapāḍā. It appears to be very curious name. It speaks of the region famous for the Sārada variety of rice i.e. winter paddy. The chief place of the vishaya seems to have given its place to a locality called Surapada, in Nayagarh police station and taluka in Puri district. The donated locality Karañjāḍugrāma[393] denotes the habitation of cultivators in the village with abundant Karañja trees. But it has not been traced yet.

Māṇḍiḍḍāvishaya: According to the Peṭṭasarā grant of the same king as above, the donated place Peṭṭasarāgrāma was situated in Māṇḍiḍḍāvishaya.[394] While the name of the donated locality speaks of the habitation on the bank of the stream with plenty of Peṭaka species of plants name of the vishaya suggests that it was dominated by Maṇḍaka people. Places have not been identified yet.

Ramaṇavavishaya: As described in Dasapalla grant of Rāṇaka Śatṛabhañja III Tribhuvanakalaśa Bhaṭṭa Ajapāla of the village named Santoshamādhava received the gift of the Koṅkairāgrāma in Paschimakhaṇḍa in Ramaṇavavishaya.[395] The chief place of the vishaya has been identified by some scholars with the place Roygada, referred to above and the name of the vishaya has been taken as the same as Ramalavva, mentioned in records referred to above. But the name of the vishaya here is Ramaṇava and not Ramalavva. It may be Ramaṇavanavishaya and denotes the forest of Tinduka tree. It seems to correspond with the place Rumund in Udayagiri police station in the taluka of the same name in Ganjam district. As mentioned in the grant the donated place Koṅkairā[396] was in Paschimakhaṇḍa of the vishaya. The name points to the habitation of the Koṅka people in the field in the Tindukavana. It has been identified with the place Kankarda under Mohana police station in Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district. We can say that some portion of Udayagiri taluka was famous as Ramaṇavana and was occupied by the Koṅka people.

Thohāravishaya: As stated above the donee *Brāhmaṇa* of the Antirigrāma grant of the king Yaśobhañjadeva was migrant of the place Vapabhumigrāma in Thohāravishaya.[397] The name Thohāra seems to be the form of the word Thora = derived from word sthūra=dense. The place may be identified with a place Tahara in Hinjali police station in Chhatrapur taluka in Ganjam district. The place Vapabhumigrāma may had received its name after cultivated fields.

Koṇṭarāvaṅgavishaya: The donee of the above grant was resident of a place Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka in Koṇṭarāvaṅgavishaya.[398] Banerjee has identified Koṇṭarāvaṅga, the capital of the vishaya with the place Kotyagada in Chhatrapur taluka in Ganjam district and the place Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka has been equated with Patatupuram in the same taluka and district.[399] But we do not find these places in the list of towns and villages in the census report of the Ganjam district available to us. We want to take these places as identical with the villages named Kotarangi and Patapur in Nimpada police station and Kakatpur police station, respectively, in Nimpada taluka in Puri district.[400]

Khiñjalīgaḍavishaya: Antirimagrāma charter of 3rd R.Y. of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Jayabhañja records the grant of the place Reṅgarḍāgrāma situated in Khiñjaligaḍavishaya.[401] Donee *Brāhmaṇa* had migrated from Brāhmaṇa village in Ṭakāri in Madhyadeśa and was the resident of Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka in

Koṇṭarāvaṅgavishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosala. Khiñjali, chief place of the vishaya seems identical with Hinjali in Nayagarh taluka, Puri district and donated place Reṅgarḍāgrāma has been identified with the place Rangani patna[402] in odgaon police station in Nayagarh taluka, Puri district. While the name of the vishaya implies the abundance of Hijjala trees the name of the donated place indicates the settlement of the colour makers. Reṅgarḍā may be Raṅgāravāḍa or Ṛaṅgārapādā. Donee *Brāhmaṇa* was the same as that of the grant mentioned above and the place Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka has been identified with the place Patapura. It seems to have obtained its name after some activities related to textile industry. Further, the place Kolādakaṭaka, from where the pls. were issued and which has been identified with a place Koolad in Ganjam district, seems to have come into existence as the habitation of the Kola people. The Khiñjaligaḍavishaya must be the name of the region around the place Hinjali in Nayagarh taluka of Puri district.

Gaḍavishaya: A place named Jurāḍāgrāma, as the Jurāḍā charter of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Nettabhañja conveys us, was in Gaḍavishaya in Khiñjali-maṇḍala.[403] It was donated to a *Brāhmaṇa* coming from Gaṅgavāḍi. The name Gaḍavishaya points to the region around the fort. The chief place of the vishaya cannot be identified. The grant records that a place Jurāḍāgrāma was donated with its intact four boundaries and it was to be enjoyed by the donee without any disturbance till the existence of the sun and the moon. The name suggests that it was old, decayed place and has been identified with a place of the same name in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. The grant was issued from Kumārapura which seems to have obtained its name after some prince.

Olāśṛṅgavishaya: According to Baud record of Nettabhañja, the king donated a place Loṇḍaka in Stambkārakhaṇḍakshetra and a place Battarāghāṭa in Olaśṛṅgavishaya.[404] The grant was issued from Navāṅgulakapattana. The name of the vishaya is composed of two words viz. Ola+śṛiṅga. It may be Āluśiṅgi. The word Ālu[405] denotes plant like black ebony. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place Alusingi in Hindol district. The region must have been famous for mountain covered with ebony trees and as the name Loṇḍaka[406] indicates, famous for salty water. The name may be Lavaṇodaka. The place has been identified with a place Ramudi. It was in Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra i.e. habitation of copper workers who were paying some fixed amount, probably, salt and some objects of copper as revenue to the government. It can be equated with a place named Tambrakata[407] in Jarapada police station in Angul taluka in Dhenkanal district. The place Aṅgulakapattana,[408] a place of issue of the grant, has been identified with the place Angul, headquarters of the taluka of Angul in Dhenkanal district. Donated Battarāghāṭa seems identical with Patera[409] in same taluka and district. It may be Patharia in Jarapada police station, Angul taluka, Dhenkanal district.

The available evidence thus indicates that the kingdom of Bhañjas comprised of the Ganjam and Puri districts and it was divided into vishayas.

Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala: Bhaumas ruled their kingdom with the help of feudatories and Narendradhavala who is known from Madras Museum pls. was one of their feudatories. Madras Museum grant which is a sale deed informs us about the purchase of a village by one Kulaputraka Vanadeva from Śilabhañja through Rāṇaka Ghoṅghāka of the Nala family, probably ruling Gomuṇḍamaṇḍla under Narendradhavala of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala.[410] The headquarters of their kingdom was at Dharaṇimpha. The maṇḍala has also been mentioned in Pandiapathara grant of the king Bhīmasena of the Nala dynasty. The grant was issued from Bhīmapura. Scholars have different opinions regarding the identification of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala. According to Rajaguru, the region between Kaliṅgamaṇḍala of the Gaṅgas and Khiñjalimaṇḍala of Bhañjas was known as Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala. Its headquarters, he further states, was at Bhīmapura identified with a place Bhīmapur surrounded by hills and forest on all sides in Ganjam district. D.C. Sircar wants to take the place Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga, the capital of the maṇḍala as equivalent to a place Kandarsingha shown in S.I. sheet map 73 H/ 5 a2. According to N.K. Sahu, this identification is not tenable because the place is far beyond the river Brahmani. B. Misra inclines to take Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga as identical with a place Hidsingi in Angul subdivision of Dhenkanal district. He reads Gomuṇḍa as Schāmuṇḍamaṇḍala and identifies it with Chamundia. Further, he equates the place Padumba situated on the east of Taḍeśvaragrāma with a place Baramba and the place Champa on the east of land purchased in Taḍeśvaragrāma with a place Champasara. Further, he takes Taḍeśvara as Guḍeśvara. But he has not identified the place. A hill Suvṛida situated to the north west of Taḍeśvaragrāma has been taken by him as identical with Sealdeo in Dasapalla division of Puri district. In accordance with this identification, all these places must have been somewhere in Dhenkanal, Cuttack and Puri districts.

As stated by N.K. Sahu, the Zamindaris of Dharakota, Badagada, Seragada and Sorada in Ganjam district were collectively known as Khidisingi. V. Rangacharya informs us that Dharakota was the seat of an ancient Zamindari adjoining Badagada on the north and Ghumsur on the east. It was originally a part of Khiḍishiṅgi zamindari. These places, as stated by Sahu, seem to have formed the heart of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala. N.K. Sahu reads Gomuṇḍa as Somuṇḍa and takes it as identical with a place Sumandala in Ganjam district.[411] Though the identification of the Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala made by Sahu seems acceptable we want to identify the place Gomuṇḍa with a place Gomundi[412] in Bhanjnagar police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district, and not with Sumandala. Similarly, we have taken Taḍeśvaragrāma as equivalent to a place Talasara[413] in Buguda police station in the same taluka as above. The places situated in different directions of

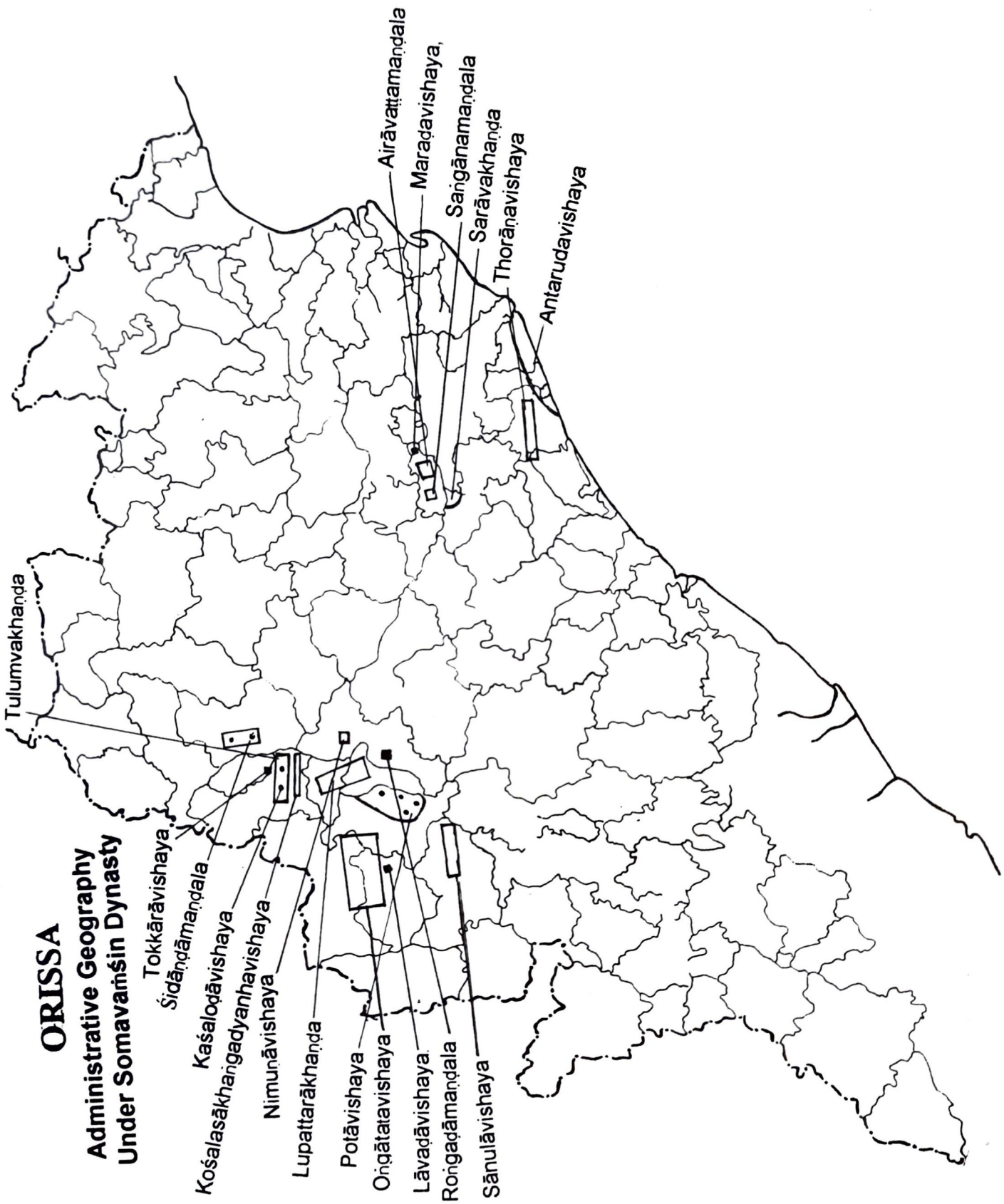
the donated land, however, could not be identified. Thus the Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala included large portion of Ganjam district and it probably had its capital at Dharakot.

V Administrative Geography under The Somavaṁśin Dynasty

Historical Background:

When Bhaumakaras along with their feudatories were ruling over Tosalī, and other regions of central and eastern Orissa the territory comprised of adjacent portion of eastern Chhattisgarh and western part of the modern Orissa State was under the rule of Somavaṁśin dynasty. Ruling initially over this region the dynasty gradually seems to have extended its sway over the large portion of the modern state of Orissa. The rulers of the dynasty describe their family as belonging to *Somakula*. Inscriptions issued by the kings of the dynasty formed the main source of information of the history of their regime. The dynasty produced most competent and ambitious rulers who successfully contributed towards the expansion of the rule of the dynasty over the large portion of Orissa. Among these, the regimes of following rulers are most important from our point of view.

Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śivagupta, the first king of the dynasty is known from the records of his descendents. The findspots of the records of his successor Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya and places mentioned therein indicate that the districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir of the modern Orissa state were included in his dominion.[414] Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, son and successor of king Śivagupta, was the real architect of his family's greatness. He was a celebrated emperor and had a vast standing army. He put in check the ambitious activities of expansion of the kingdom of his opponent Kalachuri king[415] and kept his Kosala principality intact. He successfully intervened in the civil war that ensued in Bhaumakara Empire after the death of his son-in-law, king Śubhakaradeva IV and extended his political influence in Oḍra country.[416] He extended the rule of the dynasty to the bank of the Tela and Mahanadi rivers. While his Rāṣṭrakuṭa feudatory was incharge of the administration of Telāṭaṭavishaya,[417] along the bank of Tela river, feudatory named Devappa looked after the region known as Kolleḍāmaṇḍala,[418] on the bank of the river Mahanadi. He assumed titles such as *Kosalendra* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. Thus, he consolidated his kingdom in eastern part of Kosala and successfully extended the sphere of political influence of the Somavaṁśin dynasty upto Cuttack and placed it on the firm footing. His son and successor, Mahāśivagupta I Jajāti had his capital, as place of issue of his grants suggests, at Vinītapura. Sometime afterwards he seems to have had it at Yayātipura. He is given credit for successfully putting an end to the rules of Bhaumakara and Bhañja dynasty[419] and annexing whole of their territories to the Somavaṁśin kingdom. For the administrative reasons he divided his kingdom into two parts


ORISSA
Administrative Geography
Under Somavaṁśin Dynasty
Tulumvakhaṇḍa
Tokkārāvishaya
Śiḍāṇḍāmaṇḍala
Kośalaḍāvishaya
Kośalasākhaṅgadyanhavishaya
Nimuṇāvishaya
Lupattarākhaṇḍa
Potāvishaya
Oṅgātaavishaya
Lāvaḍāvishaya
Roṅgaḍāmaṇḍala
Sānulāvishaya
Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala
Maraḍavishaya,
Saṅgānamaṇḍala
Sarāvakhaṇḍa
Thorāṇavishaya
Antarudavishaya

viz. Kosalarāṣṭra and Oḍrarāṣṭra and appointed two separate ministers for these two regions.[420] While Rāṇaka Dharadatta referred to in his grants dated in 8th, 15th and 24th regnal year recording the donations of the villages situated in Kosaladeśa was *Mahāsandivigrahin* of Kosala Śrī Chichhaṭṭeśvaradeva mentioned in charters issued in 4th and 9th regnal year registering the grants in Oḍradeśa was Mahāsandhivigrahin of Oḍradeśa. Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha,[421] successor of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, had to face unabated hostility of the Kalachuris of Dahala throughout his regime. But the rule of Mahābhavagupta II Dharmaratha[422] is famous for his successful military intervention in Andhra and Gauḍa region and Banpur inscription of the king Indraratha[423] suggests that Dharmaratha conquered substantial portion of coastal Kaliṅga. The king, thus, seems to have made the Somakulins all India power. His rule was followed by uneventful regime of his step brother Mahābhavagupta III Naghusha and in a scramble for power between the claimants of collateral line claiming descent from Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya and Indraratha, a step brother of Dharmaratha, that followed after the death of Naghusha Indraratha became successful and he ruled the regions of Kosala, Kaliṅga and Oḍra.[424] He faced the invasions on Yayātipura by Chola,[425] Paramāra[426] and Kalachuri[427] kings and was defeated, captured and put to death by the Chola king by about 1022 A.D. As a result of this calamity whole of the Somavaṁśin kingdom was wrapped in chaos.

The succeeding kings such as Chaṇḍihara, Uddyotakesarin Janamejaya and Puruñjaya tried their best to save the Somavaṁśin Empire from this calamity. Mahāśivagupta III Chaṇḍihara Yayāti emancipated both the *rāshṭras* i.e. Kosala and Utkala from the clutches of the enemy and all other troubles and assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati.* The era that followed after his death witnessed constant invasions of Kalachuris, Cholas, Udras and Palas, Chhindaka Nāgas and Telugu Choḍa as well on the Somavaṁśin kingdom. King Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakesarin, the successor of Chaṇḍihara, as the granted places mentioned in his Mahākosala Historical Society Pls. and Balijhari[428] grant suggest, successfully managed to keep the region of Kosala and Oḍra under his rule. He discontinued the practice of appointing separate ministers for these two regions, introduced by Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and appointed Rudradatta as *Mahasandhivigrahin* of both Utkala and Kosala regions.[429] Further, in Brahmeśvara temple inscription of his mother, he is credited for crushing the kings of Ḍāhala, Choḍra and Gauḍa.[430] During the regime of King Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya, follower of Udyotakesarin, Somavaṁśin kingdom had to bear still more assaults of the Gaṅga king[431] from the south, Kalachuris[432] and Chhindakas[433] from the west and south-west respectively. During the regime of Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya, son of Janamejaya, as Ratnagiri pls. of the king Karṇa indicate, the Somavaṁśin kingdom suffered from the repeated attacks of Gauḍa, Ḍāhala, Kaliṅga and Vaṅga kings. Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa

maintained his hold, as the epigraphs of his fourth and sixth year, from Kamalapur and Kelga[434] respectively, referring to him with full imperial titles and issued from Yayātipura indicate, his rule over Orissa region. But he could not maintain himself for long against the expansionist policy of the Pāla and Choḍagaṅga kings. Sometimes after his seventh regnal year he was made to accept the subordinate position under his victorious Gaṅga adversary and was finally thrown out sometime about 1113 A.D.[435]

The Kosala territory ruled by Somavaṁśins seemed to have been wiped out in early years of twelfth century as a result of the encroachments of western portion of Kosala, by Kalachuris, Chhindaka Nāga of Bastar and their overlord Telugu-Choḍa king.[436] Lingaraja temple inscription of the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva suggests the end of the Somavaṁśin rule sometime before the date of inscription. (1114 A.D.). Thus the empire founded by Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya in Sonepur–Bolangir region continued till the first decade of the twelfth century A.D. It came to an end with the ousting of its last king Karṇadeva by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva. Ten kings of the dynasty ruled in succession for a period of little more than two centuries and gave Orissa its first geographical unity. From this time onward Culture of Orissa began to take some shape and some scholars have rightly described them as the makers of history of Orissa.

As the evidence referred to above indicates, Kingdom of Somavaṁśin dynasty was composed of three territories viz. Kosala, Oḍra and Kaliṅga. Of these, the first two are mentioned in the grants of the dynasty as *Deśa* and these were divided into *Maṇḍalas* and *Vishayas* which in their turn contained *Khaṇḍa* and sometimes *Bhukti* units as well. In order to find out the extent of the kingdom of Somavaṁśin dynasty we have to take the help of the administrative divisions and granted places mentioned in the grants of dynasty. Let us begin our survey with the study of administrative divisions of *Kosaladeśa*. The name of this territory is written as *Kosala, Kośala, Koṣala, Kosalā* etc. Besides, names of some *vishayas* also begin with the word *Kosala* e.g. *Kosalasākhaṅgadyanhavishaya*. While some of the grants issued by the dynasty either mention the donated place situated in different units of Kosala or the donee *Brāhmaṇas* coming from different territorial units of Kosala some of the records refer to the divisions attached to Kosala. In addition, there are some records which supply us names of administrative divisions but are silent about the territory to which they belong. The available evidence, in the form of place names and territorial designations, however, throw welcome light on the limits of the Kosaladeśa ruled by Somavaṁśin dynasty. Following are the divisions known from the grants of the dynasty.

Kolleḍāmaṇḍala: This is the only maṇḍala division known from the grants of the time of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. It has been mentioned in

Sambalpur University grant of the twenty-third year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. The object of the record is to register the donation of the place Ḍerindhagrāma in Kolleḍāmaṇḍala by Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Rāṇaka Devappya.[437] Sahu has taken modern villages Bada-Karalā and Sān-Karalā on the borders of the Sambalpur and Bolangir districts as representing ancient Kolleḍā. It may be identical, as suggested by him, with the kingdom of Korāla in Dakshiṇāpatha mentioned in Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Gupta king Samudragupta.[438] The donated place has not yet been identified. The maṇḍala was in existence, as Kamalapur grant indicates, till the time of the king Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa. As stated in the grant donated Vāḍakelāgrāma was in Koleḍāmaṇḍala[439]. The division may have obtained the name after Kola people. It may be Kollapāḍā turned into Kolleḍā or Koleḍā. While the former grant was issued from Kolleḍā the latter was given from Koleḍāpāṭa and the feudal chief Jayāraṇama, issuer of the grant, is described as Mahāmāṇḍalika alike, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and Rāṇaka. Donated places in both the grants have not been identified. None of these grants mention the maṇḍala as to have situated in Koṣala. Some scholars have identified the chief place of the maṇḍala with the place named Koolada in Ganjam district.

Gandhāṭa(ḍ)pāṭīmaṇḍala: As recorded in Nibina pls. dated in the year fifteen of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāṭi donated place Nivaṇḍāgrāma was situated in Uttarapalli in Gandhṭapāṭīmaṇḍala attached to Kosaladeśa.[440] Place Gandhaṭapāṭī, capital of the maṇḍala, seems to be the place founded by Bhañja king Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa and has been identified with the place Gandharādi in Phulbani district. Uttarapalli seems to be the northern division of Gandhatapāṭimaṇḍala. Donated Nivaṇḍāgrāma seems identical with a place Libina in Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district.[441] Gandharavāḍimaṇḍala mentioned in Jatesing Dungari pls. of third year of the king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti may be the same maṇḍala. As mentioned in the grant donated Mārañjamurāgrāma was in Santonartākhaṇḍa in Gandharavādimaṇḍala attached to Koṣala.[442] The maṇḍala seems to have comprised the adjoining portions of Phulbani, Bloangir and Sambalpur districts and the region may have obtained its name after the fragrant substances it produced.

Śidāṇḍāmaṇḍala: Kudopoli pls. of the time of the king Mahābhavagupta II, Bhīmaratha, year 13, record the grant of the place Loisarāgrāma attached to Śiḍāṇḍāmaṇḍala made by *Māṇḍalika* Rāṇaka Śrī Puñja.[443] Place Śiḍāṇḍā, chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place Saranda, eleven miles south-west of Sambalpur in Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district and donated place may be identical with the place Loisinga in the same taluka.

Now let us turn to the vishaya divisions of Kosaladeśa mentioned in the records of the dynasty.

Kaśaloḍāvishaya: The Satalma grant of the eighth year of the king

Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya records the donation of Satallamāgrāma attached to Kaśaloḍāvishaya.[444] The chief place of the vishaya, Kaśaloḍā has been identified with the modern place Kusurda, ten miles west of Satalma, fifteen miles south-west of Bargarh and thirty four miles west of Sambalpur. The vishaya was attached to Kosaladeśa. As given in Sanskrit Enḡlish dictionary[445] Kaśa is species of rodent animal. It seems that in ancient past the region was infested with rodent animals and obtained its name after this peculiar feature. The name of the donated place, may be Śitalammā and turned into Satallamāgrāma in later period. It is identical with the place Satalma, the find spot of the record in Sambalpur district and the vishaya must have included some portion of Sambalpur district.

Potāvishaya: The name Potāvishaya is known from three charters viz., Patna pls. and Kalibhana pls. of 6th year and Chaudwar grant of 31st year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. While in the first two records the name of the vishaya is spelt as Potā in the third charter it is written as Povā. As informed in the first grant the donated place Pāsitalāgrāma was attached to Potāvishaya.[446] The place can be identified with the place Pointala or Pointil two miles east of Bolangir in Bolangir district. Kalibhana record registers the grant of a place Jambugrāma attached to Potāvishaya.[447] Modern place Jamgaon situated in Bolangir district seems equivalent to ancient Jambugrāma. The third charter referred to above records the grant of two places viz., Alāṇḍalagrāma and Raṇḍāgrāma situated in Povāvishaya in Kosaladeśa.[448] While the place name Alāṇḍalagrāma speaks of the place infested with some wild animal the place Raṇḍāgrāma points to the place with barren trees. Former place has been identified with a place Alanda, three miles east of Bolangir and the latter place seems identical with the place Renda six miles east of Bolangir. The headquarters of the vishaya, Povā, has been identified with modern place Pow in the former Sonepur State, nineteen miles south of Binka, twelve miles north-east of Bolangir and eight miles north-east of Renda.

Misra wants to equate it with a place Pua in Sonepur State. R. Banerji reads it as Yodhā and John Beams takes it as equivalent to a region of Jodh Paragana a few miles north of Cuttack.[449] It will not be irrelevant to state here that respective grant specifically mentions the vishaya as to have situated in Kosaladeśa and as the rule of the dynasty was not extended to Cuttack district during the regime of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya we have to search it in Kosaladeśa only and from this point of view its identification either with the place Pow or with Pua to the south-west of Sonepur on the bank of the Suktel river seems acceptable. It included adjoining portions of Bolangir and Sonepur districts and had capital at Pow or Pua in former Sonepur state. As the large area of Bolangir district is still covered with forest it must have been more so in ancient times. Hence, the region might have been famously known for the young animals like deer and contained places famous for hunters, wild animals and barren trees etc. Most of these settlements seems to

have been founded in jungle cleared areas and were named after hunters, animals trees etc.

Telātaṭṭavishaya: Just like the vishaya referred to above Telātaṭṭavishaya has also been mentioned in three grants viz., Degaon[450] pls. of king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya and two Patana[451] pls. of 24th and 28th year of king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti. While the first grant refers to the donation of a village Kiraṅkelāgrāma in Telātaṭṭavishaya without referring to Kosaladeśa the second record registers the gift of a village Ḍeladelīgrāma in Telātaṭṭavishaya in Kosaladeśa and third charter records the grant of a village Lluttarumāgrāma in Śaṇṇavati in Telātaṭṭavishaya. Of the donated villages Kiraṅkelāgrāma is not identified, the village Ḍeladelī from the second grant seems identical with a place Dedil a few miles from Tel river in former Patna state and the third place Lluttarumāgrāma is, probably, as suggested by Misra,[452] identical with a place Laitar, fourteen miles from river Tel in former Kalahandi state. Telātaṭṭavishaya, as the name suggests, must have been the name of the region on the bank of the river Tel and must have comprised, in wider sense, of the portion of Bindranavagarh taluka in Raipur district, adjoining portions of Bastar district and Kalahandi district of Orissa. Here it refers to the portions of Bolangir and Kalahandi districts. The name Lluttarumāgrāma may be Lupta-Rumāgrāma that is the place situated on the bank of disappeared Ruma river.

Sandānāvishaya: Chaudwar[453] grant of thirty-first year of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya refers to a place named Tūleṇḍāgrāma in Sandānāvishaya in Kośaladeśa. Hiralal wants to identify the donated village Tūleṇḍā with a place named Tulendi six miles north of Bolangir and Misra takes it as equivalent to a place named Tiluṇḍa or Tulunda in former Sonepur state. The chief place of the vishaya has also been identified with different places such as Sonda eleven miles east of Sonepur and Saranda in Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district. We want to identify the place Tūleṇḍāgrāma with a place Tulundi to the south of Bargarh in Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district and to take a place Sonda in Sonepur as the chief place of the vishaya. The region must have obtained its name after plenty of Syandana trees. The wood of this tree was used for preparing wheels of chariot,[454] It was the name of some portion of Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district and Sonepur district famous for Syandana species of trees.

Oṅgātaṭavishaya: According to Patna pls. of sixth year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, granted village Vakaveḍḍāgrāma was situated in Oṅgātaṭavishaya.[455] The division must have been situated on the bank of the river Onga, a tributary of the river Mahanadi. The donated place can be identified either with a place named Vankavira in Sonepur state or with Bakabira near Salebhata Police station on the river Onga.[456] The vishaya must have contained the portions of Sonepur and Bolangir districts on both the banks of river Onga.

Nimunāvishaya: As stated in Gaintala pls. of 17th year of the same king as above donated place Ṛṣigrāma was in Nimunāvishaya.[457] While the division probably obtained its name after its low position the donated place denotes the habitation of sages. Nimunā, chief place of the vishaya, can be identified with the place Nimna in former Sonepur state but the donated place cannot be identified.

Ṭokkārāvishaya: Donated place Konnayilāgrāma, as stated in the Kalibhana grant of 34th year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya was in Ṭokkārāvishaya in Koṣaladeśa.[458] Sircar and Rath have identified Ṭokkārā, the chief place of the vishaya with modern place Tukra about fourteen miles to the east of Bargarh town.[459] The town is well-known for its brass and bell metal industry. The unit seems to have occupied some portion in Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district.

Coming to the regime of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti we have following names of vishaya divisions.

Sanūlāvishaya: The king, as stated in Patna pls.[460] dated in 8th regnal year, donated a place Talakajjagrāma in Sanūlāvishaya in Kosaladeśa. The headquarters of the vishaya has been identified with a place Soinnula, twenty miles south of Bolangir and twenty-two miles south-west of Talganja or Somara[461] in Bolangir district. It may have been situated on the tableland dominating surrounding region and comprised of southern portion of Bolangir district. Place Soinnula or Saintala of the map is on the north side of some river and has Sulia reserve forest, roughly, on the north, Kusa reserve forest on the north-west, Tikhari reserve forest on the west and Baranai reserve forest on the south-west. (See Map of Bolangir, District planning map series).

Lāvaḍāvishaya: Patna pls. of the 24th year inform us that donee of the grant was resident of a place Antaraḍī in Lāvaḍāvishaya[462] The place Lāvaḍā, the chief city of the vishaya seems identical with a place Lebda forty-eight miles west of Bolangir and the division included the region round this place. The name of the vishaya, originally, may be Lāvavāṭa or vāḍa and may have turned into Lāvaḍā in later years. It, probably, obtained its name after a peculiar sound resembling to that of reaping, plucking etc. The vishaya included the portion to the west of Bolangir in Bolangir district.

Coming to regime of the king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha we have following vishaya division of Kosala country.

Devībhogavishaya: According to the Cuttack pls. of the king, donee *Brāhmaṇa* was the resident of Singoagrāma in Devībhogavishaya in Kosala.[463] Hiralal wants to identify the place Singoa with a place Singhara in Sarangarh taluka in Raigarh district. But he has not identified Devībhoga, chief place of the vishaya. We feel that the place Devabhoga in Bindranavagarh taluka in Raipur district seems to

represent ancient Devībhoga and we have to search the place of donee in the region to the south of Devabhoga in Bindranavagarh taluka in Raipur district in the same taluka or in the adjoining Kanker and Kondagaon talukas in Bastar district. There are places like Singharvahi, Singharbhat in Kanker taluka and Singarpur, Singanpur in Kondagaon taluka in Bastar district. The place Singoāgrāma can be identified either with Singharvahi or with Singarpur in Kanker and Kondagaon taluka in Bastar district, respectively. The vishaya probably included eastern portion of Kanker, Kondagaon talukas of Bastar district, adjoining portion of Raipur district and portion of Orissa state connecting these districts. While the name of the vishaya speaks of the region for the enjoyment of the queen or some goddess the place Siṅgoagrāma, donee's place, points to the village famous for the production of the aquatic fruit Siṅghāḍā.

Kosalasākhaṅgadyanhavishaya: The king, as recorded in the grant,[464] referred to above, donated a village named Gauḍasimiṇilligrāma in Kosalasākhaṅgadyanhavishaya. The donated place has been identified with a place Gaisima in Bargarh Taluka of Sambalpur district. Name Gauḍasimiṇillgrāma is very interesting. While first part of this name points to the place known for the objects prepared from sugar or molasses the second and third part, i.e. Simi and Nilli, respectively, of the name point to the existence of plenty of Simika, a kind of tree and Nīliṇī, Indigo plant. Thus, the name of the vishaya informs us that south-eastern portion of Bargarh taluka in Kosala country was famous for the sugarcane products, Simika and Indigo plants. The vishaya included south-eastern portion of Bargarh taluka Sambalpur district.

Uṅgādavishaya: Jatesing Dungari[465] record, dated in third year of the king Mahāśivagupta III, Yayāti registers the donation of a place named Bṛhadbhusāigrāma in Uṅgādavishaya attached to Koṣala. The vishaya seems to be the same as Oṅgātaṭavishaya mentioned in Patna pls. of 6th year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. It included the region on the bank of the river Onga, the tributary of Mahānadi in Hirakund-Sonpur valley region. It is also known as middle Mahanadi valley and covers Bolangir, Sambalpur and Dhenkanal districts.[466] Oṅgātaṭavishaya must have included portions of Sambalpur and Bolangir districts and it may have been famous for rice pounding industry. The name Bhusāī denotes the chaff of the rice, known in local language as Bhusā. The first part of the name denotes that there were two places with this name and implies the production of rice on large scale. The place has not been identified.

Uttaravallivishaya: Uttaravallivishaya is one more vishaya division known from the grants of the dynasty. Object of the Kelga pls. of the first year of the king Someśvaradeva was to record the grant of a place Atteṇḍāgrāma in Kesalogākhaṇḍa in Uttaravallivishaya.[467] The region known as Uttaratira division of the former Sonepur state, now district, represents this vishaya. The settlement Kesalogā, main

place of the Khaṇḍa, is identified with a place Kelga in the same district. The name Kesla, of the khaṇḍa, appears to have written wrongly for Kesara, which has been mentioned in the list of Nagakesara trees in *Amarakośa*. It is also a name of the species of rice produced in Chhattisgarh region. While the leaves of this rice plant are of the colour of Brinjal the colour of the grain is red and the yield of this variety of rice is less in comparison to the other varieties of rice.[468] Perhaps, the region round Kelga in Bolangir district, in ancient past, was, known after this variety of rice.

Now we come to the administrative division Khaṇḍa. There are five names after this division. Of these, two are mentioned in the records issued by Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, and one each is known from the charters of Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, Udyotakesarin and Someśvaradeva. We will see the names in the same sequence.

Lupattarākhaṇḍa : Lupattarākhaṇḍa unit has been mentioned in two records viz., Vakratentali grant[469] of the 3rd year and Sonepur pls. of the 17th year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. According to the first record donated place Vakratentalīgrāma was in Lupattarākhaṇḍa and the second charter refers to a place Gottaikelāgrāma in Lupattarākhaṇḍa in Kosalā.[470] While the former place has been identified with a place named Bantentuli or Bantentily in former Sonepur state the latter place seems identical with a place known as Gotarkela, three miles from Sonepur in Sonepur district. The place Lupattarā, capital of the vishaya has been identified with a place named Lepta, six miles south-west of Bolangir in Bolangir district. Originally, the name of the khaṇḍa may be Luptatarākhaṇḍa. The division seems to have comprised the portions of Bolangir and Sonepur districts. The division may have occupied the territory on the banks of rivers Tel and Mahanadi and it must have been famous as the source of income obtained from ferry tax. It was a fairly good source of state income in the ancient times and was, probably, terminated in latter period and the region obtained the name after its termination. The name Vakratentalī denotes a settlement amidst the Tamarind trees. It may have been situated on the bend of road or on the curve of river. The term Gottai forming the first part of the name Gottaiakelāgrāma may have come from the term Gotrayi[471] meaning a shelter for cows. According to *Pāṇinī*, *Gotrā* means assemblage of cows. In *Vedic* times the term *Gotrā* was used for the common shed for cows belonging to different families.[472] Hence, the term Gottai can be taken here as denoting a place famous for common cowshed and suffix Kelā denotes a village kheḍā. Thus the place seems to have obtained its name after big and common cowshed. The Khaṇḍa included the portions of Bolangir and Sonepur district.

Tulumvakhaṇḍa: As stated in Chaudwar grant of thirty-first year of the same king, as above, a village Arkigrāma was in Tulumvakhaṇḍa in Kosaladeśa.[473] The place has been identified with a place named Arigrāma on the bank of the river Jira

in the former Sonepur state and place Tulumva, chief place of the vishaya, seems to correspond with a place Turum situated on the bank of river Jira on the border of Sonepur state. It might have obtained its name after the Tulu plants available here in abundance. While the place Tulumva-Tula= Malberry plants speaks of the settlement famous for Malberry trees the place Arkigrāma points to the place with Arki plants useful in sacrificial ceremonies.[474] The region must have included south-eastern portion of Bargarh and north-western portion of Sonepur districts.

Santonartākhaṇḍa: Donated place Mārañjamurāgrāma, as stated in Jatesing Dungari charter, of the third year of the king Mahāśivagupta III, Yayāti, was in Santonartākhaṇḍa in Gandharavāḍimaṇḍala attached to Kosala.[475] The donated place Mārañjamurā can be identified with one of the places bearing this name in Sambalpur district. Gandharavāḍi, chief place of the maṇḍala, seems to correspond with the place Gandharadi in Phulbani district but the place Santonartākhaṇḍa cannot be identified. The name seems to denote the tribe Saonta and it may have rendered its name to the division Khaṇḍa. The vishaya must have included some adjoining territory of Sambalpur and Phulbani districts.

Yamalākhaṇḍa: Mahada pls. of Uddyotakesarin informs us that king donated a place named Gomuṇḍallāgrāma in Yamalākhaṇḍa.[476] The village seems to have given its place to modern locality Gunurdula in Birmaharajpur taluka in Sonepur district. The chief place of the khaṇḍa, however remained unidentified. Yamalā is a *Tantra* deity and it seems to have enjoying its influence over the region during the period. The region was, thus, under the influence of *Tantrism*. Name Gomuṇḍallagrāma, a donated place, also supports this contention. Gomuṇḍa literarily means head of a cow. The word Gomuṇḍallā speaks of something resembling the head of a cow put in the field for protecting the crop from the menace of birds and animals. Though the chief place of the khaṇḍa has not been identified the identification of the donated place suggests that Yamalākhaṇḍa may have included north-eastern portion of Bolangir district.

Kesalogākhaṇḍa: We know from Kelga pls. of 1st year of the king Someśvaradeva that the king donated a place named Atteṇḍāgrāma in Kesalogākhaṇḍa in Uttaravallivishaya.[477] The chief place of the khaṇḍa seems identical with the place Kelga, the findspot of the grant in Bolangir district. The region round the Kelga may have been famous by the name Kesalogākhaṇḍa on account of abundant crop of Nāgakesara variety of rice.

Bhukti: The only Bhukti division known from our sources is Pṛthurābhukti mentioned in Mahakosala Historical Society pls. of the eleventh year of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin. As stated in the grant, donated village Liñjirāgrāma was in Pṛuthurābhukti.[478] It may be Pṛuthulabhukti named after Pṛuthula plant. Modern place Pithora, situated forty-five miles to the north-west

of Sambalpur may be ancient Pṛuthurā and the region round Pithora must have formed ancient Pṛuthurābhukti. Liñjirāgrāma has been identified with a place named Linjira situated close to Baramkela in Sarangarh taluka in Raigarh district. The Bhukti included adjoining portions of Sambalpur and Raigarh districts. In ancient past the region was famous for plenty of Pruthula and Mimosa plants

The above survey of the administrative divisions of the Kosala territory under the rule of Somavaṁśin dynasty reveals the fact that majority of the administrative units of Kosala country were situated in Sambalpur, Bolangir and Phulbani districts of Orissa and a few covered the area of Raipur and Bastar districts along with the adjacent portions of Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa.

Now we come to the administrative divisions of Oḍradeśa mentioned in the grants of the dynasty. Surprisingly, there are only two records registering the donations of the places situated in Oḍradeśa. Of these, one is Orissa Museum pls. of year four of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and the other is Balijhari pls. of year four of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin. While the former grant, issued from Vinītapura, mentions vishaya division of the Udradeśa the latter one, issued from Yayātinagara, refers to the grant of the place in Khaṇḍa division in maṇḍala of Oḍradeśa. It seems that vishaya and maṇḍala enjoyed the same status in Oḍradeśa. We will now turn to these divisions.

Gaṇḍitamavishaya: As referred to above, Orissa State Museum pls. of year four of king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti records the grant of the locality named Kuḍukulokhaṇḍakshtra in Gaṇḍitamavishaya[479] to a Brāhmaṇa who had immigrated from Lekhaḍiyāgrāma in Śrāvasthā.[480] The charter was issued from Vinītapura. The name Kuḍukulokhaṇḍakshetra seems to speak of the region occupied by Kurus who were paying land revenue. It is Kurukulakhaṇḍakshetra. Place Gaṇḍitama, the chief place of the vishaya, has not been identified. Place Vinītapura corresponds with the place Binka on the bank of river Mahanadi in former Sonepur state, now Sonepur district.

Antarudavishaya: According to Mahulpara pls. of second year of king Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha granted place Bhilvigrāma was in Abhaparākhaṇḍa in Antarudavishaya.[481] While the place named Bhilvi suggests the habitation of Bhilla, a mountain tribe, the name of the vishaya points to the region which is obstructed from extension by some object. Antarudha pargana[482] in Puri district, further extension of which has been obstructed by sea, probably represents ancient territory of Antarudhavishaya of the grant.

Now we come the division maṇḍala.

Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala: Balijhari pls. of year four of king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin inform us about the grant of a place named Kontalaṇḍāgrāma in Sarāvakhaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala in Oḍradeśa.[483] The donated place

Kontalaṇḍāgrāma has been identified with a place Kantilo in Puri district. Sarāvakhaṇḍa seems to be the region dominated by the hill named Sorap, sixteen miles to the south-east of Kantilo and the chief place of the division Airāvaṭṭa-maṇḍala seems to have been represented by the place Rathagarh in Banki police station in Cuttack district.[484] The grant further records the donation of a village Lovākaraḍāgrāma in the same khaṇḍa and also maṇḍala.[485] A place Lovākaradā has been identified with a place Karada in erstwhile Baramba state.[486] It is, probably corrupt form of the name Lohakarapāḍā.

Saṅgāṇamaṇḍala: As recorded in Sankhameri pls. of year four, of Mahābhavagupta IV, Uddyotakesarin, the king granted a village Āgaravāḍa-mulāgrāma in the Kontaḍḍākhaṇḍa in Saṅgāṇamaṇḍala.[487] The name may be Śaṅkhavana. It denotes a place situated amidst the *Śaṅkha* species of trees[488] and chief place of the maṇḍala seems identical with the place Śankhameri,[489] findspot of the pls. on the bank of the river Mahanadi in Baramba police station and taluka in Cuttack district. Kontaḍḍākhaṇḍa which included donated village seems to be the region round the place Kontapada, identical with the chief city of the khaṇḍa, on the bank of the same river and in the same taluka, and the district, as above and obtained its name after the abundance of Konta trees. The word Mulāgrāma in the place name Āgaravādamulāgrāma, the donated village, suggests the existence of two grāmas of the same name i.e. original one and extended. The habitation named after *āgara*,[490] was originally founded in, as the term *vāḍa* associated with the name indicates, in the cultivated plot and the term *mula* accompaning the name indicates the existence of a place other than the original one. Similarly, the word grāma forming the last part of the name speaks of the development of the original vāḍa into a habitation of cultivators. The place has not been identified.

Roṅgaḍāmaṇḍala: As mentioned in a stray plate of a Somavaṁśīn or Telugu-Choḍa grant found at Kelga donated village Pārśvagrāma and Vuravuḍāgrāma containing couple of plots of land (Khaṇḍa-kshetra) named Gudhvamāla and Kaṇhapura were situated in Roṅgaḍāmaṇḍala.[491] None of the places in the maṇḍala has been identified. The name Pārśvagrāma points to the place situated at the back of some object and the name Roṅgaḍā, the chief place of the maṇḍala may be Raṅgaḍā i.e. Raṅgapāḍā. It may be a settlement of dyers and the place seems identical with a place Rengali on the bank of the river Sukhtel in Bolangir district. But other places could not be identified.

Santamamaṇḍala: Naupatana pls. of fifth year of the king Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya informs that the king donated a plot of land of Tuṇḍimakhaṇḍakshetra together with Ḍalahāra and Vetrajoṅga in Vāvannakhaṇḍakshetra in Santamamaṇḍala.[492] The grant further states that the donated land was from his own fief (*Koṣṭad=ākṛṣya)*. The localities have not been identified. All the names

here are very interesting. Name Tuṇḍimakhaṇḍakshetra denotes a peace of land named after the cotton plant.[493] Name Vetrajoṅga composed of two words Vetra+Joṅga, Vetra= cane, reed and the meaning of the word Joṅga[494]=forest, arid. The name probably, denotes a plot that had become sterile due to the excessive growth of reed. Name Vāvannakhaṇḍa=speaks of the region with fifty-two plots of land. Thus, the grant included a peace of land with abundant production of cotton along with a plot that had become sterile due to the excessive production of reed (*Vetra Joṅga*) in Vāvannakhaṇḍa in Santamaṇḍala.

Some charters of the dynasty register the grants of places from the territories known as Uttara Tosalī and Dakshiṇa Tosalī. Following are the divisions known from these regions. According to general view, the region extending from Mahanadi towards north was known as Uttara Tosalī while the region to the south of Mahanadi was known as Dakshiṇa Tosalī.

Maraḍavishaya: Cuttack pls. of the king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, of the year nine, refer to the grant of a place Chāndagrāma in Maraḍavishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosalī.[495] While the donated place has been identified with a place Chandgaon, 32 miles south-west of Cuttack. Maraḍa, the chief place of the vishaya may be either Barada or Maradaharipura in Cuttack district.[496]

Koṅgodamaṇḍala: Banpur pls. of sixth year of the king Indraratha records the grant of Laghukumbhigrāma in Saghṛtakhallākhaṇḍa in Thoraṇavishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The maṇḍala,[497] as we have seen earlier, included the region extended from Mahendragiri in the south to little beyond the river Mahanadi in the north. Place Thoraṇa, chief place of the vishaya division denotes densely forested region and can be identified with a place Thorab in Puri district. The Khaṇḍa known as Ghṛtakhallā seems identical with a region round a place named Ghaikhalla in Banpur taluka, Puri district. The term *laghu* associated with the name of the donated place denotes the two, big and small, localities of the same name. The place seems to have obtained its name after Kumbhi[498] tree bearing fruit, commonly known as Kaṭphala. Its seeds are used in medicine. Thus, some portion of ancient Koṅgodamaṇḍala was densely forested and its Khaṇḍa division located in Banpur taluka in Puri district contained a place with abundant Kumbhi trees.

Maṇḍala was sometimes divided into Khaṇḍa division. These were named after hills, plants, deities and sometimes after the number of plots included in those particular divisions. We have following khaṇḍa divisions:

Sarāvakhaṇḍa: As mentioned earlier, Balijhari pls. of the year of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin donated a place Kontalaṇḍāgrāma in Sarāvakhaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala in Oḍradeśa.[499] While the donated place seems identical with a place Kantilo in erstwhile Khandapada state chief place of Khaṇḍa

seems to have obtained its name after a hill named Sorap situated 16 miles to the south-east of Kantilo in Puri district.

Kontaḍḍākhaṇḍa: Sankhameri pls. of the year 4 of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin refer to the grant of a place Āgaravāḍamulāgrāma in Kontaḍḍākhaṇḍa in Saṅgāṇamaṇḍala.[500] The name Kontaḍḍā may be originally Kontapāḍākhaṇḍa and chief place of the Khaṇḍa, has been identified with the place Kontapada in Cuttack district.

Saghṛtakhallakhaṇḍa: Banpur pls. of year 6th of king Indraratha informs us that donated place named Laghuukumbhigrāma was in Saghṛtakhallakhaṇḍa in Thoraṇavishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala.[501] Place Ghṛtakhallā seems identical with modern place Ghaikhalla in Banpur police station in Puri district.

Vāvannakhaṇḍa: Nuapatna pls. of the time of Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya, year four, refers to the grant of a plot of land in Vāvannakhaṇḍa in Santama-maṇḍala.[502] It is the name of the region containing fifty-two plots. None of these localities have been identified so far.

Aṭṭhāvisakhaṇḍa: Some times khaṇḍa division, as can be seen from Ratnagiri pls. of year six of king Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa, are mentioned independent of maṇḍala or vishaya division. Donated place named Koṇāgrāma referred to in the grant was situated in Aṭṭhāvisakhaṇḍa in Uttara Tosalī. The donated village may have given its place to a village Anikona, about three miles from Ratnagiri in Cuttack district.

Thus for the convenience of administration, the kingdom of the Somavaṁśin dynasty was divided into vishaya, maṇḍala and khaṇḍa. In order to find out the extension of kingdom we will now arrange these divisions district wise.

Deśa: *Kosaladeśa* —Bolangir and Sambalpur district of Orissa and adjoining districts of Madhya Pradesh.

Maṇḍala: *Koleḍḍāmaṇḍala* – Region not definitely identified.

Śiḍāṇḍāmaṇḍala –Portion of Bargarh taluka, Sambalpur district.

Gaṅdhaṭpaṭīmaṇḍala & Gaṅdhavāḍimaṇḍala–Portion of Phulbani district.

Vishaya: *Potavishaya*: portion of modern Sonepur and Bolangir districts.

Oṅgātaṭavishaya & Uṅgādavishaya: The region on the bank of river Onga in northern portion of Bolangir district.

Telātaṭṭavishaya-Portions of Bolangir and Phulbani districts.

Kaśaloḍāvishaya-Sambalpur district.

Ṭokkarāvishaya- portion of Bargarh taluka, Sambalpur district.

Sanūlāvishaya- Southern portion of Bolangir district.

Lāvaḍāvishaya –South-western portion of Bolangir district.

Kosalasākhaṅgadyanhavishaya-Some portion of Bolangir district.

Uttaravallivishaya-Region on the north border of Sonepur district.

Devibhogavishaya-Region round Devibhoga in Raipur district.

Gaṇḍitamavishaya-Not identified.

Nimunāvishaya – Region round the place Nimina in Birmaharajapur taluka in Sonepur district.

Khaṇḍa: *Lupattarākhaṇḍa*- Region round the place Lepta to the south-west of Bolangir.

Tuluṁvakhaṇḍa-Region round Turum, in Baragarh and Sonepur districts.

Santonartākhaṇḍa-Some portion of Sambalpur district.

Yamalākhaṇḍa- North-eastern portion of Bolangir district.

Kesalogākhaṇḍa- Region round Kelga in Bolangir district.

Bhukti: *Pṛuthurābhukti*- Portions of Sarangarh taluka of Raigarh district and Sambalpur district.

All these divisions situated in Kosaladeśa, denote that the deśa included Sambalpur and Bolangir districts and portions of adjoining districts of Chhattisgarh region.

Oḍradeśa:

Maṇḍala: *Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala*-Adjoining portions of Cuttack, Puri and Dhenkanal district with Rathagarh in former Banki state in Cuttack district as its capital.

Saṅgāṇamaṇḍala –May be a region round modern Sankhameri in Baramba police station and taluka in Cuttack district.

Santamamaṇḍala-Not identified

Dakshiṇa Tosalī:

Maraḍavishaya-Portion of Cuttack district.

Koṅgodamaṇḍala: Portions of Puri-Ganjam and Cuttack districts.

Thoraṇavishaya- Puri district.

Khaṇḍa: *Sarāvakhaṇḍa*-Region round the hill Sorap, 16 miles south-west of Kantilo in Khandapada state, Puri district

Kontaḍḍākhaṇḍa-Portion of Cuttack district.

Vāvannakhaṇḍa: Not identified.

Ghṛtakhallākhaṇḍa: Portion of Banpur police station, Puri district.

Aṭṭhāvisakhaṇḍa: May be a portion round modern Brahmapur village, 1 ½ miles north-east of Ratnagiri in Cuttack district.

Thus the Oḍra region of Orissa ruled by Somavaṁśin dynasty included part of Cuttack and Ganjam and Puri district.

Kosala, Oḍra and Trikaliṅga

As we have seen above the kingdom of the Somavaṁśins, contained two principal regions, Kosala and Oḍra and the kings of the dynasty describe themselves as Trikaliṅgādhipatī. In order to find out the extent of the rule of Somvaṁśin dynasty it is essential for us to trace antiquity of these names and the extent of these regions.

Kosala: Kosala meaning Dakshiṇa Kosala has been mentioned in Epic and Purāṇic literature. The description of the paths to Vidarbha and Kosala made by Nala in *Vanaparva* of *Mahābhārata* denotes two things related to Kosala, one is that it was adjacent to Vidarbha but different from Vidarbha and was situated to the north of Dakshiṇāpatha. Further the references to places of pilgrimage, such as, *Ṛishabhatīrtha, Kālatīrtha* and *Badarikā tīrtha,*[503] identified with the places in Chhattisgarh territory, indirectly implies the inclusion of Chhattisgarh in Kosala country. Purāṇic literature places Kosala country in Vindhya region. It mentions the Megha dynasty of Kosala in association with the people of Mekalā and the tribes like Pushyamitras and Paṭumitras. It also associates the people of Kosala with the dwellers of Vindhya region.[504]

Coming to epigraphical evidence, the Gunji[505] rock inscription of about the end of the first century A.D. mentions *Ṛishabhatīrtha* but it omits the name Kosala. The Allahabad pillar inscription[506] of the time of Gupta king Samudragupta is the first inscription mentioning the name Kosala along with the territories of *Dakshiṇāpatha*. It also associates it with *Mahākāntāra*. According to H.C. Ray Chaudhuri the Kosala region of the inscription is identical with the territory comprising Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur districts.[507] During the post Gupta period, as the Balaghat pls.[508] of the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena indicate, the region of Mekalā and Mālava was included, at least for short period in Kosala. In the later period it formed a part of the kingdom of Śarabhapuriya dynasty.[509]

According to the description of Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chawng,[510] in the middle of seventh century A.D., the kingdom of Kosala was situated about 1,800 li away from the capital of Kaliṅga. Cunningham[511] helps us to form an idea about the extent of the Kosala country in seventh cent. A.D. According to him, whole of the upper valley of Mahanadi and its tributaries from the source of the river Narmada from Amarakantaka in the north to the Mahanadi itself near Kanker on the south and from the valley of Wainganga on the west to the river Hasdo and Jonk in the

east was included in the Kosala country. He further states that the region often extended from the hilly districts of Mandala and Balaghat in the west to the banks of Wainganga and the middle valley of Mahanadi on the east down to the district of Sambalpur. According to Hiralal,[512] as the states of Patna, Bamra, Sonepur, and Rairākhol of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur district have yielded the charters of the kings of Somavaṁśin dynasty they must have formed the part of the Kosala region. Hence, he wants to include this region, in the place of the portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, in Kosala country defined by Cunningham. This region may have formed the country of Kosala during the regime of Pāṇḍuvaṁśin dynasty of Kosala.[513] By the time when Kalachuris of Ḍāhala occupied Śrīpura region with the capital at Tummāṇa Somavaṁśins had established their rule in the territory comprising Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi districts of Orissa and portions of adjoining districts of Chhattisgarh and it was this area which has been referred to as Kosala in their grants. Identification of the places mentioned in their grants with the localities situated in these districts also support the identification of this area with Kosala of the inscriptions.

Capitals of Kosala: The chief city of the country always changed its place in accordance with the convenience of the ruling families. We do not know either the name of its capital or its situation from Allahabad pillar inscription. During the regime of Śarbhapuriya dynasty it was at Śarabhapura.[514] The scholars have identified the place with different places in different regions. As the regime of Śarabhapuriyas is beyond the scope of our period controversial identifications of this place have been excluded from our present studies. As to capital of the kingdom of Somavaṁśin it seems that early Somavaṁśin king does not seem to have fixed headquarters. The grants of the king Mahābhavagupta were issued from different places, such as Suvarṇapura,[515] Murusimā,[516] Vijayakaṭaka[517] (in pleasure garden), Prakaṭacittayotika,[518] etc. References to these places as the place of the issue of grants indicate that he was residing at different places. His son Mahāśivagupta Yayāti made his capital at Vinītapura[519] and was living there atleast upto his fifteenth regnal year and then the capital was shifted to a new place named after him as Yayātinagara.[520] But scholars, such as Hiralal and R.D. Banerji, though, agree with the identification of the place Vinītapura with the place Binka on the river Mahanadi, are not in favour of shifting of the capital. According to their opinion, name Vinītapura itself was changed to Yayātinagara and as such there was no need of shifting the capital. According to Hiralal the name Yayātinagara remained in use as long as Vinītapura enjoyed the status of the capital of the kingdom at least in official circles and then, as the old name usually sticks very much firmly in the minds of people the name Vinītapura, in course of times became Binka.[521] But the argument does not seem to be convincing because place Yayātinagara enjoyed the

status of political headquarters of Somavaṁśins for several generations and has also been referred to in the records of their feudatories as well.

When during the rule of Mahśivagupta II Yayāti the region of Kosala and of Oḍra were united under one sceptre the capital was shifted from Yayātinagara to Guheśvarapāṭaka which was renamed, according to N.K. Sahu, as Abhinava Yayātinagara.[522] The modern town of Jajapur on the river Vaitarani has been identified with this new Yayātinagara hence, the modern place Binka cannot be taken as the representative of Yayātinagara.

Oḍradeśa: *Mahābhārata* and tradition recorded by *Manu* give us the name Oḍra but they do not help us to locate the region with certainty. Pliny in his work 'Natural History' places the people Oretes in the region of the mount Maleus[523] and scholars have equated the mount Maleus with the mount Malayagiri or Mālyagiri near modern Pal-lahara in Dhenkanal district and Oretes people with Sanskrit Oḍras. He further mentions the people Monades and Sharis as living in the region of mount Maleus. The Monades and Sharis are probably the same as Mundas and Savaras who are living in the region even today.[524] Thus the reference by Pliny suggests that the Oḍras were living around the mount Malayagiri in Pal-lahara region in Dhenkanal district.

According to scholars Wu-cha country described by Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited Oḍra about 636 A.D. corresponds to Oḍra country mentioned in the copper pl. grant of Somadatta and Oḍradeśa of the charter of Somavaṁśin dynasty. According to HiuenTsang the country was 7000 li in circuit and its capital was about 20 li in circuit. Its soil was rich and fertile and was yielding fruits larger than the other lands. He further states that a famous port Cheli-ta-lo was to the south-east of Wu-Cha country and in a great mountain on the south- west boundary of Wu-Cha country there was a famous Buddhist establishment called *Peu-sie-pi-ki-le*.[525] Obviously, this mountain seems to have formed the south-west boundary of the respective region.

The earliest epigraphic reference to Oḍravishaya is found in Soro copper pls. of Somadatta who was ruling over the region under the lordship of some king whose name is not mentioned. According to his Midnapore grant of year 19 he was ruling Daṇḍabhukti under the overlordship of the king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa country who was contemporaneous to Chinese pilgrim hence, the description of the extent of Oḍradeśa given by Hiuen Tsang seems applicable to the region under his rule. According to the description, it was the extensive territory. General Cunningham places this region between the valley of Mahanadi and lower course of the river Suvarnarekha forming the border between Mayurbhanja and west Bengal. It included whole of the districts of Cuttack, Sambalpur and portion of Midnapore district. It was bounded on the north by the wild hill states of Jashpur

and Singhbhum, on the east by sea, on the south by Ganjam district and on the west by Gondavana.[526] According to this description the Oḍra territory included modern districts of Cuttack, Puri, Dhenkanal, portion of Phulbani, part of Bolangir, Sambalpur and Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Balesvara and Mayurbhanj districts. But as we have seen above the region of Sambalpur was included in Kosala country we can include, not whole of Sambalpur district but small portion of it in Oḍra country. In the same way only adjoining portions of Bolangir and also of Sundargarh seem to have formed the part of Oḍradeśa. As regards the identification of the south-east and south-west boundary of the region scholars do not have unanimous opinion. While some scholars want to take Pue-sie-po-ki-li=Pushpagiri as identical with the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri hills lying five miles to the west of great temple at Bhuvanesvara some wants to identify it with Dhauli situated to the south-west of Bhuvanesvara and some others want to identify it with Ratnagiri. N.K.Sahu, on the basis of the reference to Pushpagiripañchāli-vishaya in the grant of the king of Kaliṅga named Devendravarman places it in present Phulbani-Ghumsar region.[527] We want to place it, as discussed some where else, in the southern portion of Ganjam district.

It seems that the extent of this ancient geographical unit of Orissa changed during the regime of Bhaumakara dynasty ruling over the coastal territory from Midnapore district in the north to Ganjam district in south. In their copper pls. charters they refer to their kingdom as Utkala and never as Oḍradeśa, though its existence is known from the references to the donee *Brāhmaṇas* from Oḍravishaya in Adipur[528] grant of Narendrabhañja of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa, Baud grant[529] of 58th year of Ranabhañja of Khiñjalimaṇḍala and two Talcher grants of the king Gayāḍatuṅga of Tuṅga dynasty, their feudatory and contemporary dynasty. While the charters of Bhañja kings speak of the existence of Oḍradeśa independent of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa, the Talcher grants point to the existence of Yamagarttāmaṇḍala separate from Oḍravishaya. These regions were ruled by different dynasties during the regime of Kara dynasty and imply the existence of Oḍradeśa as a separate country.

The charters of Somavaṁśin kings refer to Oḍradeśa as different from Kosala and also from Tosalī. Oḍradeśa of the time of Somavaṁśins seems to have included portions of Baud and Khiñjalimaṇḍala in Oḍradeśa. Satalama pls. of year eight of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya refers to a donee coming from Purushamaṇḍapa-grāma in Oḍradeśa.[530] Purushmaṇḍapagrāma has been identified with a place Maṇḍapa in former Baud state in Phulbani district. Cuttack copper pl. charter of ninth year of king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti denotes that Khiñjalimaṇḍala was part of Oḍradeśa. The grant registers the donation of a place Chāndagrāma in Maraḍavishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosalī to a *Brāhmaṇa* who hailed from Śilabhañjapāṭi in Oḍradeśa.[531] The village may have been named after Bhañja king Śilabhañja.

According to Sahu, it must have been situated in the Bhañja kingdom of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. Reference to donated villages situated in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala in Balijhari charter of year four of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakesarin indicates that Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala was a part of Oḍradeśa.[532] The maṇḍala has been identified with the region comprising southern part of Dhenkanal district, western part of Cuttack district and almost the whole of Nayagarh subdivision of Puri district. Thus these maṇḍalas which were separate of Oḍradeśa during the regimes of Bhañjas and Tuṅgas were now included in, as the charters of Somavaṁśin king indicate, Oḍradeśa, and the coastal area of Orissa was known as Utkala. (The Brahmeśvar temple inscription of the same king as above reveals that the king killed the ruler of Oḍradeśa in battle. This king has been recognised as the Bhañja king Raṇabhañja of Khiñjalimaṇḍala). Southern limit of Oḍradeśa can be decided with the help of the Upalada grant of the king of Tailapa dynasty. As mentioned in this grant Nasunda hill was in Oḍradeśa. Donated place Upalavāḍa referred to in the grant has been identified with the place Upalada, find spot of the grant in Paralakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. The hill Nasunda in Oḍradeśa seems identical with Nandva hills near Nandva forest situated near the boundary between Paralakimedi and Tekali talukas. It is connected with Mahendragiri by a range of hills called Durgā and Lāvaṇyagaḍa.[533]

The available evidence thus, indicates that when Hiuen Tsang visited the region Oḍradeśa extended, roughly from Mahanadi in the north to, in irregular line, Ganjam district in south. Tosalī was to its east and Kosala in the west. During the regime of Somavaṁśin dynasty Khiñjalimaṇḍala and Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala were in Oḍradeśa and the coastal region of Orissa under the Bhauma Kara dynasty was known as Utkala.

Trikaliṅga: Identification of Trilkaliṅga region involves two main points viz. it is the name of a single geographical unit and it contains three areas known as Kaliṅga. Available literary and epigraphical evidence apart from tracing the existence of Kaliṅga region from very early times also implies that it was a single territorial unit up to first century A.D. All the Somavaṁśin kings, except Śivagupta the first known ruler of the dynasty, style themselves as Tri-kaliṅgādhipati and refer to the territory of Kaliṅga along with the other regions of Orissa in some of their grants e.g. Jatesing Dungari pls. of Tri-kaliṅgādhipati Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, refers to Kaliṅga,Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala.[534] In the same way Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin refers to Trikaliṅgādhipati Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya as the conqueror of the Oḍra country.[535] These references clearly indicate that Kaliṅga and Trikaliṅga regions were separate from the other regions of Orissa which are normally taken as constituents of Trikaliṅga and Kaliṅga.[536] Bhaumakara king Śivakara II, in his

Talcher pls. state that his ancestor Śubhakara defeated the ruler of Kaliṅga.[537] But these references do not offer us any clue for the identification either of Kaliṅga or Trikaliṅga region. Chinese pilgrim Yuwan Chwang refers to Oḍra, Koṅgoda and Kaliṅga as separate kingdoms and he places first two in east India and last one in south India.[538]

Name Trikaliṅga does not appear in the grants of the early period. The concept of Trikaliṅga came forward for the first time, as the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga[539] kings show, in sixth century A.D. The title was assumed by the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta V who came to the throne in 1038 A.D. Apart from the eastern Gaṅgas we get reference to Tri-kaliṅga from the records of Eastern Chālukyas,[540] Kalachuris[541] and Somavaṁśin dynasties. The evidence clearly shows that the name was in use prior to the period of Somavaṁśins. In order to have clear picture of the region ruled by Somavaṁśin it is essential for us to trace the extent of Trikaliṅga territory during their regime. It is to be stated here that many scholars such as Cunningham,[542] Fleet,[543] Subbarao, R.D Banerji,[544] B.C. Mazumdar, B. Misra, R.G. Basaka, D.C. Ganguli and Ajaya Mitra Shastri though take the name Trikaliṅga as denoting three divisions of ancient Kaliṅga they don't have unanimous opinion regarding the location of these divisions.

While Cunningham states that Tri-kaliṅga included Dhanakaṭaka or Amaravati, Andhra region and Rajamahendri Subbarao wants to take Trikaliṅga as the union of Utkala (north Kalinga), Kaliṅga proper and Telkaliṅga. B.C. Mazumdar, B. Misra and R.G. Basak take the regions of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala as representing Tri-kaliṅga. D.C. Ganguli[545] divides the kingdom in three parts viz., Ganjam district as north Kaliṅga, Godavari district as south Kaliṅga and Visakhapatnam district as *madhyama* Kaliṅga. H.C. Ray takes the name in wider sense and includes modern Orissa, considerable portion of Madhya Pradesh i.e. Chhattisgarh division and northern portion of Madras presidency i.e. modern Andhra Pradesh[546] in Trikaliṅga.

G. Ramdas has taken the name Tri+Kaliṅga as to derive from Tiru means high, elevated region and the name Tri-Kaliṅga, according to him, denotes high or hilly Kaliṅga. According to him, the name denotes the region of Eastern Ghats from the upper course of Mahanadi to about the source of Langulia river in the south or Chhattisgarh and hilly districts of Orissa.[547] R.C. Majumdar, though agrees with the view of Ramdas that it was a hilly region wants to extend the southern boundary of the region still further south and opines that it was identical with the hilly tract to the west of Kaliṅga. Harekrishna Mahatab opines that once Tri-kaliṅga kingdom comprised the northern regions of Kaliṅga, the western regions of Eastern Ghats, the Malayagiri area of Ganjam district and northern part of Bastar district. While the region of Koṅgoda on the north formed its north-eastern boundary its

eastern boundary was formed by sea. Thus the region between the river Rishikulya and Langulia with the Jeypure Jamindari in Koraput and districts of Bastar and also the district of Sambalpur, Sonepur state, Bolangirpatan and district of Kalahandi formed the region of Tri-Kaliṅga.

Ajay Mitra Shastri, along with other regions included in the territory by Mahatab, referred to above, wants to include south portions of Bastar district, Raipur and Raigadh districts and also the portions of Srikakulam and Vishakahapatnam districts in Trikaliṅga kingdom.[548] He defines these three regions with the help of natural barriers-mountains, hills, rivers etc. that play important role in deciding the boundaries of the regions. He advocates that Eastern Ghats divided Kaliṅga into two, Western Kaliṅga and Eastern Kaliṅga and River Indravati divided Western Kaliṅga into two parts, south and north Kaliṅga. While the river Mahanadi forms the northern boundary of Western Kaliṅga Indravati formed its southern boundary and river Godavari formed southern boundary of south Kaliṅga.Thus, these geographical features created south, north and east Kaliṅga which were collectively known as Tri-kaliṅga. As described by him, south Kaliṅga was bounded on north-west and west by the river Indravati, on the south by the river Godavari and on the east by ranges of Eastern Ghats. It comprised southern portion of Koraput district, considerable portion of Bastar district and small portion of Srikakulam district. North Kaliṅga was bordered on the north and the west by the river Mahanadi and on the south and south-east by Eastern Ghats. It included southern portion of Kalahandi and northern part of Koraput district. East Kaliṅga had Eastern Ghats on its west. While river Godavari formed its southern border till it meets the Bay of Bengal river Mahanadi where it joins the sea formed its northern boundary. It comprised whole of eastern Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam and Ganjam districts.[549] It is, as stated by the scholar himself a very rough idea of the regions comprised in Tri-kaliṅga. But it would be worth while to trace the limits of the Tri-kaliṅga on the basis of the boundaries suggested by him.

Tri-kaliṅga, as the above description suggests, was extended between the rivers Mahanadi in the north and Godavari in the south, river Indravati on the west and sea on the east. The region thus includes some portions of Bastar, Koraput, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur, Phulbani, Puri districts of Orissa plus part of Raigarh and Raipur districts of Chhattisgarh. Let us now examine the suggested boundaries and the territories included in three regions of Kaliṅga. South Kaliṅga, as referred to above, had river Indravati on its west and north-west. The river rises at an altitude of 915m.in Kalahandi district on the western slope of Eastern Ghats, flows westward through Koraput and enters Bastar districts to the north of Jagdalpur and by turning to the south it forms the boundary line between Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh (Madhya Pradesh) and joins the river Godavari

about 530 kms. from its source at an elevation of 82m. near Bhopalpatnam. The river Godavari flowing eastward empties itself into the sea near Rajahmundry. South Kaliṅga, thus, seem to have included south-western portion of Kalahandi, north-western portion of Koraput, Jagdalpur, Dantevada, Bijapur and Konta talukas of Bastar districts. Secondly, if we take the river Godavari as its southern boundary, as suggested above, it does not seem to include a small region of Srikakulam district because the river turns towards south-east after its confluence with the river Sabari forming the eastern limit of Konta tahsil of Bastar district. Instead of Srikakulam district we have to include district of Malkangiri of Orissa in south Kaliṅga. Let us now turn to the boundaries of north Kaliṅga. River Mahanadi which plays important role in defining the Tri-Kaliṅga region rises in an insignificant pool, a few miles from the village Sihawa in the extreme south east of Raipur district and flowing northwards it joins Seonath river in Bilaspur district, then forming the western and northern border of Sarangarh taluka of Raigarh district it enters eastern part of Sambalpur, then flowing southwards through north-eastern portion of Bolangir district it forms the north and north-eastern boundary of Phulbani district, south western boundary of Dhenkanal district and then separating the district of Puri from Cuttack district runs towards the east and joins sea near Paradwip port. According to the description referred to above, north Kaliṅga was bordered on north and west by Mahanadi. Hence, we have to include adjoining portions of eastern Bolangir and south-western portion of Dhenkanal districts and region of Sambalpur lying to the west of Mahanadi plus Sarangarh taluka of Raigarh district, portions of Mahasamunda and Dhamtari talukas of Raipur district and also adjacent northern portion of Bastar district in north Kaliṅga. Now we come to the third region of Kaliṅga i.e. east Kaliṅga with Eastern Ghats on the west, Godavari on the south, bay of Bengal on the east and the meeting point of Mahanadi and Bay of Bengal in the north. Keeping these boundaries in mind we have to include whole of Ganjam district, Srikakulam district, adjoining portion of Koraput district, Vishakhapatnam district in the south, Ganjam district with adjoining southern portion of Phulbani district in the centre and Puri and Cuttack district in the north-east of north Kaliṅga. The survey of the boundaries of Trikaliṅga, suggested by Ajay Mitra Shastri, indicates that Tri-kaliṅga was quite a big division. Administrative divisions prevalent during the regime of Somavaṁśins, discussed above, indicate that the region of Sambalpur, Bolangir and adjoining portions of Raigarh and Raipur districts which are included here in north Kaliṅga constituted Kosala country under the Somavaṁśins and while the coastal region of Orissa under the Bhaumakara dynasty was known as Utkala, portions of Dhenkanal, Phulbani, Ganjam districts ruled by Bhañja dynasty, contemporaries of Somavaṁsins, was known as Oḍradeśa. In other words we can say that different parts of this suggested Trikaliṅga kingdom were known by different nomenclature

during this period. In such circumstances it is very difficult to locate the Tri-kaliṅga region with certainty. We can simply say that in wider sense it included large portion of Chhattisgarh and Orissa state but its restricted region is very difficult to make out.

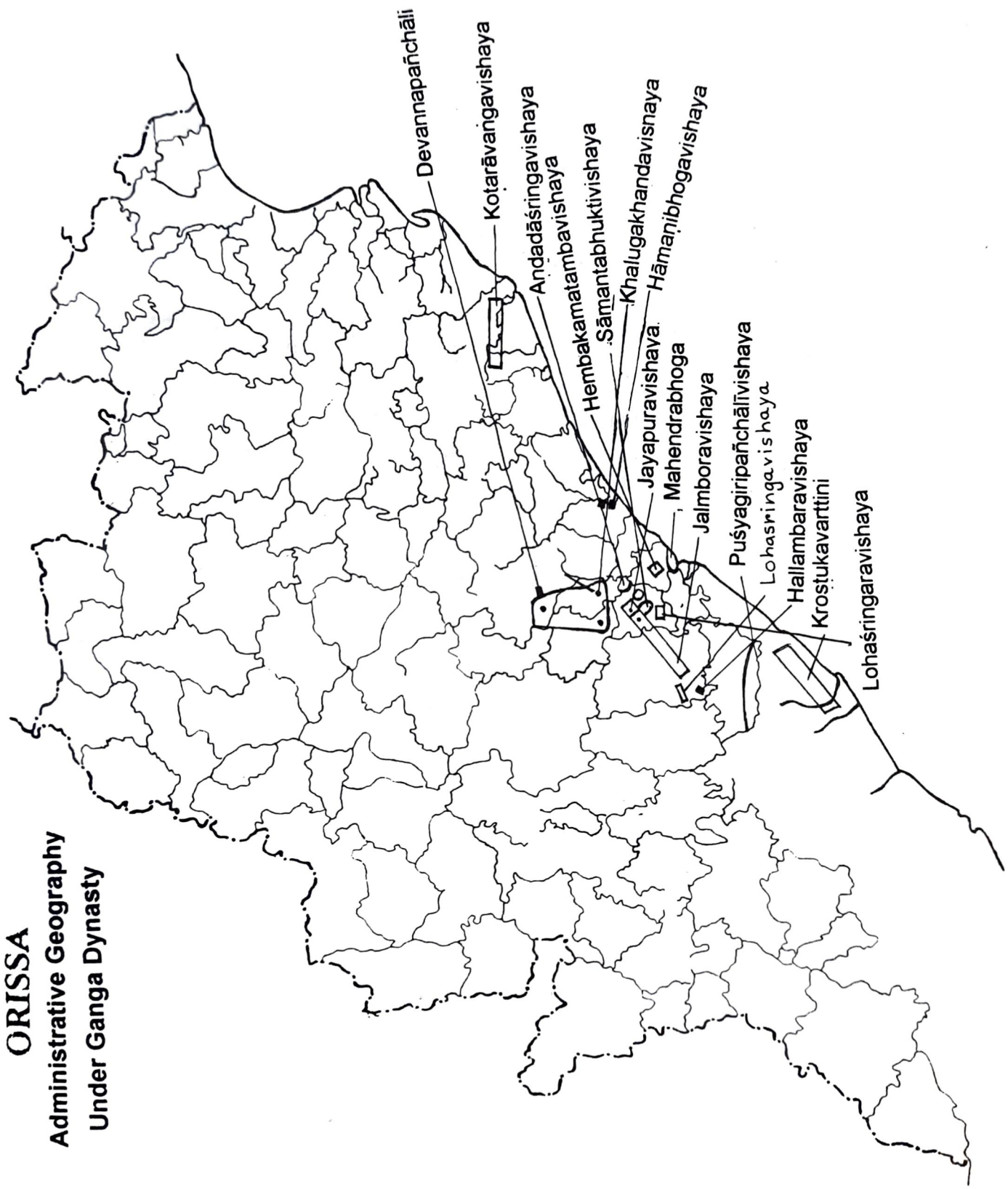
VI Administrative Geography Under The Gaṅga Dynasty

Historical background:

After the downfall of Vaśiṣṭha family a new dynasty known as the *Eastern Gaṅga* rose to power in the region around the present Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh. In the early part of its career the rule of the dynasty was confined to a small territory and had their capital at Kaliṅganagara identified with modern Mukhaliṅgam in Srikakulam district. The family introduced a new era after its name. Almost all the rulers of the dynasty have used this era in their records. But there is great controversy regarding the date of the commencement of this *Gaṅga* era. Different dates suggested by the scholars range between 349-50 A.D. to 877-888 A.D. S.N. Rajaguru, after critically examining all the arguments and counter arguments, fixed the date of the beginning of the era as 626 A.D.[550]

Early Gaṅgas: Before proceeding further we would like to note here that the rule of this dynasty can be divided into two broad periods viz., the rule of Early Gaṅgas and the rule of Greater Gaṅgas or Imperial Gaṅgas. The rulers of the early Gaṅga dynasty left us a number of copper pls. grants and the most important features of these grants are that they provide us order of succession of the kings i.e. only the names and the years of the king concerned and no historical information. Some of these kings appear to have been powerful ruler and were ruling over the extensive region but their records do not provide us sufficient and clear evidence regarding their achievements. Secondly, of the several pls. issued by the dynasty only seven viz., (1) Parlakimedi grant of the year 91, of the king Indravarman, (2) Parlakimedi grant of the king Vajrahasta, (3) Two Dharmalingeśvara grants of the year 184 and 204 respectively, (4) Badakhimedi pls. of the year 304, (5) Nirakarpur pls. of the time of Devendravarmmā and (6) Khillinagāra grant of Rāṇaka Dāṇārṇava of Amvāvāḍīmaṇḍala have been recovered in present Orissa state. Of these, number five has been found in Puri district, the last one has been obtained from Koraput district while remaining grants are from Ganjam district and all the other grants have been recovered from the places situated in Andhra Pradesh. As our study is restricted to the place names found in inscriptions recovered in the modern Orissa we shall not deal with place names that have been mentioned in the grants recovered outside present Orissa state.

Śvetaka Gaṅgas: While this main branch of Gaṅga dynasty was ruling over


ORISSA
Administrative Geography
Under Ganga Dynasty
Devannapañchāli
Koṭarāvaṅgavishaya
Aṇḍadāśringavishaya
Hembakamatambavishaya
Sāmantabhuktivishaya
Khalugakhandavisnaya
Hāmaṇibhogavishaya
Jayapuravishaya
Mahendrabhoga
Jalmboravishaya
Puśyagiripañchālīvishaya
Lohasringavishaya
Hallambaravishaya
Kroṣṭukavarttini
Lohaśringaravishaya

Kaliṅga one sub-branch of the dynasty rose to power in Śvetaka, probably after its victory over Śailodbhava dynasty. The region it ruled has been identified with the region round Chikiti in Ganjam district. Most of their grants have been obtained from Ganjam district. Jayavarmadeva, son of Devendravarman I is the first known ruler of this line of kings. His title Rāṇaka[551] associated with his name in his Badakhimedi grant of the year 100 indicates that in the beginning he was ruling as subordinate of the kings of Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara but soon began to rule, as his Badakhimedi grant denotes, perhaps as semi-independent power and assumed the title Mahārāja.[552] He established an alliance with the Bhaumakara dynasty that had Tosalī country under their sway and with the permission of the Bhaumakara king Unmattakesari granted a village in Koṅgodamaṇḍala.[553] In his Kama-Nalinakshapur pls. issued from Śvetaka he is described as to have obtained *Sakala Kaliṅga* country by the valour of his own arms and had full control over the large number of feudatory chiefs.

Kings, Bhupendravarmmadeva, Anantavarmmadeva, Pṛthivīvarmmadeva and Indravarmmadeva, who followed him successively, as the glorious titles *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka* associated with their names in their grants viz., Badakhimedi pls.,[554] Svalpa-Velura grant[555] etc. denote they ruled their principality independently. The dynasty had to face some temporary set back, as the title *Mahārāja*[556] of the king Pṛthivīvarmadeva indicates, towards the middle part of his regime. The king Pṛthivīvarmadeva, his Ganjam pls. inform us, brought whole circle (*Sāmantachakra*) of feudatories under his control by his own strength of arms, assumed all glorious titles[557] mentioned above and declared himself as sovereign of whole Kaliṅga country. But the events leading to this situation are not known from the grant. It is the first grant that is issued from Kolāulapurapaṭṭaṇa.[558] The *Purāṇās* such as *Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu* and *Vāmana* inform us that Kolāhala was the name of a hill and it was the place where Gayāsura performed austerities. Rajaguru opines that the hill must have been situated near Mahendra mountain in Ganjam district and the town founded near it came to be known after it.[559] The king Dānārṇavadeva, younger brother of king Indravarmmadeva, who is described as to have acquired the overlordship of entire Kaliṅga by his own arms assumed all the glorious titles. He was dear to all his vassals.[560] His successor Sāmantavarmmā, though is described as to have obtained the overlordship of entire Śvetaka country by his own valour, did not assume any of the glorious titles.[561] In his Pherava grant he has been referred to as Sakalakaliṅgādhipati.[562]

Above survey of the political activities of the Gaṅga dynasty of Śvetaka suggests that it had to struggle hard for its survival against the some or the other powers. In the early years of their regime they ruled as the feudatory of Gaṅgas of

Kaliṅganagara and in later period of Bhaumakaras and enjoyed independent regime in between. Our contention is also supported by the era used in some of their grants such as Badakhimedi[563] grant of the king Jayavarmmadeva, Svalpa-Velur grant[564] of the king Anantavarmmadeva, Kama Nalinakshapura[565] and Pherava[566] grant of Sāmantavarmmā, dated in the Saṁvat 50, 79, and 173 and 185 respectively. According to Rajaguru,[567] these are of Bhauma era and probably point out that these kings had to accept, sometimes during their regime, the suzerainty of Bhaumakara dynasty.

Imperial Gaṅga Dynasty: As we have seen above Early Gaṅga rulers of Kaliṅganagara ruled a small territory in Srikakulam district. Some times they extended their rule to Ganjam district over which Śvetaka dynasty was ruling, probably as the feudatory of this dynasty. Scholars have assigned the earliest record of the greater Gaṅga dynasty to a close of tenth century A.D. We do not get much information about the rule of this dynasty till we come to the rule of the king Anantavarmā Vajrahasta father of Rājarāja and grand father of Anantavarmā Choḍagaṅga who ascended the throne in 1038 A.D.[568] Like some of the kings of Somavaṁśin and Kalachuri dynasty he assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and also had the titles *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*. Devendravarmā Rājarāja who succeeded Vajrahasta was an astute politician and the important political events that took place during his period are quite eloquent of this fact.

He defeated the Dravidian king, Rājendra Chola and married the Chola princess, daughter of Rājendra Chola and established diplomatic matrimonial relations with the Chola dynasty. As referred to in majority of the copper pls. grants of the king Choḍagaṅga, his son born of this marriage, king Rājarāja helped the Veṅgi king Vijayāditya in his war with the Chola emperor Vira Rājendradeva and restored him to the throne. He thus established diplomatic friendship with the king of Veṅgi. Dirghasi inscription informs us that Banapati, the *Brāhmaṇa* minister, commander and chamberlain of the king Rājarāja conquered Veṅgi, Kimeḍi, Kosala, Giḍrising and Oḍḍadeśa and was, therefore, made governor of these regions. It seems that he helped the king of Veṅgi in the civil war for succession among the Chālukyas of Veṅgi after the death of Vijayāditya and conquered Veṅgi. These conquests of Rājarāja speak of the expansion of the political influence of Gaṅga kingdom between the river Rishikulya in the north to the mountain of Simhachalam in the south and from the Bay of Bengal on the east to the Kosala in the west[569] during his regime.

His son Anatavarman Choḍagaṅga, who succeeded him, became the king at very early age of eleven i.e. according to Mahatab, in 1071 A.D. He was the ambitious and most powerful king of the greater Gaṅga dynasty and his regime is well-known for his remarkable political achievements. It is said that from his regime the Gaṅgas

ruled in Orissa for fifteen generations covering a total period of 325 years.[570] He was ruling, as mentioned in his Korni pls. as coronated king in Ś. Year 999. Asanakhali[571] and Kenduli[572] pls. of the king Narasiṁhadeva II and Narasiṁhadeva IV respectively, inform us that he ruled for seventy-seven years. His reign came to an end in Ś. 1069 =1147 A.D. He had several sovereign titles. The stone inscriptions found at Srikurmam, Draksharam[573] and at many other places inform us that he had several wives. Besides his four sons who succeeded him one after the other to the Gaṅga throne he had many other sons through different queens. He was well versed, as recorded in Kenduli[574] grant, in *Veda, Purāṇa, Kāvya, Dharmaniti* and *Śilpaśāstra*.

His paternal empire, as known from Ananta Vasudeva[575] temple inscription, extended between river Ganges in the north to river Godavari in the south. Kenduli pls. referred to above inform us that he recovered taxes from this region. With the purpose of expanding his rule he invaded and conquered the kingdoms of Veṅgi, Utkala and Mandārāma[576] and consolidated his power. In the beginning, quite diplomatically, he did not bring all conquered territories under his direct control. Instead, he returned these kingdoms to their respective rulers and reduced them to the status of vassal states. The region of Utkala including Puri-Cuttack territory, referred to in Liṅgaraja temple inscription, which faced his invasion by 1112 A.D. must be the dominion of Somavaṁśins. He, with the help of treacherous general of the Somavaṁśin king of Utkala, overthrew the Somavaṁśin king Kesari in about 1135 A.D. Then he shifted his capital from Kaliṅganagara to Cuttack, which came to be known as Gaṅgakaṭaka.[577]

He was the most competent and gifted ruler of the dynasty. Taking advantage of political conditions in Chālukya kingdom of Veṅgi he diplomatically extended his kingdom upto the river Godavari in the south and weak rule of Kumārapāla, the king Rāḍhā, encouraged him to establish his rule in the heart of Bengal. As referred to in Kendupatna, Asanakhali, Sankarananda and Nagari copper pls. he defeated the king of Mandāra in the battle that took place on the bank of Ganges and destroyed walls and gates of the Ārāmyā, the city of Mandāra. While the latter has been identified with Garh Mandaran the former seems identical with a place Arambaga both in the district of Hoogaly. By this conquest he annexed large portion of south Bengal to his kingdom. Thus the king Choḍagaṅga became the mighty emperor of the wide empire extended from Ganges in the north to river Godavari in the south. His western neighbours were Kalachuris of Ratanpur with whom the dynasty had strained relations for considerably long period. He tried to put a check to their western expansion and to bring Ratanpura under his control. The age-old conflict between these two dynasties was finally brought to an end by the marriage of Kalachuri Paramāradideva with Chandradevī, the daughter of Anañgabhīma-deva of Gaṅga dynasty.[578]

His regime was followed by short rules of kings, Kāmārṇava, Rāghava, Rājarāja II, Anaṅgabhīma II, Rājarāja III and Anaṅgabhīma III. During the regime of Anaṅgabhimadeva III Muhammad Bakhtyar Khilji invaded and conquered Lakshmaṇavati comprised of Rāḍhā and Varendra and from this base he attacked the region of Orissa. King Anyaṅkabhīma, as Kendupatan and Puri pls. indicate, ruled for ten years. He was the great monarch of Orissa. During his regime northern India faced the invasions of Mahammad Ghori and his follower Mahammad Bin Khilji.The Pālas and Senas of Bengal and the Gaṅgas of Orissa faced the onslaught of Muslim invasions and each one of these fought with Muslim invaders independently. While other powers, one by one, succumbed to the tempest the country of Orissa continued to enjoy independence for four centuries after this event. We know of these kings of the Gaṅga dynasty from their copper pls. grants.[579]

We have restricted our study up to the regime of king Anyaṅkabhīma and have taken into account the place names mentioned in their inscription found in modern Orissa province only.

During the regime of the Gaṅgas the region of Orissa was divided into following administrative divisions. We have arranged these administrative divisions into three periods i.e. Divisions known from the grants of Early Gaṅgas, of the Śvetaka Gaṅgas and of the later Gaṅgas. In the first period we get territorial designations like *Pañchāli, Bhoga, Varttanī* and *Vishaya*.

Pañchāli: The designation Pañchāli points to the group of five villages. Devannapañchāli is only one division of this type. It has been referred to in Parlakimedi grant, dated in G.E. 91 of the king Indravarman. The charter informed the inhabitants of Kettaṭagrāma in Devannapañchāli about the grant of the village as an *agrahāra* to a *Brahmachārī* named Dhruvaśarman Koṇḍaballa.[580] The territorial designation *Pañchāli* speaks of the group of five villages and the name Devanna[581] may be a Deva+anna i.e. the region reserved for making offerings to the god. The name Kettaṭagrāma[582] may be Keta + taṭa + grāma and probably points to a settlement on seashore. Chief place of the division is identified with Dayanapalli and donated place is tentatively identified with a place Koithada in Gangapur police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Bhoga: Mahendrabhoga is the only bhoga division known from the grants of this dynasty. According to Nirakarpur pls. of the time of the king Devendravarman, Udayakheḍi, the subordinate king of Devendravarman, donated a village named Pagaḍākheḍa in Mahendrabhoga to twelve *Brāhmaṇas* of different gotras. The description of the four boundaries of the donated village given in grant informs us that there was *Akshaya Vaṭa* on its east, bushes and Tamarind tree on its south, *Audumbara* tree, *Asurālaka* and peak of the mountain on its south-west, and a peak

of the mountain and Saśtyotusa river on its north.[583] The name of the *bhoga* implies the region dominated by the mountain Mahendra and description of the granted village indicates that it was situated amidst the trees and mountains. The place however not identified. The bhoga included some region near Mahendragiri in Ganjam taluka.

Varttinī: Kroṣṭukavarttinī is only one Varttinī division. As mentioned in the Dharmalingeśvara inscription dated G.E. 204, the king Anantavarman donated a village named Tālattheragrāma in Kroṣṭukavarttinī.[584] It was the region lying to the north of the division Varāhavarttinī identified with the coastal region lying between Tekkali and Srikakulam district. The name Kroṣṭukavarttinī speaks of the forested region infested with jackals. Donated place Tālattheragrāma may be Tālaṭṭheragrāma i.e. the place with eighteen Tal trees. The plates have been recovered near a place Adab in Parlakemedi taluka in Ganjam district. The donated village had Hemaśṛṅga, Puṁpalli, Tāṭappara, Somavāṭaka, Dhāravāṭaka and Sumaṅguru grāmas on its different boundaries. The place Hemaśṛṅga speaks of the place dominated by a mountain with golden pinnacle. While the place Puṁpalli seems to have obtained its name after flower plants. Place Tāṭappara was probably named after its position on the seashore. Somavāṭaka may be a place famous for *Soma* plants and Dhāravāṭaka seems to be a place situated near water stream. The village Sumaṅgauru i.e. Sumaṅgalauru, is the place named after some auspicious occasion. Unfortunately, none of these places has been identified. Forests such as Giribanarāji, Veṇubanarāji, Chiñchbanarāji and Vakrabanarāji and trees like Dhātukarañja, Kosambra, Chiñchavāpi, Chiñchapaṁkti, Chiñchavālmika, Nimbavālmika and Śālmali were situated in the different directions of the donated village. Besides, there were hills such as Devaparvvata, Koṅgaparvvata, Trikūṭa and Korakaṇṭa. The internal evidence of the epigraph thus indicates that the donated grāma was situated amidst the hills and forest[585] and as the name of the division implies, the unit was infested with Jackals and the place Vasatapura situated on one of the borders of the donated grāma was the settlement of the people Vasata.[586] The donated place seems to be the village in forest cleared area.

Now we come to the division vishaya mentioned in the grants of this dynasty.

Pañchālivishaya: Some times the division of Pañchāli was developed into vishaya and both the designations, pañchāli and vishaya were associated with its name. The territorial unit Puśyahgiripañchālivishaya belongs to this category. Hence, it is treated here as vishaya division.

Puśyagiripañchālivishaya: This vishaya has been mentioned in the Dharmalingeśvara grant dated G.E.184. It is of the period of the king Devendravarman I. According to the charter, the king granted, as a mark of respect for his Guru, a village Haḍuvakagrāma in Puśyagiripañchālivishaya, free from all

taxes, on the occasion of taking *Dikshā* from the *Guru Bhagvat Patańga Śivāchārya* who was well-versed in *Vedas, Vedāńgas, Itihāsa, Purāṇas, Nāṭyaśāstra* and was follower of his own *Siddhānta*. The *Guru* in his turn donated half of the village to the god Yāgeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka and remaining half village to his own students and disciples of his students. The epigraph also states that the donated village has Guṇahārigarttā, extended up to the end of its southern border, on its east, Kadamba trees, Tamarind trees, Nimba trees, Sarjja trees, tank and Timira trees and Chincha trees, in the sequence, on its west. At the end of its western boundary there was Bhallataka tree to the north of some tank and then the Jambu tree and the Chulla-Veṇā. To the north of Chulla-Veṇā and towards the east there were two Śālmali trees in horizontal row, then Kośamba tree and Saptaphaṇā bushes followed by Vṛhatśilā, an anthill with Jambu tree, Chiñchā-Jambu trees, a tank with Madhuka tree on its bank and then there was earlier described Guṇahārigarttā.[587]

The name of the vishaya is interesting. It is composed of three words, Puśya+ Giri+ Pañchāli. While the term Puśya indicates the flower plants, the word Giri denotes mountain or hill. Pañchāli speaks of group of five villages, obviously an administrative unit. Vishaya is a territorial designation and association of two designations-*pañchāli* and *vishaya*, with the name of the division points to the progress of the *Pañchāli* i.e. group of five villages, division dominated by the hill with plenty of all species of flower plants. The description of the boundaries of the donated place Haḍubaka points to the village situated in hilly and forested region. It seems identical with a place Hadubhangi in Kashinagar police station in Parlakimedi tahsil, Ganjam district. According to the description in census atlas, the highest area, with an average height of 900 meters and above, in Orissa state is found in the extreme southern portion of Ganjam district. The district is covered with tropical moist deciduous type of forest.[588] Hence, it will not be improper to locate the Puśyagiri in this region. It may be the name of some hill in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district and it may be the same Puśyagiri mentioned by Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang.[589] The vishaya as we have seen else where included southern portion Parlakimedi taluka of Ganjam district.

Lohaśṛńgaravishaya: Badakhimedi charter of the year 308 of the Gańga era of the king Devendravarman records the grant of a village named Burujunāgrāma on Mahendragiri (Mahendropari) in Borudravakoṇa in Lohaśṛńgaravishaya to a *Brāhmaṇa*, a resident of Uttara Rāḍhā.[590] In the text the place Lohaśṛńgara is not associated with the term vishaya. Scholars have, however, taken it as administrative unit, vishaya. The name of the division denotes the region famous for the manufacture of iron objects like chains, probably used for elephants. The name thus indirectly points to the existence of elephants and also some metal industry in this region. The donated settlement Burujunāgrāma may be Purujvana =dense

forest. The name thus speaks of the village situated in the densely forested region which was, as the name Borudravakoṇa indicates, a forest full of ricinus trees. The name Borudravakoṇa may be the form of the name Bukudravakavana i.e. a forest of ricinus trees. The place Lohaśṛṅgara can be identified with a place Lohunia in Digpahandi taluka, Ganjam district, Borujunāgrāma, donated place, seems identical with a place named Brundabanapalli in Nugaon police station, Digpahandi taluka and Borudravakoṇa seems to have given its place to Buduranga in the same tahsil as above. It seems that some portion of Digpahandi taluka was famously known for Lohaśṛṅgara i.e. iron objects and that contained dense forest of the ricinus trees.

Now we come to the administrative units known from the grants of the Gaṅga dynasty of Śvetaka.

Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya: The territorial unit known, as Khalugakhaṇḍa-vishaya was very popular during the regime of the dynasty. It has been mentioned in three grants obtained from Badakhimedi. Earliest of these grants, issued by the king Jayavarman, is dated G.E. 100. It registers the donation of a piece of land in a settlement named Paḍalaśṛṅga[591] in Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya[592] to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Padma. As per description of the boundaries of the donated land given in the epigraph, it had Gaḍaridhruva on its east and Teturagrāma on its west and while on the north it extended up to the *patha* in the south it had a fording place for crossing the stream with winding course.[593] A place name Paḍalaśṛṅga may be Paṭalaśṛṅga i.e. a place situated on the hill that had a top covered with abundant Pāṭala trees. In the same way the word Gaḍari in the name Gaḍaridhruva on the east seems to have come from the word Gaḍa means some sort of impediments like covering, fence or moat and the word Dhruva denotes Indian fig trees.[594] Here the name Gaḍaridhruva speaks of some sort of fence created by Indian fig trees on the east of the gifted land. A place Teturagrāma on the west of the land may be Taittiragrāma a habitation of the patridge catchers.[595] According to Badakhimedi grant of the king Bhupendravarman, a place Vāḍoḍegrāma[596] containing donated plot of land was in Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya. The plot had Mairali to its west, east and north and a portion Varembāuntigāḍa in *Agneya* direction.[597] The place Vāḍoḍegrāma may be Vāḍa+oḍegrāma. It seems that in the beginning it was the Vāḍa settlement situated near some stream in a cultivated plot. Maira-ali situated in the east, west and northern directions of the donated plot of land seems to denote some kind of fence erected around the donated plot. Meaning of Varembāuntigāda is however, very difficult to find out. The third record referring to Khalugakhaṇḍa-vishaya is Svalpavelura grant of the time of the king Anantavarmā. The charter records the grant of a place named Svalpaveluragrāma in Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya.[598] The word Svalpa in the beginning of the name suggests the existence of two grāmas, small and big and the term grāma speaks of well-established settlement of peasants

and farmers. The place may have obtained its name after plenty of creepers or groves. It was the settlement in the region infested with creepers. Meaning of the name Khalugakhaṇḍa is, however, not clear. The vishaya seems to have contained (1) a settlement around a hill with top covered by Patal trees, protected on one of its sides with Indian fig trees and a settlement of bird catchers on one of its sides. (2) A settlement around the Vaṭa tree with some sort of fencing on its three sides and (3) also a settlement amidst the plenty of creepers and groves. This seems to be the forested region containing settlements in forest cleared areas.

Now we come to the identification of these places. The place Khaluga, the chief place of the vishaya seems identical with a place named Kaluku[599] in Gangapur police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district. The place Paḍalaśṛṅga of the first grant can be identified either with a place Padhala or Pataligura[600] in Asika taluka, Ganjam district. The place Teturagrāma may have given its place to a modern place Tintinipalli[601] in Badagada police station in Asika taluka. It comes to the west of the place Padhala or Pataligura. Place Vāḍoḍegrāma, containing donated land, of the second grant seems identical with a place Badula[602] in Gangapur police station in Asika taluka. The place Svalpaveluragrāma mentioned in the third grant probably corresponds with a place name Belpada[603] in Asika taluka, Ganjam district. The vishaya thus, included portion of Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Aṇḍadāśṛṅgavishaya: As mentioned in Badakhimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king, Jayavarman donated a place that named Bhusuṇḍāgrāma in Aṇḍadāśṛṅga-vishaya.[604] Meaning of the name is not clear. It is probably Antaradhāśṛṅga which may have come from Antaradhā[605] =concealment, covering and śṛṅga =top. Thus the name denotes a hill with high peak concealing the habitation near it. Chief place of the vishaya can be identified with a place named Andirasing,[606] under Patapur police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district. The donated place Bhusuṇḍā[607] seems to have obtained its name after some kind of weapon, perhaps firearm. The place may have been famous for the manufacture of the weapon. Modern place named Bhusunda[608] in the same taluka as above seems to represent ancient place Bhusuṇḍā. It is to the north-east of the place Andirasing. The name of the vishaya denotes its position and had occupied some portion of Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Sāmantabhuktivishaya: Kama-Nalinakshapura pls. of the same king as above records the donation of a plot Svalpakālañjarakhaṇḍakshetra in Bhasaṇḍāgrāma in Sāmantabhuktivishaya.[609] The region as the name denotes must be under the enjoyment of Sāmanta. In an early period it was known as Bhukti and in latter period when the region was developed it obtained the status of vishaya. The place Bhasaṇḍāgrāma was named, probably, after the production of Bamboo at the place. It may be Bhasanda in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka, Ganjam district

and chief place of vishaya seems to have been represented by a place named Sumantapura[610] under the Nuagaon police station Dighpahandi taluka. The division was named after the officer in charge of the division and it formed of the portions of Asika and Digpahandi talukas in Ganjam district. The word *svalpa* associated with the name Kālañjarakhaṇḍakshetra denotes that there were two Kalañjarakhaṇḍakshetras, big and small.

Varttanīvishaya: King Jayavarman, as his Badkhimedi grant, probably of year 50 denotes, granted a village Val(na)śṛṅgagrāma in Varttanīvishaya[611] in Koṅgodamaṇḍala with the permission of the king Unmattakesari. The name of the vishaya suggests that it must have occupied the curve shaped region created by the turning of some river but the name of the donated village seems to denote a settlement near the mountain with wavy top. Scholars have identified the chief place of the vishaya with a place Vartanī near Polasara in Ganjam district. The donated place cannot be identified.

Ja(no)ravishaya: According to Ganjam pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Pṛithvivarmadeva who was the lord of Kolāualapurapaṭṭana donated a place named Ḍolītigrāma in Janoaravishaya.[612] Of these places, Kolāuala may be Kolāhalapura. As mentioned in Viṣṇu, Vāmana and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa it was the name of the hill where Gayāsura performed the austerities. Scholars opine that it was situated near Mahendra in Ganjam district and a settlement founded near it was named Kolāualapura[613] or Kolāhalapura pattana. Terms, pura and pattana associated with the name Kolāuala speaks of the fact that original small place was developed, first into Pura and afterwards into Pattana i.e. the capital of the king or it must have been situated on the bank of a river and was big riverine trade centre of the time. Being a trade centre or a capital place confusing noises must have been its peculiar feature and therefore, got the name after it. It has not yet been definitely identified. Donated place Dolītigrāma, perhaps obtained its name after the swinging (Dola=Swing) waves of the water of some lake, pond, river etc. Janora, the chief city of the vishaya may be originally Janaura, inhabited by the different people. In course of time it became Janora. It is to be identified with a place Jenpura in Nuagaon police station in Dighpahandi taluka, Ganjam district.

Paḍaṇikhaṇḍavishaya: Sankhimedi pls. of the time of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman records the grant of the place Bheṭhiśṛṅga including the water sources, and trees within its four boundaries in Paḍaṇikhaṇḍavishaya[614] and some land in Pāḍāpadra situated in half portion of Paduṇigrāma.[615] The name of the vishaya may be Paṭuparṇikhaṇḍavishaya and the region and the place containing donated land must be famous for abundant Paṭuparṇi trees. In the beginning the unit, as double suffixes, khaṇḍa and vishaya associated with its name denote, was a piece of land with plenty of Paṭuparṇi trees and by the time of the grant, it was developed

and came to be recognised as vishaya. Paḍuṇi, chief place of the vishaya seems to have retained its name in the place Paduni[616] in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. The name Bheṭhiśṛṅga may be after Bheḍa, one of the *Mātṛs* attending *Skanda*.[617] Its place seems to have taken by a modern village Bitisingi[618] in same taluka and district as above. The place Pāḍāpadra containing donated land was hamlet in the village Paduṇi. The vishaya thus seems to have obtained its name after plenty of Paṭuparṇi trees. It occupied some portion of Parlakimedi taluka of Ganjam district.

Jalaṁboravishaya: As mentioned in Bishamagiri grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga dynasty king Indravarman donated the place Amerasiṅga that was situated in Jalaṁvoravishaya.[619] The name Jalaṁvora[620] denotes a place surrounded by water and seems identical with a place Jalameripalli[621] situated in Patapur police station in Dighpahandi taluka, Ganjam district. The place is situated, in accordance with the meaning of its name, in the curve created by the river Ghodahada. The place Amerasiṅga, donated place, speaks of the settlement near the hill with the top covered by the species of Pine tree.[622] It corresponds with a place named Amera[623] in Udayagiri police station in Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district. The vishaya comprised of the portions of Digpahandi and Udayagiri talukas of Ganjam district.

Hembakamatambavishaya: The king, as mentioned in Gautami grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king, Indravarman, donated a piece of land in Salavaṇikāgrāma in Hemvakamatambavishaya.[624] The donated place had anthill of the shape of quiver on the east, forest on south, a tank on south-west, a tank called Kośamva on the west and a tank known as Udaya on the north. The name of the vishaya is associated with two suffixes-matamba + vishaya. The name Hemvaka i.e. Hembaka speaks of plenty of trees with yellow fragrant flowers. Matamba is a territorial unit composed of eleven villages and vishaya is the bigger territorial unit than matamba. The terms matamba and vishaya associated with name of the place indicate that in the beginning the settlement was the chief place of the matamba division i.e.group of eleven villages and in later period with the growth of the area when the region obtained the status of *vishaya* place Hembaka became the chief place of the vishaya. The donated place Salavaṇikā may have obtained its name after salty soil. The place Hembaka seems to correspond with a place Ambapur in Brahmapur Sadar police station in Brahmapur taluka in Ganjam district and the place Salvaṇikā may be Solabandha in the same taluka.[625]

Hallambaravishaya: According to Sankhemedi grant, the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman donated a village Tanerḍāgrāma situated in Hallambaravishya.[626] Place Tanerḍāgrāma may be identical with the place Tunderi in Seranga police station Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district. Chief place of the vishaya seems equivalent to a place named Haramarapur in the same police station and taluka.[627]

Jayaḍāvishaya: Badakhimedi charter of Śvetaka Gaṅga Rāṇaka Dānārṇava records the grant of a place named Kāsiḍḍāgrāma in Jayaḍāvishaya.[628] The name of the vishaya may be Jayapāḍāvishaya it must have been named after some victorious event. It was a small settlement of Pāḍā founded to celebrate some victory. The donated village may have obtained its name after some species of roots. (Kāsa +Kāṇḍa). It was developed in the later period and was given the status of the chief place of vishaya. The place Jayaḍā seems identical with the place named Jayipur in Paṭapur police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district and the place Kāsiḍḍā seems to have given its place to a locality named Kusapalli in the same Police station and taluka in Ganjam district.[629]

Hāmanibhogavishaya: Dhanantara pls. of Sāmantavarman records the grant of a village Vaṭagrāma in Hāmanibhogavishaya. It had Modara and Aśvathha trees on its east and west and tank on south.[630] The name of the vishaya may have come from personal name Hamba. The region was under the enjoyment of Hamba. Hence, it was known as Hāmanibhoga. In later period it obtained the status of vishaya and came to be known as Hāmanibhogavishaya. Vaṭagrāma, named after the Vata tree, was situated amidst the Modara and Aśvathha trees. The chief place of the vishaya is identified with a place named Humma in Rambha police station, Khallikote taluka, Ganjam district. Other places have not been identified.

Sāmantabhuktivishaya: According to Kama-Nalinakshapura pls. of Bhauma era 173, Sāmantavarmā donated a place named Badaribhaṣṭhigrāma in Sāmantabhuktivishaya.[631] The donated place was bounded on the east by Morapāda trees, on the north by the Piṇḍāra trees and from there it was extended for twenty Nalas towards the west towards the Kaliṅgamārga and on the south to the end of embankment.[632] The name of the vishaya denotes that earlier the region was known as bhukti and was under the enjoyment of Sāmanta. In later period it was developed into vishaya. The region may be identical with the region around Sumantapur in Nuagaon police station Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. The donated place that seems to have obtained its name after plenty of fallen jujube trees may be Boripadar in the same taluka of Ganjam district.[633] The pomegranate trees and species of plant with sweet juice were situated in its different directions.

Lohaśṛṅgaravishaya: Sakalakaliṅgādhipati Srī. Sāmantavarmā, as registered in the Pherava grant dated in 185 of Bhauma Saṁvat, donated a place Pheravāgrāma along with it's Aśvathha trees situated in one of its part (cheda), in Lohaśṛṅgra-vishaya to four *Brāhmaṇas*. Though the meaning of the name Pherava is not clear the vishaya seems to be a region famous for its manufacture of objects of iron, probably for elephants. The donated place extended up to the dry bed running towards south on the east, river Meghavati on the west, Kodrava canal on the north, to pits on the south and as far as hill on the north-east. Chief place of the

vishaya can be identified with place named Luhasing and donated place Pherava with a place named Baraba in Udayagiri police station in Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district.[634] It seems that some portion of Udayagiri taluka was famous for elephant as well as ornaments of iron made for elephants.

Now we come to the territorial units mentioned in the grants of Imperial Gaṅgas.

Pañchavishaya: During the regime of Vajrahasta, as the undated Paralakimedi grant of Vajrahasta informs us, a regent of Pañchavishaya[635] donated a place Hossaṇḍigrāma. We cannot find out the chief place of Pañchavishaya which was ruled by the donor.

Sāilovishasya: Dasgoba pls. dated Ś. 1120 of the king Rājarāja III inform us that the king granted a village Koradāgrāma in Aṭṭhāyisakhaṇḍa in Sāilovishaya in Utkaladeśa[636] to *Brāhmaṇas* of different *gotras*. The vishaya must have obtained its name after the river Salandi. The name Koradā may be Korapāḍā or Korapadra i.e. settlement of the shape of bud. It was one of the settlements of the group of twenty-eight villages in Sāilovishaya. The chief place of the group of twenty-eight villages, Aṭṭhāyisa has been identified with a place in Athaisa in Puri district. The vishaya has also been mentioned in Nagari[637] pls. dated between Ś. 1151-1152 of the king Anaṅgabhīma. According to the pls. the king gave seven land grants. Of these, lands given in the first six grants were in the village named Puraṇagrāma in Sāilovishaya and land donated in the seventh grant was in Bilasapura in Kuddiṇḍāvishaya.[638] Besides, the king also donated ten *Vāṭis* of homestead in Jayanagaragrāma in Sāilovishaya. The vishaya may have obtained its name after the river Salandi a tributary of Mahanadi coming from Balesvara district and has been identified with the region of Sāilo Pargana in Cuttack district. All the grants of the king Anaṅgabhīma were given from Vārāṇasi, identified with a modern place Varanasi in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. Aṭṭhāyisakhaṇḍa, seems to have included the region of Koṇārka with the chief place identified with Athaisa in Koṇārka region. Koradā was the part of Sāilo paragana in Cuttack district. The vishaya was extended from the river Kathjuri to the sea.

Kuddiṇḍāvishaya: The same grant, as above, informs us about the donation of some land in Vilāsapuragrāma in Kuddiṇḍāvishaya. The chief place of the vishaya can be identified with a place Kudinda[639] in Udayagiri taluka, Ganjam district. The place containing donated land has not yet been identified.

Varttanīvishaya: According to the Polsara pls. dated in Yugābda 4248=1147-48 A.D., of certain Gaṅga king Arkeśvara, the king donated one half of the village called Valigrāma in Varttanīvishaya[640] in Jhāḍakhaṇḍadeśa. The grant was issued from Hingulavāṭaka. D.C. Sircar states that this Varattanīvishaya may be the same

as Varāhavarttanī or Koluvarttanī mentioned in some other records of the Gaṅga dynasty. Since the ancient village Khonna has been identified with a village Korni near Kaliṅgapaṭanam the vishaya seems to have comprised part of Ganjam district. Behra identifies Varttanī, the chief place of the vishaya, with Bartani near Polasara in Ganjam district. But he has not mentioned the taluka containing the place Bartani. Here we want to say that this Varttanīvishaya, as stated by Sircar, is not the same as Varāhavarttanī mentioned in the other grants of the Gaṅga kings and identified with the coastal region between Tekkali and Chicacole taluka in Srikakulam district. The chief place of the vishaya from our grant is identified with a place Bartani in Kodal police station in Kodal taluka of Ganjam district. The place Hiṅgulavāṭaka is the same as Hinjali in Hinjali police station in Chatrapur taluka in Ganjam district. The name Jhāḍakhaṇḍadeśa[641] is applied to, as stated by Sircar, to large area or jungle land extended from south Bihar to Orissa but its southern boundary cannot be decided with certainty. In the north, the temple of Vaidyanātha at Deoghar near the junction of Santal Pargana, Monghyr and Bhagalpur is often described as to have situated in Jhadakhanda. It is said that the Rājā of Jaipur is described in the inscription of sixteenth century as the king of Jhadakhaṇḍa and curiously, the Rajas of Baud also claimed the same title. We cannot identify the region. The name seems to have applied in wider sense to the region from Santal Pargana, Monghyr and Bhagalpur in Bihar to Koraput district in Orissa.

Koṭarāvaṅgavishaya: King Anaṅgabhīma III, as stated in the Kapoteśvara pls., donated Pāpaḍakshetra in Tighariā attached to Ambilo in Sagaḍāvadhikhaṇḍa along with Paṭṭvāḍāpāṭakagrāma in Koṭarāvaṅgavishaya.[642] The name of the chief place of the vishaya is constituted by two words viz. Koṭara and Vaṅga. While meaning of the term Koṭarā means hollow of the tree the word Vaṅga denotes a kind of tree. The name suggests that it was the region full of hollow Vaṅga trees. The name of the donated place is Paṭṭa+Vāḍa+Pāṭaka+Grāma. It denotes that in the beginning it was a small hamlet in the cultivated field. Sometime afterwards it developed into Pāṭaka and by the time of giving of the grant it was developed into a grāma, a settlement of farmers and peasants. Pāpaḍakshetra may be a plot of land in Tighariā in Ambili that may correspond to a place Ambilihana in Gop police station and Sagaḍa may be Sagada in Nimpada taluka Puri district. While Koṭarā, the chief place of the vishaya can be identified with a place named Kotarangi in Nimpada police station donated place Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka seems identical with a place named Patapur in Kakatapur police station in Nimpada taluka in Puri district. The Koṇṭharāvaṅgavishaya[643] mentioned in Liṅgaraja temple inscription may be the same vishaya referred to in this grant.

Rālagranthavishaya: The above charter also refers to a pond in Rālagranthavishaya[644] as to have situated in the eastern direction of the donated

village. Rālagranthavishaya must be a region famous for *Rāla*, object used for perfuming and fumigation of the atmosphere.

Rāvaṅagvishaya: The same grant also refers to the donation of the place Khambhāragrāma situated in Madhyamakhaṇḍa in Rāvaṅgavishaya.[645] It is, however very difficult to find out the meaning of the name of Rāvaṅga. Donated place may be Kumbhāragrāma. None of these places has been identified.

Above survey of the administrative divisions prevalent during the regime of the Gaṅga dynasty indicates that the divisions were named after water, mountains, animals, trees, officers, people, abode etc. These have been located mainly in Ganjam district and there are only two divisions known from Puri district. There is only one bhoga division. Among the vishaya divisions there are three peculiar names viz. Khaṇḍavishaya, Bhogavishaya and Bhuktivishaya. While the first one speaks of the Khaṇḍa, a piece of land and its development as vishaya the other two speak of the places under the enjoyment of some officers and some persons and later on developed into vishaya. Thus, they speak of the progress of small units into vishaya division. All these divisions may not be of very large size. The other important thing to be noted here is that the description of the most of the donated villages point to the habitations founded in the forest cleared areas.

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192. *OUBK*, pp. 2-4.
193. *SED*, p. 856, Col. 2.
194. *EI*, XV, p. 3, *ll.* 3-8, p. 6, Translation *ll.* 1-30; *OUBK*. p. 4, *ll.* 6- 8.
195. *DMO*, p. 16, No. 2, *OUBK*, p. 8.
196. *SED*, p. 884, Col. 2.
197. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 377, No. 202, Maps p. 375, 395
198. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 216, *ll.* 15, 16, 21; *TBKO*, p. 87, No. 4, p. 90, No 4.
199. *Ibid.*, p. 216, *ll.* 15, 16, 21. Terundia –Taramandapagrāma, see *DCHB* Puri district, p. 337, No. 36, Maps, p. 329, 333, Nimpada taluka, Puri district.
200. *SED*, p. 1223, Col. 3.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 293, Col. 1.
202. *Ibid.*, p. 898, Col. 2.
203. *Ibid.*, p. 344, Col. 2.
204. *TBKO*, p. 87, No. 5, p. 91, No. 7; *OUBK*, p. 15, *ll.* 18, 20.
205. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 271, No. 7
206. *TBKO*, p. 133, No. 12.
207. *SED*, p. 242, Col. 1.
208. *Ibid.*, p. 525, Col. 3.
209. *Ibid.*, p. 847, Col. 3.
210. *EP*, pp. 87-88.
211. *TBKO*, p. 87, No. 6, p. 91, No. 9; *OUBK*, p. 22.
212. *DCHB* Ganjam district p. 94, No. 43; *SED*, p. 358, Col. 2.
213. *OUBK*, p. 26, *l.* 28.
214. *TBKO*, p. 87, No. 7, p. 91, No. 10; *OUBK*, p. 26, *l.* 26.
215. *SED*, p. 236, Col. 1.
216. *OUBK*, p. 36, *l.* 36.
217. *TBKO*, p. 87, No. 8, p. 91, No. 11; *OUBK*, p. 36, *l.* 34.
218. *NSVK*, p. 318. Place names, 'Mānura i. e. Manyaura'.
219. *TBKO*, p. 87, No. 9, p. 91, No. 12; *OUBK*, p. 44, *l.* 23-Kallāṇigrāma, *l.* 22.
220. *Ibid.*, p. 88, No. 10, p. 91, No. 13.
221. *Ibid.*, p. 92, Nos. 15, 16, 17, 20; *OUBK*, p. 51; *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 85, No. 152, Sardaharpur.
222. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, 1981, 65, No. 30 (Tambur), p. 65, No. 53 (Sonkmur), and p. 64, No. 60 (Jenapada).
223. *SED*, p. 438, Col, 1, Tamāla=sort of black Khadira tree.

224. *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 21.
225. *EI*, XXIX, p. 217, *ll.* 25, 27, p. 218, *ll.* 29-35.
226. *SED*, p. 438, Col. 1.
227. *EI*, XXIX, p. 219, *ll.* 25, 27.
228. *SED*, p. 281, Col. 1, Kāsakāṇḍa = Species of root.
229. *EI*, VI, p. 141, *ll.* 21 to 22, p. 142, *ll.* 25 to 27.
230. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139, *ll.* 26, 27, 28, 29.
231. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 68, No, 38 (Baruda).
232. *DMO*, p. 18, No. 8, *TBKO*, p. 88., No. 13, p. 93, No. 25. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 493, NO. 44, Bealgaon,
233. *EI*, VI, p. 140, *ll.* 4I, 42-43.
234. *SED*, p. 1301, Col. 2. Huṇḍa =a ram, tiger, village hog. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 501, No. 219, Koirapatty, p. 68, No. 32.
235. *DMO*, Map showing identification of the places mentioned in Copper pls.
236. *EI*, VI, p. 138, *l.* 27.
237. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 88-89, *ll.* 26, 27, 28, 29, 31; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 43, No. 78 (Tamberi), p. 42, No. 9 (Kamsargada).
238. *DMO*, p. 18, No. 10, p. 4, No. 9; *HOFETBP*, p. 155; *OUBK*, p. 63, *l.* 30, Kumurang pls.
239. *TBKO*, p. 89, No. 17; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 139, No. 85.
240. *Ibid.*, p. 89, No. 19, p. 92, No. 33. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 311, No. 182.
241. *Ibid.*, p. 89, No. 20, p. 94, No. 37. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 250, No. 182, p. 251, No. 143.
242. *Ibid.*, p. 89, No. 18.
243. *OUBK*, p. 11, *l.* 3.
244. *HOFET*, pp. 107-108.
245. *HGDHO*, p. 49.
246. *HO*, p. 135.
247. *Ibid.*
248. *HGDHO*, p. 48.
249. *DMO*, pp. 13-14
250. *IO*, vol. II, p. 259, *l.* 1.
251. *TBKO*, p. 71.
252. *EI*, XXIX, p. 89, *l.* 35.
253. *TBKO*, p. 74, *OUBK*, p. 44, *ll.* 25, 26.
254. *EI*, XXIX, p. 211, p. 217, *l.* 15.
255. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 398, No. 68.
256. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 107-112; *HGDHO*, p. 68.
257. *DMO*, p. 27.
258. *Ibid.*, p. 28, No. 2.
259. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 398, No. 109.
260. *Ibid.*, p. 398, No. 115.
261. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 5.
262. *Ibid.*, No. 1.

263. *See* map of Sundargarh district. Survey of India.
264. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 140, No. 104, p. 133, No. 12.
265. *Ibid.*, p. 301, No. 77.
266. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 3; *EI*, XXXVIII, p. 111; *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 136, No. 51, 69.
267. *Ibid.*, p. 28, No. 6; Singa, *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 339, No. 67.
268. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 113. *l.* 13.
269. *Ibid.*,
270. *SED*, p. 1061, Col. 2. Pañcaśasya, p. 1208, Col. 2. Sārataru, p. 275, Cool 3, Kāraṇda.
271. *DMO*, p. 30, No. 9.
272. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
273. *SED*, p. 234, Col. 2.
274. *EI*, XXIX, p. 188, *ll.* 27, 29, 30.
275. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 49, No. 93.
276. *EI*, XXVI, p. 79, *ll.* 24, 27.
277. *HGDHO*, p. 65.
278. *SED*, p. 650.
279. *EI*, XXVI, p. 78, *l.* 1.
280. *GO*, p. 24; *IRG*, p. 757.
281. *DMO*, p. 39.
282. *HOFETBP*, p. 201; *SED*, p. 288, Col. I.
283. *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 178, No. 148.
284. *Ibid.*, p. 200; *DMO*, p. 40, No. 1.
285. *Amarakośa Dvitīya Kāṇḍam*, 2, 4-24, pp. 33-34.
286. *HOFET*, p. 117, *HOFETBP*, p. 200.
287. *IOTSPS*, p. 220, *l.* 17.
288. *IO*, vol. VI, p. VI-XXXI.
289. *OITM*, p. 123.
290. *Ibid.*
291. *IO*, vol. VI, p. VI. e. g. Kesari pls. p. 26, *ll.* 6-7; Khiching, *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 438, No. 103.
292. *OITM*, pp. 134-135.
293. *IO*, vol. VI, p. XIII.
294. *TAIK*, p. 71.
295. *IO*, Vol. VI. p. 53, *l.* 17.
296. *Ibid.*, p. XXVI.
297. *OITM*, p. 138.
298. *HOFETBP*, pp. 172-173.
299. *DMO*, p. 44, Nos. 2, 4, pp. 42, 52-59.
300. *IO*, vol. VI, pp. XVI-XVII..
301. *Ibid.*, p. XXIV.
302. *Ibid.*, p. XXVIII.
303. *Ibid.*, p. 22, *l.* 21.
304. *Ibid.*, p. 265. *l.* 13.

305. *Ibid.*, p. 40, *l.* 14-15..
306. *HOFET*, p. 122.
307. *IO*, vol. VI, pp. p. 2-3, *ll.* 19-20.
308. *SED*. p. 274, Col. 3.
309. *Ibid.*, p. 535, Col. 1.
310. *Ibid.*, p. 313, Col. 3. *See* also *Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam*, p. 64, 4-97, 98. Kolā and Kolavalli.
311. *Census Atlas*, 1981, Map No. 9, p. 14, Forests of Orissa, p. 132.
312. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 425, No. 41.
313. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 2, *l.* 18.
314. *Ibid.* p. 180. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 57, No. 107.
315. Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 69, 4. 109.
316. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 2, *l.* 17; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 72, No. 109.
317. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, *ll.* 19-20.
318. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 72, No. 103.
319. *Ibid.*, p. 73, No. 70.
320. *IO*, Vol. VI, p. 35, *ll.* 15-16; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, Bahalda police station, p. 72, No, 65.
321. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 8, *l.* 21. Ambadih, *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 86, No. 77, p. 70, No. 85.
322. *Ibid.*, p. 12, *l.* 20.
323. *Ibid.*, p. 17, *l.* 38.
324. *Ibid.*, p. 15. *l.* 15. Sarei in Champa taluka, Keonjhar district, *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 123, No. 64.
325. *OITM*, p. 88.
326. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 27. *l.* 15; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 49, No. 72.
327. *Ibid.*, p. 261, *l.* 23
328. *DCHB* Kendujhar district, pp. 21-22; *IRG*, p. 760.
329. *Ibid.*, p. 151, No. 200.
330. *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 179, No. 188.
331. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 261, *l.* 24. *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 256, No. 74, p. 257, No. 77.
332. *Ibid.*, p. 22, *ll.* 15-16; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 406, No. 35, p. 407, No. 42.
333. *Ibid.*, 265, *l.* 13; Vambhi=Vanśa, bamboo, *SED*. p. 920, Col. 2; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 174, No. 23.
334. *Ibid.*, p. 31, *l.* 16; *SED*, p. 613, Col. 3.
335. *SED*, p. 819; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 447, No. 9 and 69.
336. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 53, *l.* 17.
337. *HGDHO*, p. 59.
338. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
339. *HOFETBP*, pp. 172-173; *HGDHO*, p. 60.
340. *DMO*, p. 44, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7.
341. *SED*, p. 1298, Col. 2; p. 164, Col. 2.
342. *IRG*, pp. 770ff; *Census Atlas* 1981, pp. 127-132.
343. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 54, *l.* 21; Rohila, *DCHB* Dhenkanal District, p. 84, No. 4.
344. *Ibid.*, p. 67, *l.* 19, Raigoda, *DCHB* Dhenkanal District, p. 237, No. 89.

345. *SED*, p. 1065, Col. 3.
346. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 271, *ll.* 24-25.
347. *SED*, p. 512, Col. 2. Kokkaṭa=Kokka-Koṅka.
348. *Ibid.*, p. 1077, Col. 3.
349. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 94, *l.* 22; *DCHB* Puri District, p. 161, No. 130.
350. *Ibid.*, p. 114, *ll.* 17, 18.
351. *Ibid.*, p. 100, *ll.* 21-22.
352. *EI*, vol. XXVI, pp. 276-279.
353. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 107, *l.* 16.
354. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 9.
355. *SED*, p. 423, Col. 2; *Amarakośa, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam*, 4. 142. p. 82.
356. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 2; *AOSM*, vol. I, pp. 211-214.
357. *Ibid.*, p. 87, *l.* 8.
358. *HOFETBP*, pp. 16-18, 25.
359. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 73, *ll.* 20, 21.
360. *SED*, p. 803, Col. 2.
361. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 79, *l.* 9.
362. *Ibid.*, p. 122, *ll.* 23, 24.
363. *DMO*, p. 46, No. 10.
364. *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍama, p. 45, No. 52, Śamī, p. 48, No. 60, Harītakī, p. 76, No. 127, Harphā.
365. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 134, *l.* 12.
366. *SED*, p. 773, Col. 3.
367. *HGDHO*, p. 61. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 461, No. 109; Behrampur taluka, *DCHB* Puri District, p. 114, No. 48, Majihakhand, Sarankul Police station, Nayagarh taluka, Puri district.
368. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 177, *l.* 12, p. 178, *l.* 17; *SED*, p. 861, Col. 2, Raktāṅgu= Panicum Italicum; Oxford English Dictionary p. 796, Panicum=grass of genus Panicum; *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, 4. 147, p. 83, Kabila species of tree.
369. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 69, No. 119, Basudevapur, p. 35, No. 12, Gangapur police station, Ghumsur taluka.
370. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 221, *l.* 8, *Amarakośa* Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, 4. 103, p. 66
371. *SED*, p. 134, Col. 2, 3, Atraipalli, *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 56, No. 97, Basudevapura, Patapur police station , Asika taluka, p. 188, Nos. 237, 145.
372. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 157, *l.* 14, p. 158, *ll.* 17-18.
373. *SED*, p. 358, Col. 2, Guṇḍa= kind of reed.
374. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 197, *ll.* 11-12; p. 198, *l.* 14.
375. *DMO*, p. 56.
376. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 192, *l.* 11, p. 193, *l.* 14.
377. *Ibid.*, p. 204, *ll.* 18-19.
378. *SED*, p. 313, Col. 2.
379. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 145, *ll.* 11-12, p. 146, *l.* 16.
380. *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 73, 4. 121.

381. *SED*, p. 887, Col. 2.
382. *Ibid.*, p. 478, Col. 3.
383. *DMO*, p. 48, No. 15.
384. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 139, *ll.* 15-16.
385. *DMO*, p. 48, No. 20.
386. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 215, No. 123.
387. *SED*, p. 450, Col. 2.
388. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 189, No. 201.
389. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 151, *l.* 18.
390. *SED*, Ramba= Bamboo, p. 867, Col. 2, Dola = Indigo plant, p. 498, Col. 2. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 48, No. 151. Ramba cannot be turned into Raiguda or Roygada.
391. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 69, No. 6, 28, Rambha, Rambhapalli.
392. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 167, *l.* 13; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 147, No. 110.
393. *Ibid.*, p. 168, *l.* 17, p. 173, *l.* 16.
394. *Ibid.*, p. 172, *ll.* 11-12.
395. *Ibid.*, p. 187, *l.* 13. Ramaṇa=Tinduka tree, name of the forest; *SED*, p. 868, Col. 2; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 290, No. 207.
396. *Ibid.*, p. 188, *l.* 16; *DCHB* Ganjam District, p. 289, No. 206.
397. *Ibid.*, p. 204, *ll.* 23-24. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 493, No. 4.
398. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 204, *l.* 24.
399. *HOFETBP*, p. 184
400. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 336, No. 162, p. 358, No. 44.
401. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 210, *l.* 11.
402. Hinjali, *DCHB* Puri district, p. 126, No. 151 p. 97, No. 152.
403. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 216, *l.* 8.
404. *Ibid.*, p. 228, *ll.* 16-17.
405. *SED*, p. 154, Col. 1.
406. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *ll.* 22-23.
407. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 219, No. 70.
408. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 227, *ll.* 11-12.
409. *DMO*, p. 44, No, 1; *DCHB* Dhenkanal district p. 219, No. 48.
410. *IO*, vol. VI, pp. *ll.* 252-256, *l.* 14, *l.* 18.
411. *HOFET*, pp. 124-126.
412. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 68, No. 92.
413. *Ibid.*, p. 43, No. 129.
414. *IOTSPS*, Part II, p. 199, Vakratentali grant of the year 3, p. 167, *l.* 2, Patna grant of year 6, p. 172, *ll.* 1, 2.
415. *Ibid.*, Patna Museum Pls. , p. 230, Vv. 15, 16.
416. *EI*, XXIX, p. 217, V. 11; *TBKO*. p. 74.
417. *IOTSPS*, Part II, p. 350, *ll.* 21, 21.
418. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-344, *ll.* 5-8.
419. *Ibid.*, Orissa State Museum pls. of 4th year the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti records the grant of Kuḍukulokhaṇḍakshetra in Gaṇḍitamavishaya in Uḍradeśa, p. 220, *l.* 17.

Cuttack Pls. of the year 9th of the same king record the grant of Chanḍagrāma in Maraḍavishaya in Dakshiṇa Tosala, p. 234, *l.* 25; Nibinna pls. of the year 15 of the king refer to the grant of a place named Niviṇḍāgrāma in Uttarapalli in Gandhaḍapāṭi-maṇḍala. The maṇḍala was named after Bhañja king and the grant of the place included in it by the king denotes the conquest of the Bhañja territory by the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti.

420. *Ibid.*, Balijhari grant of the year 4 of the king refers to these two regions as Rāṣṭra. viz. Kosala and Utkala. Patna pls. the year 24 expressly refers to Rāṇaka Srī Dhāradatta as Mahāsandhivigrahin of Kosala region and Srī. Cchicchaṭeśvara as Mahāsandhivigrahin of Oḍradeśa in the grant of his 4th and 9th year.
421. *CII*, IV, p. 213, V. 62. Bilhari stone inscription refers to the defeat of the king of Kosala and Odra by Kalachuri king.
422. *IOTSPS*, p. 270, Mahulpara pls. of year II of the king Dharmaratha, p. 270, V. 21.
423. *Ibid.*, p. 329, V, 12, *ll.*, 22, 23.
424. *IOTSPS*. p. 329, V. 14, *ll.* 27-28.
425. *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 213.
426. *EI*, I, p. 235, V. 19. Udepur Praśasti.
427. *CII*, vol. IV, Amoda pls. p. 405, *ll.* 12-13. Utkala.
428. *IOTSPS*, Part. II, p. 296, *ll.* 4-5; p. 287. *l.* 33. Places in Kosala and Oḍradeśa respectively.
429. *Ibid.*, Kelga pls. pp. 289-90, *ll.* 71-72.
430. *Ibid.*, p. 305, *l.* 10. V. 10.
431. *Ibid.*, p. 219, Gaṅga king Rājarāja I Devendravarman refers to the defeat of the kings of Kosala and Utkala by his general Vanapati.
432. *CII*, IV. Raipur pls. of K.Y. 821 and Amoda pls. of K.Y. 831 of the king Pṛithvideva I mention the king as *Sakala Kosalādhipati*, p. 400, *l.* 5, p. 406, *l.* 24.
433. *IOTSPS*, Part II, p. 311, Vv. 12, 13. Ratnagiri pls. refer to the defeat of some Nāgarāja by the Somavaṁśin king. He may be Chhindaka Nāga king.
434. *Ibid.*, p. 362. *ll.* 2-3; p. 311, *ll.* 30-31.
435. *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 221.
436. *Ibid.*
437. *IOTSPS*, pp. 343-345, *ll.* 7-8.
438. *Ibid.*, p. 346, fn. 15.
439. *Ibid.*, p. 363, *l.* 14.
440. *Ibid.*, p. 241, *ll.* 5, 6. 16-17.
441. *DMO*, p. 68, No. 10, 35.
442. *IOTSPS*, p. 278, *ll.* 18-19.
443. *Ibid.*, p. 264, *l.* 10.
444. *Ibid.*, p. 190, *l.* 9.
445. *SED*, p. 265, Col. 1.
446. *IOTSPS*, p. 179, *ll.* 4, 5.
447. *Ibid.*, p. 185, *l.* 13. Pandeya wants to identify the place with one of the two villages called Jamagaon situated in Chandrapur taluka in Bilaspur district. But as far as my knowledge goes there is no taluka of this name in Bilaspur district.

448. *Ibid.*, p. 207 *l.* 4; *SED*, p. 650, Col. 1, Pota=Young animal e. g. Mṛga =deer.
449. *Ibid.*, p. 211, fn. 53.
450. *Ibid.*, p. 350, *l.* 22.
451. *Ibid.*, p. 247, *l.* 25, p. 252, *l.* 29. Śaṇavati appears to be the name of some part of Telātaṭṭavishaya.
452. *DMO*, p. 70, No. 12.
453. *IOTSPS*, p. 211, Abstracts. fn. 54, 55.
454. *SED*, p. 1273, Cols. 1, 2.
455. *IOTSPS*, p. 173, *l.* 4.
456. *OITM*, pp. 164-165, *DMO*, p. 66, No. 2.
457. *Ibid.*, p. 201, *ll.* 9, 10.
458. *Ibid.*, p. 213, *ll.* 4, 5.
459. *CHOO*, Appendix II, No. 11.
460. *IOTSPS*, p. 227, *l.* 5.
461. *DMO*, p. 68, No. 8.
462. *IOTSPS*, p. 248, *l.* 35.
463. *Ibid.*, p. 259, *ll.* 38-39.
464. *Ibid.*, p. 259, *ll.* 31, 32. fn. 43.
465. *Ibid.*, p. 278, *ll.* 18-19.
466. *IRG*, p. 773.
467. *IOTSPS*, p. 319, *ll.* 8-9, p. 322, fn. 59.
468. *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, pp. 50-51; *IRG*, p. 155.
469. *IOTSPS*, p. 167, *l.* 5.
470. *Ibid.*, p. 195, *l.* 13.
471. *SED*, p. 364, Col. 3.
472. *IKP*, p. 223.
473. *IOTSPS*, p. 211, Abstract.
474. *SED*, p. 89, Col. 1.
475. *IOTSPS*, p. 278, *ll.* 19-20.
476. *Ibid.*, p. 333, *ll.* 2-3; *SED*, pp. 846-847. *Yamala*=name of *Tantra* deity. Gomuṇḍa=Any thing put for the protection of the crop in a field, p. 336, Col. 1.
477. *Ibid.*, p. 319, *l.* 9.
478. *Ibid.*, p. 296, *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 647, Col. 1, Pṛuthula=species of plant.
479. *Ibid.*, p. 220, *l.* 17.
480. *Ibid.*, p. 221, *l.* 24.
481. *Ibid.*, p. 270, *l.* 28.
482. *DCHB* Puri district.
483. *IOTSOS*, p. 287, *ll.* 33-34.
484. *DMO*, p. 72, No. 18.
485. *IOTSPS*, p. 288, *l.* 48.
486. *DMO*, p. 72, No. 18.
487. *IOTSPS*, p. 355, *ll.* 32-33.
488. *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 25, 4-8, p. 75, 4-127, p. 77, 4-131.

489. *IOTSPS*, p. 357, fn. 25.
490. *SED*, p. 129, Col. 3 aloe wood from Agara.
491. *IOTSPS*, p. 338, *ll.* 3-4.
492. *IOTSPS*, p. 358, *ll.* 11-12.
493. *SED*, p. 450, Col. 1
494. *Ibid.*, p. 1014, Vetra= cane, reed; Joṅgha- Jangala = arid, sterile, desert.
495. *IOTSOS*, pp. 234-35, *l.* 25. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 407, No. 53.
496. *DMO*, p. 68, No. 9.
497. *IOTSPS*, p. 329, *ll.* 30-31.
498. *SED*, p. 293, Col. 1.
499. *IOTSPS*, p. 287, *ll.* 33-34.
500. *Ibid.*, p. 355, *ll.* 32-33.
501. *Ibid.*, p. 329, *ll.* 30-31.
502. *Ibid.*, p. 358, *ll.* 11-12.
503. *HOFET*, vol. I, pp. 129-130.
504. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
505. *SI*, vol. I, p. 224, *l.* 2.
506. *CII*, vol. III, p. 23.
507. *HOFET*, vol. I, p. 130.
508. *CII*, vol. V, p. 81, *ll.*, 27-28.
509. *IOTSPS*, Part I, p. 100 ff.
510. *HOFET*, p. 131.
511. ASR, XVII, pp. 68–69.
512. *HOFET*, vol. I, p. 131.
513. *IOTSPS*, Part I, pp. 157ff.
514. *Ibid.*, Part II, Grants of the dynasty Nos. I-XIV.
515. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 213, *l.* 1.
516. *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 179, *l.* 1, p. 185, *l.* 6, p. 185, *l.* 6, p. 189, *l.* 2.
517. *Ibid.*, pp. 195, *l.* 9, 200, *l.* 6, 207, *l.* 1.
518. *Ibid.*, pp. 348-349, *ll.* 2-3.
519. *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 226, 241, *l.* 1, p. 234, *l.* 12.
520. *Ibid.*, p. 247, *l.* 13.
521. *HOFET*, vol. I. pp. 135-136.
522. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
523. *Ibid.* p. 140.
524. *Ibid.* p. 140.
525. *Ibid.*, P, 141.
526. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
527. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.
528. *IO.* vol. VI, p. 22, *l.* 20.
529. *Ibid.*, p. 114, *l.* 21.
530. *IOTSPS*, p. 190, *l.* 16.
531. *Ibid.*, p. 235, *l.* 33.

532. *Ibid.*, p. 287, *l.* 33.
533. *JAHRS*, vol. X, 1, 4, p. 160 ff; *HOFET*, pp. 142-145.
534. *IOTSPS*, p. 278, *l.* 14, *ll.* 15-16.
535. *Ibid.*, p. 304, verse 3.
536. *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 174-183.
537. *OUBK*, p. 4.
538. *TAGI*, pp. 430-435.
539. *IO*, vol. II, Jirjingi pls. of Indravarman. p. 5, *l.* 10, Ponnuturu pls. of Samantavarman, p. 10, *l.* 6.
540. *IOTSPS*, p. 183; *EI*, XXIII Masulipatam copper pls. of Amma first tell us that Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya ruled the Veṅgimaṇḍala joined with Trikaliṅga forest (*'Trikaliṅga aṭavi rājya* or *Aṣṭādaśa aṭavi rājya).* 'King Vikramāditya II, as mentioned in Kolavennu grant of the Chālukya king Bhīma, Vikramāditya II ruled over Veṅgi and Tri-kaliṅga.
541. *CII*, IV, p. 244, *l.* 34, p. 258, *l.* 34, p. 634, *l.* 2, p. 649, V. 27, *l.* 2
542. *TAGI*, pp. 437-438.
543. *IOTSPS*, Part I, p. 178.
544. *HOFETBP*, vol. I, pp. 1-3.
545. *HGDHO*, p. 15.
546. *IOTSPS*, p. 178.
547. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 545, 546, 547; *JBORS*, XV, p. 635 ff; *IOTSPS*, p. 181.
548. *IOTSPS*, Part I, p. 184.
549. *Ibid.*
550. *IO*, Part I vol. 2, Appendix, pp. I-XXVI.
551. *Ibid.*, p. 244, *l.* 8.
552. *Ibid.*, p. 250, *l.* 12.
553. *Ibid.*, Badakhimedi pls. p. 259, *l.* 1
554. *Ibid.*, p. 265, *ll.* 9-10.
555. *Ibid.*, p. 270, *ll.* 7-8 (Svalapaveluragrāma)
556. *Ibid.*, pp. 288, *l.* 7, 293, *l.* 9.
557. *Ibid.*, Sankhimedi pls. p. 298, *ll.* 8-9.
558. *Ibid.*, p. 275, *ll.* 3-6.
559. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.
560. *Ibid.*, Badakhimedi grant, p. 303, *l.* 4-8.
561. *Ibid.*, Dhanantara pls. p. 308, *l.* 9.
562. *Ibid.*, p. 313, *ll.* 6-7.
563. *Ibid.*, p. 261, *l.* 39.
564. *Ibid.*, p. 271, *l.* 29.
565. *Ibid.*, p. 320, *l.* 25.
566. *Ibid.*, p. 314, *l.* 25.
567. *Ibid.*, p. 366.
568. *TAIK*, pp. 141-142.
569. *HO*, vol. I. pp. 193ff.

570. *HOO*, p. 153.
571. *HO*, p. 245.
572. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
573. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
574. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
575. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
576. *Ibid.*, p. 199, *EI.* XXVIII, Nagari pls. p. 251, *l.* 42, Invasion of Utkala; p. 252, *ll.* 50-51. Invasion of Mandārādri, Āramya.
577. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
578. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-201.
579. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-217. Kenduli pls. of Narasiṁhadeva IV, Kendupatan pls. Kharod grant of Samvat 933 etc. ; *HOO*, pp. 153, 164.
580. *IO*, vol. II, p. 35, *l.* 7.
581. *SED*, p. 308, Col. 1, Keta = house, abode. Here we have taken it in the sense of settlement.
582. *Ibid.*, 358, Col. 1. Keta =house, abode. Taṭa =Shore.
583. *IO*, vol. II, p. 198, *ll.* 18-19, p. 199, *ll.* 26-31.
584. *Ibid.*, p. 87, *l.* 8.
585. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88, *ll.* 8-24.
586. *SED*, p. 930, Col. 2.
587. *IO*, vol. II, p. 70, *ll.* 7-12, p. 71, *ll.* 13-18.
588. *Census Atlas* 1981, Map no. 4, p. 10, 128, Map. No. 9, pp. 14, 132
589. *HOFET*, pp. 141-142.
590. *IO*, vol. II, p. 123, *l.* 14, p. 124, *l.* 22; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 213, No. 133, 120, p. 214, No. 247.
591. *Ibid.*, p. 244, *l.* 13.
592. *Ibid.*, p. 244, *l.* 8.
593. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245, *ll.* 16-19.
594. *SED*, p. 342, Col. 3.
595. *Ibid.*, p. 453, Col. 1.
596. *IO*, vol. II. p. 265, *l.* 15.
597. *Ibid.*, p. 265, *ll.* 16-17.
598. *Ibid.*, p. 270, *l.* 13, *l.* 8.
599. *DCHB* Ganjam District, p. 139. No. 26.
600. *Ibid.*, p. 149, Nos. 122, 120.
601. *Ibid.*, p. 131, No. 168.
602. *Ibid.*, p. 139, No. 134.
603. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 148, No. 74.
604. *IO*, vol. II, p. 251, *l.* 21, p. 250, *l.* 13.
605. *SED*, p. 44, Col. 2.
606. *DCHB* Ganjam District, p.171, No. 69.
607. *SED*, p. 760, Col. I.
608. *DCHB* Ganjam District, 1981, p. 171, No. 26.
609. *IO*, vol. II, p. 254, *ll.* 11, 12, 14.

610. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 215, No. 23, No. 130.
611. *IO*, vol. II, p. 259, *l.* 3; *RFSD*, p. 24.
612. *Ibid.*, p. 276, *l.* 12, p. 275, *l.* 8.
613. *Ibid.*, p. 273, *l.* 6, pp. 278-279.
614. *Ibid.*, p. 282, *l.* 13, p. 281, *l.* 9
615. *Ibid.*, p. 282, *l.* 14. Paṭuparṇi tree, Amarakośa, Dvitīya Khaṇḍa, p. 80, No. 4-138, Paṭuparṇi=Broyonia Grandis, Patuparṇika=species of plant. *SED*, p. 579, Col. 2.
616. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 359, No. 107.
617. *SED*, p. 766, Col. 1.
618. *DCHB* Ganjam District, p. 358, No. 60.
619. *IO*, vol. II, p. 288, *l.* 13, p. 287, *l.* 8.
620. *SED*, p. 83, Col. 2. Ambara = circumference. Jala+ambara. i. e. Surrounded by water.
621. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 188, No. 210.
622. *SED*, p. 80, Col. 2.
623. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 288, No. 278.
624. *IO*, vol. II, p. 293, *l.* 10.
625. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 460, No. 94, p. 461, No. 106.
626. *IO*, vol. II, p. 299, *ll.* 14-15, p. 298, *l.* 10.
627. *DCHB* Ganjam district p. 313, No. 13, 11.
628. *IO*, vol. II, p. 303, *l.* 15, *l.* 9, Kāsa+kāṇḍa=a species of root, *SED*, p. 281, Col. 3.
629. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 188, No. 104, p. 189, No. 190
630. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 308-309, *ll.* 16-19; *SED*, p. 1288, Col. 2.
631. *Ibid.*, p. 319, *ll.* 12, 9.
632. *Ibid.*, p. 319, *ll.* 12-14.
633. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 215, No. 130, p. 213, No. 103.
634. *IO*, vol. II, p. 313, *ll.* 1-8; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 289, No. 185, p. 288, No. 272.
635. *Ibid.*, p. 168, *l.* 15.
636. *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 7, *l.* 25; *EI*, XXVI, p. 253.
637. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 256, *ll.* 122, 123, 135, 257, *ll.* 139, 143.
638. *Ibid.*, pp. 211ff.
639. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 289, No. 230.
640. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 66, *ll.* 18-19. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 610, No. 89.
641. *Ibid.*, p. 68, *l.* 18, p. 66 identification.
642. *IO*, vol. V, Part I, p. 46, *l.* 122, p. 47, *l.* 123. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 377, No. 11, p. 336, No. 201, p. 337, No. 60, p. 358, No. 44.
643. *Ibid.*, p. 97, *l.* 6
644. *Ibid.*, p. 47. *l.* 123.
645. *Ibid.*, p. 47. *ll.* 124-125.

Chapter VII

Society

Society of the period was constituted by four principle castes viz, *Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*. Among these, the *Brāhmaṇas* enjoyed most prominent and prestigious position. They were looked upon as the spiritual and religious leaders and were provided with essential facilities to carry on their duties of learning, teaching, religious and others prescribed in *Dharmaśāstras*.

Brāhmaṇas and Agrahāras: Kings of the different dynasties were patrons of the *Brāhmaṇas* and all the extent epigraphic records of the Māṭharas, Pitṛibhaktas and Vaśiṣṭha families refer to the creation and donation of permanent *agrahāras* either to single *Brāhmaṇa* or to a group of *Brāhmaṇas* of different *gotras* or single *gotras* who were well-versed in Vedas and in the science of sacrificial rituals e.g. Ningondi pls. of Prabhañjanavarman refers to the grant of the village Hoṇārāmagrāma, as mentioned in the pls. was made in favour of some *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*.[1] Similarly, Andoreppagrāma, as mentioned in pls. was made *agrahāra* in the favour of number of *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*.[2] A place Siṅghalagrāma, donated to number of *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*, as mentioned in the grant, after it was made *agrahāra* and named as Baraṅgā.[3] But the place Tonṭāpara[4] in Kharpurimadamba mentioned in Siripuram pls. of the king Anantavarman of Vaśishṭha family was donated to eighteen *Brāhmaṇas* of *Atreya gotra*.[5] According to Koroshonda grant of the king of Vishākhāvarman, place Tampoyakagrāma[6] was donated to four *Brāhmaṇas* of *Aītreya Gotra*[7] coming from Śabarabheṇḍaka and Sakunakagrāma in Varāhavarttinivishaya mentioned in the grant was given to two *Brāhmaṇas*[8] of *Kātyāyana Gotra*.

On the other hand the *agrahāras* of Kiṇḍḍeppagrāma in Tellavallivishaya,[9] Hemaṇḍakagrāma in Bhiliṅgabhogavishaya,[10] Haveragrāma,[11] Kuṭṭuragrāma in Mahendrabhoga,[12] Bṛhatproshṭhāgrāma separated from Dantayavāgubhoga,[13] Honareṅgegrāma in Kaliṅgāhāra and separated from Dantayavāgumadamba,[14] Ḍeyavāṭa,[15] and Kohetur[16] referred to in the grants of the different dynasties ruling

over the region were all made over to single *Brāhmaṇa* of different *Gotras*. Curiously the number of *Brahmacāri Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras* receiving the grant of Tiritthāṇavāṭaka *agrahāra* were to pay 200 Paṇas[17] annually to village committee.

Lands: Apart from villages, lands were also granted to *Brāhmaṇas*. Sometimes they were given in the exchange of the *agrāhāras* e.g. land in Ragolakagrāma,[18] as described in Ragolu pls. of year 24, was handed over to donee *Brāhmaṇa* in the exchange of *agrahāra*. But the donee was to pay annually in advance a sum of fifty Paṇas as well as other Daṇḍapaṇas towards fine to the village Committee. The grant states that it was the case with other *agrahāras* as well. But none of the other grants, except one more referred to above, available to us mention this condition.

Tax Free and Tax Paying Grants: Most of the grants were made tax-free and were to be enjoyed by the donee permanently. It seems that these donated villages, though were established prior to the time of donation were not well developed. They were not paying any revenue to the government. The kings, with the intention of achieving their progress must have made them tax-free holdings and donees were made in charge of these villages. But the case with the donees of donated lands paying some amount of money to king referred to above may be different. The land in Ragolaka grāma, the record informs us was situated between two developed plots of land belonging to two *Brāhmaṇas* and was surrounded by the *agrahāras* with well-marked boundaries. It must be a fertile land and may be a source of some income to the government. Similarly, Tiritthāṇavāṭaka *agrahāra*, as the term Vāṭaka suggests, originally, it was the settlement in garden and must be yielding good crop. Besides, it seems to be the sacred or auspicious place of pilgrimage *"Tīrthasthāna"* rendering considerably good amount of revenue to the government. As it was not possible for the king to loose that income the donees were to pay some *Paṇas* annually in advance to the government.

Farmers and Donees: The grants of the *agrahāras* were addressed to the *Kuṭumbins* and other residents of the donated villages. They were instructed to obey the orders of the donees and pay to them *Meya* (share of produce) and *hiraṇya* (tax in cash) in accordance to established rules. The grantees were exempted from paying any tax or due to the government. All the created *agrahāras*, made over to *Brāhmaṇas*, as referred to in the grants, were occupied by *Kuṭumbins* i.e. cultivators and the term *grāma* associated with the names of many of the donated places also indicates that these were the habitations of the farmers. Donations of these villages were made with specific intention of earning spiritual merit and in order to enable the *Brāhmaṇas* to perform their prescribed duties peacefully these grants were made tax-free and the residents were asked to obey the orders of these donees. These arrangements indirectly made the donee *Brāhmaṇas* responsible for the progress and the management of these grāmas. The kings of the period thus, led the

foundation of the settlements of the *Brāhmaṇa* community, made them to contribute towards the progress of learning, and also towards the agricultural activities of the donated places. Thus the rulers helped them to obtain highest position in the then society. Many of these *agrahāras* may have developed into the centers of learning in the later period.

South and South-east: The rulers of the miscellaneous unknown royal families of the south and south-eastern Orissa also granted villages and *agrahāras* to the *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*. Sometimes villages were detached from the *agrahāras* already in existence and donated to *Brāhmaṇas* e.g. King Śatrudamana, as mentioned in Pedda-Dugam grant, separated the villages Duhāgrāma, Vasuvāṭaka and Govāṭaka situated in Vardhamānagrahāra in the district of Girikaliṅga as *Brāhmaṇadeya* and donated to two *Brāhmaṇa* brothers of Paṭṭuvagrāma as *Dvijabhogi*.[19] The gift was divided into three shares (vṛittis). Two of these were given to one brother and one was given to the other.

Agrahāras: The rulers also created *agrahāras* in the favour of *Brāhmaṇas* well-known for their knowledge and good conduct e.g. Taṇḍivāḍagrāma in Pāguṇāravishaya as described in the charter was granted to a *Brāhmaṇa* who had studied three thousand sciences, wrote twenty-two commentaries and was resident of the place Koṇḍamañchīgrāma. He was the son of a learned *Brāhmaṇa* named Pṛithvīśarman who had studied, taught and commented on three thousand sciences and was the grandson of *Brāhmaṇa* Vishṇuśarman, well-known as the performer of *Agnistoma* and other sacrifices and for his knowledge of *Śṛuti* and *Śmṛiti*.[20] A *Brāhmaṇa* donee who received the grant of Gollāvalli *agrāhāra* in Kuddhāvativishaya, Parlakimedi record informs us, had studied *Vedas* and *Vedāngas* and was well-versed in *Purāṇas*, Rāmāyaṇa, *Dharmaśāstras* and many other related fields. He was the sincere follower of the *Ṣaṭkarmas* and other rituals.[21] The granted *agrahāra* was made tax-free.

Villages: Apart from the *agrahāras*, villages were also donated to learned *Brāhmaṇas*. According to Sumandala grant of G. E. 250, of Pṛithiviṿigraha Bhaṭṭāraka, the king donated villages Ardhākamaṇḍuka and Chandanavāṭaka in Parakkhalamārgavishaya to *Brāhmaṇas* of different gotras who were famous for their good conduct and learning.[22] While seven *Brāhmaṇa* donees, as referred to in Khandipada Nuapalli grant of the king Śrī. Charamparāja, receiving the grant of the *Ekaka*ṭikāgrāma in Khiṇḍingāhāra in Koṅgodamaṇḍala belonged to *Gautama Gotra Bahvṛicha Śākhā*[23] all fifteen *Brāhmaṇa* recipient of the Vaṇḍutuṅgagrāma in Kāmverālavishaya mentioned in Russelkonda pls. of the king Nettabhañja, years 26, were of different *Gotras*.[24]

West and South-west: Nalas and rulers of unknown royal families of west and south-western Orissa also gave grants of villages and lands to *Brāhmaṇas* of

different *Gotras*. While Baripada pls., year 3, of Nandarāja records the grant of Prajñātapadraka to three *Brāhmaṇas*[25] of different gotras and a place named Kesalakagrāma, as mentioned in Kesaribeda charter of the king Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka, of the year 7, was granted to three *Brāhmaṇas* of *Kausta Gotra*.[26]

Agrahāra: Tersinga pls. of Tushṭikara registers the donation of a place named Prastaravāṭaka *agrahāra* to a *Brāhmaṇa Ārya* Droṇaśarmaṇ of *Kāśyapa Gotra*.[27]

North and North-east: Now we come to the regimes of the miscellaneous royal families of north and north-east Orissa. The kings ruling in this region granted villages and cultivated and uncultivated lands to single *Brāhmaṇa* or groups of *Brāhmaṇas*.

Villages: While Erbanga pls. of the year 235, of the king Śambhuyaśa, Soro pls. and Midnapore grant of Somadatta register the grant of villages to single *Brāhmaṇa* of *Vatsa Gotra, Bahvric Śākhā*[28] and *Kāśyapa Gotra*,[29] respectively, the Patiakela grant of Śivarāja records the grant of a village Taṇḍulavalugrāma in Vorttonokavishaya to 38 *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*.[30]

Agrahāras: There is only one *agrahāra*. According to Balasore grant of Bhānu, year five, village Vandīraka in Sagaḍhāravishaya with the land remained uncultivated previously was turned in to *agrahāra* and was donated to four *Brāhmaṇas* of *Vatsa Gotra, Vājasaneya caraṇa*[31] and the donees were to pay royal dues annually. It is to be noted here that the land of the village, prior to the time of grant remained uncultivated but the king may be getting some sort of income from this village and by donating it to *Brāhmaṇas* as tax free *agrahāra* government was not ready to loose that income from the village. Hence the donees were asked to pay royal dues annually. The name Vandīraka, of the village, appears interesting from this point of view. The word Vandī may have developed from the word *vand, vanda, vandi* meaning praising, extolling and suggests that originally it may be a settlement of praisers of the kings who were generally known as bard and some people in ancient times were bard by profession. It appears that they had their own habitations as well. According to *Harita* he is *pratiloma* sprung from Vaiśya male and Kshatriya female. According to the *Brahmapurāṇa*, quoted by *Aparāraka, vandin* is one who sings the praises of men.[32] *Vandin* was also written as *bandin*. As given by Monier Monier Williams they were to sing the praises of the prince in his presence or to accompany an army and chant martial song. These were regarded as descendants of Kshatriya by Śudra female.[33] They were, probably supplied with separate habitations. Place Vāndiuripattala mentioned in Bharat Kala Bhavan grant of the Chandella king Madanavarman seems to represent the place occupied by the bards. In the beginning it was only a small settlement but in course of time it was so much developed that it was given the status of the chief place of the administrative division Pattala.[34] It has been identified with a place Banda,

headquarters of the district of the same name in Uttar Pradesh. The place Vandīraka in our record may also be a settlement of bards and it is just possible that for this reason the land here remained uncultivated prior to the time of grant and for the maintenance of the bards the king desired to have regular income from the donees.

Lands: Besides, lands were also granted to *Brāhmaṇas*. Soro pls. of the king Śambhuyaśasa, of the year 260, refers to the grant of some *Ṭimpiras* of land and homestead land measuring 200 hastas in Ghaṇṭakarṇakshetra to a *Brāhmaṇa* of *Bhāradvāja Gotra, Kāṇva Sākhā* of *Yajurveda*.[35] Soro pls. of Mahārāja Bhānudatta, year five, register the grant of uncultivated land in Bahirvāṭakagrāma to four *Brāhmaṇas* of *Vatsa Gotra, Vājasaneya caraṇa*.[36] Soro pls. of Somadatta records the grant of a land in Vahirvāṭakagrāma that remained uncultivated for long period to two *Brāhmaṇas* of *Vatsa Gotra, Vājasaneya caraṇa*.[37]

Purchased lands: Some times land was purchased and donated to *Brāhmaṇas*. Midnapore grant of Śubhakirti informs us that he purchased forty *Droṇas* of land and one *Droṇavāpa* of homestead in the village Kumbhārapadraka in Ketakapadradeśa and granted it to *Brāhmaṇa* of *Bhāradvāja Gotra* of *Mādhyandina Śākhā*.[38]

These lands and villages given to the groups of *Brāhmaṇas* must have been developed, in course of time, in the settlement dominated by the *Brāhamaṇa* community.

Bhaṭṭa Brāhmaṇas: Majority of the donees from the regime of the Śailodbhava dynasty onwards was Bhaṭṭa Brāhmaṇas. These Bhaṭṭas were invited from the places other than the donated places. These *Bhaṭṭa Brāhmaṇas*, it is said, were to receive the grants from the kings for the spread of the culture. These grants were known as *Bhaṭṭa Vṛitti* and were given, as Krishnasvami Ayangar has stated, for providing livelihood to the *Brāhmaṇas* so that they can freely contribute towards the propagation of the learning. *Dharmśāsatras* instruct that the Bhaṭṭa should not be the resident of the donated villages. He should be called from other villages and that he should be able to teach *Pānini's Ashṭādhyāyi* and *Alaṅkāraśāstra*.[39] The Bhaṭṭa donees mentioned in the grants of different dynasties from this time onwards became important constituent of the society of the period. They must have been invited from other villages. The kings of the period should be given credit for encouraging the migrating activities of the *Brāhmaṇas* and also for popularising the study of scientific literature.

Brāhmaṇas and Śailodbhavas: Śailodbhava dynasty ruling over Koṅgodamaṇḍala was also patron of the Brāhamaṇas and granted villages and land to *Brāhmaṇas* of different Gotras e.g. the Ganjam, Buguda, Purushottamapur, Puri and Chandesvar pls. record the grant of the villages Cchavalakkhayagrāma[40] to Charampasvāmin, Puiponigrāma to Bhaṭṭa Vāmaṇa,[41] Ambagrāma to Bhaṭṭa

Nārāyaṇa,[42] Sālagrāma to Bhaṭṭa Vittadeva[43] and Sivavivāsa to Bhaṭṭa Śubhadeva[44] respectively, to single Brāhmaṇa. Names of the donated villages were associated with the term grāma. All these places except Ambagrāma seems to have situated in hilly and forest cleared region.

Lands: Some *Brāhmaṇas* received the grants of the lands as well. According to the Cuttack museum pls. of the king Mādhavavarma, the king granted twenty-three *Ṭimpiras* of land in Tamataḍāgrāma in Vyāghrapurabhukti to twenty-three *Brāhmaṇas*.[45] Similarly, Parikud pls. of the king Mādhavarāja of the year 6, records the grant of twelve *Ṭimpiras* of land in Purvakhaṇḍa in Kaṭakabhukti to twelve *Brāhmaṇas*.[46] Besides, the instances of giving land to single *Brāhmaṇa* are also known e.g. Five *Ṭimpiras* of land in Usavāṭakagrāma in Tanekaṇḍrā vishaya, as mentioned in Ranpur pls. of the king Dharmarāja, of year three, informs us, was given to a *Brāhmaṇa* Bhaṭṭa Trilochanasvāmi of Atreya Gotra,[47] Nivina grant of the king Dharmarāja, of year six, registers the gift of two *Ṭimpiras* of land in Nivina in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishaya to Śavarideva Dikshita Bhaṭṭa,[48] Puri pls. of the same king, of year twelve, refers to the donee Golasvāmin[49] as recipient of the grant of two *Ṭimpiras* of land in Kiṇiyācheda in Doṅgigrāma in Varttanīvishaya and one *Ṭimpira* of land in Dukagrāma, obviously in the same vishaya. Besides, a hamlet in the village and some times half of the village, as the Khurda pls. of the king Mādhavarāja and Kondedda grant of the king Dharmarāja, of the year 30, respectively suggest, was also donated. According to the former grant, Kumbhārachheda in Arhaṇṇagrāma was granted to a *Brāhmaṇa* Prajāpatisvāmin[50] and the latter grant informs us about the gift of half of the Koṇḍeḍḍegrāma to Agnihotrin Bhaṭṭa Goṇasvāmin.[51]

The dynasty did not create agrahāras for the *Brāhmaṇas* but by giving donations of rent free lands to groups of *Brāhmaṇas* and villages to single *Brāhmaṇa* of different *Gotras* provided them security of livelihood and made them responsible for the management of the villages and worked for the progress of the donated villages. Thus the kings of the dynasty skillfully, utilised the services of the intelligent class for the welfare of the society. Though all the grants were made with the purpose of earning religious merit, the kings by utilizing the intelligence of the *Brāhmaṇas* indirectly helped the spread of the culture in the undeveloped villages.

Bhaumakaras and Brāhmaṇas: Now we come to the regime of the Bhaumakara dynasty that appeared on the political horizon after the decline of the Śailodbhava dynasty. The dynasty, as mentioned in some of their grants, was the upholder of the *Varṇāśrama* system. King Śubhakara, in his Neulpur grant, gives the credit for establishing the Varṇāśrama[52] in proper order to the king Kshemaṅkara, the founder of the dynasty. Dhenkanal grant of the year 110, of the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī refers to four castes, which obviously implies four famous castes viz., *Brāhmaṇa*,

Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra. Curiously, all these four have not been specifically mentioned in any of the charters of the dynasty. All the grants made to the *Brāhmaṇas* were given with the same purpose as referred to above, but they indirectly imply the purpose of the progress of the donated places. According to the Neulpur grant, the king donated Kompārakagrāma and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka in Pañcāla and Vubhyudayavishaya, respectively, to two hundred *Brāhmaṇas*.[53] Pañcālavishaya (may be Pañchmāla) was, as its name denotes, a hilly region and Vuybhyudaya may be Abhyudaya i.e. newly created vishaya. The grant of the villages to so many *Brāhmaṇas* obviously implies that the donation was made for over all progress of these grāmas. Many of the donee Brāhmaṇas were with Bhaṭṭa[54] title and they must have been invited with the purpose of teaching, as stated in *Dharmaśāstra, Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyi* and *Alaṅkārśāstra*. Dharakote pls. of Śubhakaradeva records the grant of the village Guṇḍajagrāma in Jayakaṭakavishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala to two *Brāhmaṇas*, Bhaṭṭa Narāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa Devakaṇṭha.[55] Kumurang pls. of the year 187, of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī registers the donation of the place Kaṁtasarānagari in Khiḍiṅgahāravishaya to six *Brāhmaṇas* of different Gotras.[56] There is no Bhaṭṭa *Brāhmaṇa* among these six donees.

Besides, we also know of the single *Brāhmaṇas* receiving the grant of the villages e.g. Jālubhaṭṭa[57] received the village Vuvṛḍāgrāma in Antarudravishaya. It is recorded in the Chaurasi pls. of the king Śivakaradeva, of the year 73. This Bhaṭṭa may have been invited from other place. We have instances of the migrant Bhaṭṭas from other places and also from other regions mentioned in the other inscriptions of the dynasty. Śridharabhaṭṭa, the recipient of the village Deśalā mentioned in Angul pls. of the queen Dharmamahādevī, was the grandson of Arttihara Bhaṭṭa[58] an immigrant from Kolañcha identified with the place Kolancha in Sundargarh district. A *Brāhmaṇa* grantee named Pratihāra Dhavala, who received grant of a place Vilvagrāma in Purvakhaṇḍa, referred to in Ganjam pls. of Daṇḍimahādevī, had migrated from Veṅgipāṭaka.[59] Some times the grantee seems to enjoy the right of donating half of the donated place to other *Brāhmaṇa*. As mentioned in Ganjam pls. of Daṇḍimahādevī the donee Bhaṭṭaputra Purushottama[60] made over half of the donated village Rasambhā in Arttanīvishaya to other *Brāhmaṇa*. Curiously, grants of the villages were also made to bring down the rains. Dhenkanal charter of the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī introduces us to a *Brāhmaṇa* Jagaddhara who received the village Kontasapārā in Olāśramavishaya for bringing rains.[61] Thus the kings and queens of the Bhaumakara dynasty, by giving grants to *Brāhmaṇas* successfully managed the progress of the culture of the donated localities.

Śulki Dynasty: Feudatories of the Bhaumakara dynasty also helped *Brāhmaṇas* to settle in different parts of their principalities. Most of the grants of the Śulki dynasty were given to single *Brāhmaṇa* who had come from different places and

were living in Orissa. While the donee receiving the grants of places named Padārāgrāma in Goyilokhaṇḍa and Koṅkavira in Goyilavishaya referred to in the Puri pls. of the king Raṇastambha had immigrated from Atidha i.e. Ayodhyā the donee of one copper pls. charter, receiving the donation of the place Jarāgrāma in Jarāvishaya was from Tillaṅgalabhaṭṭagrāma in Rāḍhāmaṇḍala[62] and the donee named Vṛhaspati, receiving the grant of a place Jhāravāḍa in Goyilovishaya in the maṇḍala surrounded by Sankhajoti, mentioned in Dhenkanal grant of king Kulastambha, originally belonged to Madhyadeśa.[63] Talcher pls. of the king Kulastambha record the grant of a place Siṅga in Paschimakhaṇḍa of Purvavishaya to Anantarūpa son of Viśvarūpa Bhaṭṭaputra Jadu who had come from a place Maṅgalavilā.[64] One of the donees of one of the Dhenkanal grants of the king Jayastambha had come from Kolāñcha, one had been from Hastipāda and one had emigrated from a place Rṣvika Mutāvasu.[65] In addition there are some *Brāhmaṇas* whose original places have not been known from the grants e.g. the place of recipient of the village Kolāmpaka,[66] mentioned in Dhenkanal grant is not known and the original place of the donee Agnihotrin Bhaṭṭa Vishvarupasvāmi who was the recipient of the place Soggagrāma in Gopāraśṛṅgavishaya in Kanarddāmaṇḍala, referred to in Hindol charter of the king Kulastambha[67] is not known from the grant.

Nanda Dynasty: Now we come to the Nanda rulers who ruled the region known as Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala. According to the Dasapalla grant of the king Devānanda, the king donated a place named Eṇḍeḍḍāgrāma in Jiloṇḍāvishaya in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala to certain Yaśodatta, son of Māhola. He was the resident of Vaṇiggotrā; but his family, as described in the charter, had come from the place Rāhiyavāḍa. The charter further informs us that donee Yaśodatta was *sattvagehin*, *śāstropādhyāya* and *kāyastha*. He was also *sandhivigrahin* of the king Devānanda. But there is no reference to his *Gotra, carana, Śākhā* etc. in the grant. The other important thing to be noted here is that he has been given here the epithet of *Kāyastha* which, probably, speaks of his caste *Kāyastha*. Thus, he was, probably, a *Kāyastha Brāhmaṇa*. He was a virtuous householder, minister and also a teacher of *Śāstra*, possibly, as suggested by D.C. Sircar, of science of politics.[68] The grant thus, indicates that the Nanda king by giving grant to Yaśodatta utilized his intelligence and learning for efficient administration and also the progress of his principality. Baripada museum pls. of the same king of the Nanda dynasty records that the king donated a place named Lambeva in Poṭoḍāvishaya in Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala to a *Brāhmaṇa* Bhaṭṭa Bramadhara,[69] son of Śaktidhara. He was a member of the Bhaṭṭa community of Jambama Nārāyaṇapura that originally belonged to Puṇḍravardhana. The grant was issued from Jayapura that seems identical with a place of the same name in Dhenkanal district. His epithet Bhaṭṭa denotes that he must have been well-versed

with *Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyi* and *Alaṅkārśāstra* which, as prescribed in *Dharmaśāstras*, he was expected to teach.

Tuṅga: The Tuṅga dynasty ruling over the region known as Yamagarttāmaṇḍala like the other dynasties gave grants of places to *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*. While the Bonai grant of the Tuṅga king Mahārāja Vinītatuṅga refers to a *Brāhmaṇa* belonging to *Hāritasa Gotra* as the donee receiving the village Koñjari in Khambaivishaya in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala one Talcher grant of the king Gayāḍatuṅga states that the king donated a village named Svalpakompaigrāma in Khambeivishaya in favour of Bhaṭṭa Bhāināḍeva, son of Gokuladeva and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva.[70] It further states that the donee had come from a family of Traividya residing at the place called Śrichhātra. The term Svalpa associated with the place name Kompaigrāma implies that there were two Kompaigrāmas, *bṛihat* and *svalpa*. Of these, the *Svalpa* that was reduced in size when many of its citizens migrated further and established a new grāma of the same name was donated to a Bhaṭṭa for improving its culture and spread of knowledge. The place Khembei the capital of the vishaya may be the same as Khambai mentioned in the earlier grant and identified with a place Khamaua in Keonjhar taluka and district but the donated place has yet to be traced.

Bhaṭṭaputras and Bhaṭṭagrāmas: Most important thing to be noted here is that by this time the Bhattavṛitti had become hereditary, hence many of the donees of the grants of the regime were Bhaṭṭaputras. Similarly, many Bhaṭṭagrāmas had come into existence. Talcher pls. of the king Gayāḍatuṅga register the grant of the place Vāmaitalla in Tuṅkerāvishaya to three *Brāhmaṇas*. Of these, *Brāhmaṇa* named Bhaṭṭaputra Devaśarman, belonging to a family from Bhaṭṭagrāma called Muthāutha in Varendramaṇḍala and a resident of the Bhaṭṭagrāma called Sāvira in Oḍravishaya received half share of the gift village, *Brāhmaṇa* Bhaṭṭaputra Vāsudeva who belonged to a family coming from Sāvathi and was resident of Yamagarttāmaṇḍala received the land comprising one forth share of the gift village and Bhaṭṭaputra Rāmadeva, the third donee of the grant, who was the son of said Vāsudeva[71] received remaining one fourth share of the gift village. All these were Bhaṭṭaputras and had come from Bhaṭṭagrāmas, the settlement named after them. The kings of the Tuṅga dynasty invited these Bhaṭṭas with a view of teaching the scientific literature to the people or for improving the culture of the different places in the Yamagarttāmaṇḍala, a forested and hilly region.

Karaśāsana: Asiatic society pls. of the same king as above inform us that the village Toro in Veṇḍuṅgavishaya was made *kara-śāsana* in favour of eleven *Brāhmaṇas* with the names beginning with the term Bhaṭṭaputra and each one of these was to get specified share of the granted village. Of these, only the first one is mentioned as to have come from the family that migrated from Ahichchhatra

and residing at Bhattagrāma known as Kuruva in Oḍradeśa. It is also known that he was son of Govinda and grandson of Kakā Ojha and belonged to *Kauśika Gotra.*[72] We don't have any information regarding the *Gotras* of other donees but Sircar treats them as belonging to one and the same *Gotra.*

Bhañja: Bhañjas of Khichiṅgakoṭṭa, Khiñjalimaṇḍala and the later Bhañja rulers also issued grants in the favour of *Brāhmaṇas* of different Gotras and from different places. It is most interesting to note here that most of the donees of the Bhañja grants were Bhaṭṭaputras, migrated from other places and also other regions. As mentioned in Khandedeuli grant of the king Raṇabhañja the king granted a village Bontalāgrāma in Sidhāmbāvishaya to Bhaṭṭaputra Rācho. His father and grandfather were also known as Bhaṭṭaputra.[73] We also know of the donee Bhaṭṭa families immigrated form different places such as Vikhati,[74] Tilapadraka[75] and Bhaṭṭagrāma Allavida[76] in Oḍravishaya and also from Madhyadeśa.[77] All the donees of the grants are Bhaṭṭaputras and villages were granted in the favour of single Brāhmaṇa.

Records of the Bhañja kings of Khiñjalimaṇḍala refer to the donee *Brāhmaṇas* migrated from Alāpagrāma[78] and Vaṅgakuṭi and resident of Ghandhāṭapāṭi,[79] migrated from Tala Bhṛtaki in Varendri[80] and resident of Vārigrāma, migrant from a village Palāsi in Magadhadeśa,[81] migrant of the place Bhaṭṭa Nirolā and resident of Kāmāri,[82] Pechipāṭaka in Varendrimaṇḍala, residing at Vurallā,[83] Khaḍuvāpali Bhaṭṭagrāma,[84] migrated from Muleri, resident of Amvasarasarā,[85] migrant from Ṭakāri in Sāvathivishaya and resident of Bhaṭataralā in Oḍravishaya,[86] an immigrant from Madhyadeśa and resident of Mahishipadraka[87] etc. These donee *Brāhmaṇas* were either Bhaṭṭas or Bhaṭṭaputras and were invited from the places outside the Bhañja principality for the improvement of the culture of the already established grāmas, the settlements of cultivators.

Now we come to the grants of Bhañja dynasty issued from Vañjulvaka. Kings of this branch also granted places to Bhaṭṭas but only three of their grants viz., Dasapalla[88] pls. of Rāṇaka Śatṛabhañja, year 198, Ganjam[89] grant of the same king and of the same date, and Orissa museum[90] pls. of the king Nettabhañja of Saṁvat 213 supply us the names of the places of immigration of the donee Bhaṭṭas and the rest of the grants are silent about the places to which these Bhaṭṭas belong. The donee Bhaṭṭas of these grants are the immigrants from the places like Khaṇḍuvāvalli in Madhyadeśa, Śṛkheḍā of Dakshiṇāpatha and resident of Oḍijoṅga and Vātālaviḍima and resident of Kolakhali respectively. Besides, they gave grants, as the Ganjam pls. of Nettabhañja informs us, to *Agnihotrins* of *Kauśika* and *Vatsa Gotra.*[91] The king, as mentioned in the grant, donated a place Rātaṅgagrāma in Vāsudevekhaṇḍavishaya to number of *Brāhmaṇas.*

Brāhmaṇas enjoyed prestigious position also during the regime of later Bhañja kings. Many of these later Bhañja kings granted villages to *Brāhmaṇas* migrated

from different places e.g. Antirigrāma pls. of the king Yaśabhañja refers to donee Jagadhara Śarman as the migrant from Vapabhumigrāma in Thohāravishaya.[92] Jurada grant, issued from Kumārapura, registers the grant of the village Jurāḍāgrāma to Pātra Śrī Vāpanna and immigrant from Gaṅgavāḍi.[93] *Brāhmaṇa* donee named Akshapaṭali Dāmodhara Śarman was an immigrant of the place Haripura and the record was issued from Khollapāṭi. According to the Baud pls. of the king Kanakabhañja, donee Harivaṁsa had come from Madhyadeśa and was resident of the place Hastigrāma.[94] Thus, it seems that majority of the grants of the kings of the Bhañja dynasty were given to immigrant *Brāhmaṇas*.

Somavaṁśins: Now we come to the *Brāhmaṇa* community known from the grants of the Somavaṁśin dynasty. The most peculiar thing about the records of Somavaṁśin king is that the grant portion of the records begins with the salutation to *Brāhmaṇas*. All the grants of the villages and lands, made over to single *Brāhmaṇa* or to groups of *Brāhmaṇas*, were given with the purpose of earning religious merit for the donor himself as well as for his parents.

Surnames: Majorities of these grants are conferred either on Bhaṭṭaputras[95] or on the Bhaṭṭas[96] and there are some *Brāhmaṇas* with the names ending with the term Kara,[97] some with Dikshita Śarmā and Śarman[98] and without any term associated with their names.[99]

Migrant Brāhmaṇas: While many of these donees had migrated from different distant regions and living in the dominion of the dynasty there are some that were local resident of the kingdom but not the inhabitant of the donated villages. Among these migrant *Brāhmaṇas* coming from distant lands, there were three Brāhmaṇas from Vaiśāli, six from Sravasthi, six from Madhyadeśa and only one each from region like Rāḍhā, Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Mahārāshṭra.

Most of the villages were granted to single Brāhmaṇa and there is only grant i.e. Patna pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, year 6 record the grant of the village to four *Brāhmaṇas* coming from the different places. These donees were asked to pay annual tax fixed at eight Palas in silver.[100]

Lands: Along with the villages the kings of the dynasty also granted lands to the *Brāhmaṇas* invited from different places and regions. Patna pls. of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti register the grant of piece of land situated in the northern part of the place Talakajjagrāma in Sanulāvishaya in Kosaladeśa to a Brāhmaṇa named Kāmadeva, migrated from Mādhvāla and a resident of Jalajaḍḍa in Kosala.[101] Sometimes villages were granted along with the land e.g. Telugu-Choḍa grant from Kelga refers to the grant of a village named Pārśvagrāma together with a couple of plots of land belonging to Vuravuḍāgrāma in Roṅgaḍāmaṇḍala in favour of Bhaṭṭaputra Abhābhakaraśarman whose family originally belonged to Mahuvālī in the Sāvathamaṇḍala but he himself was the resident of a place named

Kamalapura.[102] Nuapatna pls. of the king Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya, year 3, informs us about the grant of plot of land from his own fief to a *Brāhmaṇa* Paṇḍit Janapatiśarman, a migrant from Śoṇabhadra in Madhyadeśa.[103]

The above survey indicates that many *Brāhmaṇas* from different regions had been settled in Kosala country prior to the rule of Somavaṁśin dynasty.

Gaṅga: The kings of Gaṅga dynasty, Early and Śvetaka, issued grants to *Brāhmaṇas* with the same purpose of acquiring spiritual merit as the kings of the other dynasty. The grants are given either to single or to many *Brāhmaṇas*. The donees are mainly Bhaṭṭas, Bhaṭṭaputras and Śarmas. Of these, only some have come from the distant region like Uttara Rāḍhā. Donee Jendrabhaṭṭa of Badakhimedi pls. of the king Devendravarman III, of G.Y. 308, had come from Uttara Rāḍhā[104] and Khillingar pls. of Kalyāṇadevī refers to the donee Sūnyavindu son of Bhaṭṭaputra migrated from Gandharaḍi and was resident of Loṇipāṭaka.[105] Raviśarmā, donee of the Badakhimedi grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarmadeva was resident of Baṭṭāraka Guṇeśvara Pratishṭhāna vishaya.[106] Among the donee *Brāhmaṇas* along with the Bhaṭṭas there are Śarmans as well. But original places of many of these *Brāhmaṇas* are not known. Grants of the Imperial Gaṅgas related to our period and found in modern Orissa state record the donations of lands given to *Brāhmaṇas*. While the names of the *Brāhmaṇas* mentioned in Dasgoba pls. of Rājarāja III are Aryas and Śarmās those referred to in Kapotesvra inscription of Anaṅgabhīma are Śarmās and Pāṭhis, some of them have the title Paṇḍita accompanying their names and three donees, as mentioned here were astrologers.[107] Majority of the *Brāhmaṇas* receiving grants of the lands referred to in Nagari pls. of Anaṅgabhīma are with the names ending with the word Śarmā belonging to Kāṇva branch of Yajurveda. The Āchārya receiving the donation on the occasion of the Hiraṇyagarbhamahādāna ceremony, referred to in the same grant was the student of Kāṇva branch of Yajurveda but the Ṛitviks of the ceremony belonged to *Ṛigveda* and other Vedas.[108]

Most of the grants, given by the different dynasties, were made tax-free and the donees were to enjoy the grant till the existence of the universe without any obstruction. Residents of the donated places were asked to give the share of produce and other taxes payable to the king to the donees and to obey the donees. Some times donees also enjoyed the right to recover some additional taxes e.g. Kumurang pls. of the Bahumakara queen confers on the donee Brāhmaṇas the right of recovering tax from weavers, cowherds, distillers, tenants, hamlets and ferries, landing places and forests.[109] Thus the donee *Brāhmaṇas were* endowed with various rights and privileges which practically made them lord of the donated villages.

These Brāhmaṇas were followers of the one or the other *Vedas* and some times three *Vedas*, and belonged to different *Gotras*. Besides, some *Brāhamṇas* who had distinguished themselves by their specialized study of different sciences, already

referred to above, are also known from the grants. Some donee *Brāhmaṇas*, as mentioned in the Antirigrama charter, were expert in Astrology[110] and some donee *Brāhmaṇas* had mastered the technique of bringing the rain. According to Dhenkanal grant Bhaumakara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī granted a village Kontasparā in Olāśramavishaya in Tosalī in the favour of the *Brāhmaṇa* Jagaddhara for bringing rain.[111]

Bhaṭṭa *Brāhmaṇas* were given Vṛittis for the spread of the culture. Almost all the donee Bhaṭṭa *Brāhmaṇas*, known right from the time of Śailodbhavas to Gaṅga period may have good knowledge of *Pāṇinīs Ashṭādhyāyi* and also of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. *Dharmaśāstra* enjoins that donee Bhaṭṭa should not belong to the donated village and the ancient rulers who were strict followers of the *Dharmaśāstras* seem to have invited these *Brāhmaṇas* from different places and also from distant regions. Most of these donees emigrated from different regions like Rāḍha, Varendri, Madhyadeśa etc. were living at the places in the respective kingdoms. We get specific references to migrant *Brāhmaṇas* from about the Bhaumakara period onwards and it will be proper to note here that there were habitations known as Bhaṭṭagrāmas of the *Bhaṭṭa Brāhmaṇas* in Bengal, Bihara, Madhyadeśa, Oḍravishaya etc. Some of the donees of the period had come from these Bhaṭṭagrāmas. The references to donee Bhaṭṭas as the sons and grandsons of Bhaṭṭas in the records of the Bhaumakara dynasty and to Bhaṭṭaputras in the charters of Bhañja dynasty suggests that *Bhatta Vritti* had become hereditary feature long before the time of the Bhaumakaras.

Some times *Brāhmaṇas* were to receive shares in the land at one place e.g. Parikud pls. of the Śailodbhava king Madhyamarāja records the grant of twelve *Ṭimpiras* of land to twelve *Brāhmaṇas*, Cuttack museum grant of the king of the same dynasty registers the grant of twenty-three *Ṭimpiras* of land to twenty-three *Brāhmaṇas*.[112] Grants of two adjoining villages, as the Neulapur grant of the Bhaumakara king Śubhakara denotes, were granted to two hundred *Brāhmaṇas*.[113] Naturally the places or the region where large number of donee *Brāhmaṇa* families were living for generation to generation may have obtained the name after the profession of main residents. This fact is supported by the references to the administrative division Urattivishaya[114] in the grants of the Bhañja dynasty. It has been mentioned in three grants viz., Adipur pls. of Raṇabhañja, Kesari pls. of Śatrabhañja and Adipur grant of Narendrabhañja of the Bhañja dynasty of Khichiṅgakoṭṭa. The name may be Vṛittivishaya i.e. the region occupied by the *Brāhmaṇa* families enjoying the share of the donated fields or grāmas. According to these grants villages, Svalpasarāigrāma, Sallyāmāyi and Bṛhatsarāigrāma were donated to *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras* and donees of the first two grāmas were Bhaṭṭaputras. The name Vṛittivishaya denotes that the region must have obtained its name after *Vṛitti* holder *Brāhmaṇas* long before the time of Bhañja dynasty.

Curiously, we have one more interesting name suggesting the occupation of some region under Bhañja dynasty by the *Brāhmaṇas* long before their rule. Undated Adipur grant of the king Raṇabhañja records the grant of Brāhmaṇavastigrāma in Brāhmaṇavastivishaya[115] in Uttarakhaṇḍa of Khichiṅgakoṭṭa. The donated place has been identified with a place Brahmanabosh (vāsa) under Bahalda police station in Rairangapur taluka in Mayurbhanj district. Some times well developed places were also donated to *Brāhmaṇas* e.g. Nagari pls. of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma dated Ś1151, records the grant of the township covering 30 Vāṭis of land in the favour of *Brāhmaṇa* named Śaṅkarānandaśarman. It was made in accordance to the recommendation of *Vāmanapurāṇa* and the township included four palace like houses, and thirty houses occupied by the citizens like merchants, perfumers, worker in conch shell, a splitter of wood, goldsmith, worker in bell metal, sellers of betel, florist, dealer in sugar, oilmen, potters, fishermen and also barbers, some craftsmen and a washerman. The grant was to be enjoyed permanently and was made to obtain the favour of the god Purushottama.[116]

All these donee *Brāhmaṇas*, because of the rights and privileges associated with the grant must have been enjoying dominating position in the village society. Some epigraphs available to us refer to the village householders under the leadership of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Seals of two Midnapur grants viz., grant of the eighth year of the king Bhānudatta and grant of the year 19th of Somadatta, respectively, bear the legend *"Tāvira Adhikaraṇa"*. The term has been interpreted by the scholars as administrative officers of the locality. According to the charters this administrative office at Tāvira was constituted by the learned people headed by the *Brāhmaṇas*. Śubhakīrti, a feudatory of the king Śaśāṅka, had eminent *Brāhmaṇa* officers in his administrative office at Tāvira[117]. Kesaribeda pls. of the Nala king is addressed to the Kuṭumbins headed by the *Brâhmaṇas*.[118]

Brāhmaṇas of the period were doing different types of jobs. Some donee *Brāhmaṇas* of the Śailodbhava period, as Kondedda grant of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja, year 3, denotes, were famously known as Agnihotrin[119] i.e. they were retainers of sacrificial fire. Cuttack Museum pls. of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman informs that Guṇachandra who was *Ṛitvika* and *Upādhyāya* also worked as dūtaka[120] of the grant. *Brāhmaṇa* dūtakas are also known from the grants of the Bhañja dynasty. While Orissa museum pls. of the king Śilabhañja refers to Bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva as dūtaka, Pls. of Palimpsest from Dharakote mentions Bhaṭṭa Durgaḍa as dūtaka and Bhaṭṭa Sumaṅgala was the dūtaka of the Komanda and Ganjam pls. of the king Nettabhañja,[121] Satalama grant of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya refers to Mahattama Bhaṭṭa Sādhāraṇa[122] as dūtaka of the grant.

Brāhmaṇa Officers: Srungavarapukoṭa grant of the king Anantavarman refers

to *Brāhmaṇa* Mātṛiśarman as Bhogika of Achaṇṭapura.[123] *Brāhmaṇas* were also appointed in charge of the protection either of the palace or of the capital city. *Pratihāra* Dhavala, student of *Kāṇva śākhā* and immigrant from Veṅgipāṭaka[124] referred to in the Ganjam pls. year 180, of the Bhaumakara queen Daṇḍimahādevī, as his branch of the Veda denotes, may be *Brāhmaṇa*.

Prime Minister: We also know of *Brāhmaṇa* prime ministers from the grants of the Bhañja dynasty. Sonpur grant of the king Śatrubhañja mentions *Brāhmaṇa* Pradhāna in the list of the royal officers and Ganjam and Orissa museum grants of the king Vidyādharabhañja refer to Bhaṭṭa Keśavadeva as prime minister.[125] *Brāhmaṇa* Prime Minister is also known from the grants of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur. The Koni stone inscription of K.Y. 896, of the king Pṛithivīdhara II refers to *Sarvādhikārin* Purushottama.[126] The Kharod stone inscription of K.Y. 933, of the king Ratnadeva III, refers to *Brāhmaṇa* Gaṅgādhara as the Prime Minister.[127]

Ministers: *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Droṇāchārya,[128] mentioned in Parlakimedi grant of the Ganga king Vajrahasta, as his name suggests, was *Brāhmaṇa*. Orissa museum pls. of the king Nettabhañja and Vidyādharabhañja refer to Bhaṭṭa Vāpuka and Bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva respectively,[129] as minister. Learned *Brāhmaṇa* ministers are also known from the grants of the Somavaṁśin dynasty ruling over western part of Orissa. Sādhāraṇa mantri referred to in Gaintala and Sonepur grant of year seven, of the king Mahāśivagupta I Janamejaya was well-versed in *Arthaśāstra, Smṛitis, Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Sikshā, Kalpa Itihāsa*[130] etc. While Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma II had a *Brāhmaṇa* minister Govinda, king Anaṅgabhima III had a *Brāhmaṇa* minister Vishṇu who brought the whole empire of the lord of Trikaliṅga under single parasol.[131]

Astrologer: We also know of *Brāhmaṇa* astrologer and preceptor in the royal court of the Somavaṁśin dynasty of Kosala. As mentioned in Kalibhana grant of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, Bhaṭṭaputra Devu, the recipient of the grant, was astrologer.[132] According to Mahulpara pls. of the king Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha, Sahadeva was the Rājaguru[133] of Dharmaratha.

Brāhmaṇa Writer: Droṇāchārya,[134] the writer of the Parlakimedi grant of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta, as his name denotes, was *Brāhmaṇa*. Some *Brāhmaṇas* of the period were best poets too. Purushottama Bhaṭṭa,[135] composer of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription as described in the same charter was the best among the poets and was also well-versed in the *Vedas, Vyākaraṇa, Arthaśāstra, poetry*, logic and other disciplines.

Brāhmaṇa Engravers: The engraver of the Riddhapur grant of Nala king, as mentioned in the record was *Brāhmaṇa* Boppadeva,[136] the son of *Padopādhyāya*.

Brāhmaṇa Traders: Two inscriptions from Sri Kurmam refer to one Ṛisidāsa Nāyaka, son of Prayāga Upādhāyāya as trader in horses.[137]

Some literary works also provide us some information regarding the status of the *Brāhmaṇas* in the then society. *Bhaktibhāgavata Mahākāvya* refers to *Bhavadeva* as the preceptor of the king Udyotakesari. Besides, *Krishṇa Misra*, the author of *Prabodhachandrodaya Nāṭakam* and *Śatānanda* who wrote *Bhāsvati* were good scholars of the period.[138]

Thus, the *Brāhmaṇa* community enjoyed most prestigious position in the society in the period of our study. But there is only one place directly named after the *Brāhmaṇas*. Bamanghati pls. of the king Rājabhañja refers to the donation of the grant of the village Brāhmaṇavastigrāma in Brāhmaṇavastivishaya in Uttarakhaṇḍa attached to Khijjiṅga to one Mahāsāmanta Buddha.[139] It must have come into existence long before the time of the grant. Besides, Bhaṭṭagrāmas referred to many of the records imply the existence of the Brāhmaṇa settlements. Apart from the places some regions, as the name Vṛittivishaya denotes there were regions named after *Brāhmaṇas*.

Kshatriyas: Now we come to second important constituent of the society. The Kshatriyas as the caste have not been mentioned in any of the grants available to us. We have taken here the ruling and warrior class under the head *Kshatriyas*. Majority of the dynasties, of the period were *Kshatriyas* and they were perfectly aware of their fundamental duties i.e. protection of the earth, the *Brāhmaṇas* and religion, prescribed for them by the *Dharmaśāstras*. All the kings right from the kings of Māṭhara dynasty to the kings of the dynasty of Imperial Gaṅgas made liberal grants to the *Brāhmaṇas* and as the donee *Brāhmaṇas* were follower of the path of piety, the kings were sure that there will be no outbreak of the divine calamity. Further, by conferring rights and privileges upon the donee *Brāhmaṇas* they made them responsible for the progress and also for administration of the gifted villages. Thus, the donee *Brāhmaṇas* were made the important constituents of the administrative machinery. The rulers also gave grants for the maintenance of the religious establishments and made provisions for the maintenance of the temple rituals. Almost all the grants supply us with the account of the wars between the kings of the contemporary dynasties and these descriptions can be treated as the efforts they made towards the protection of the people from external calamities.

We do not get specific information regarding the educational qualification of the kings. But the traditional descriptions of the achievement in the records of the dynasty throw sufficient light upon established notions about the education and virtues of the ruling kings in the then society. The Hāthigumphā inscription of the king Khāravela informs us that the prince was expected to have the knowledge about the royal correspondence (*Lekha*), currency (*Rupa*), finance (*Gaṇanā*), civil and religious laws (*vyavahāra vidhi*) and all other branches of the knowledge. Music also formed the part of his study. Asanpata Natarāja image inscription of

Śatrubhañja states that the king had studied *Bhārata, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Vyākaraṇa, Samikshā, Nyāya, Mimāṁsā, Chandas, Śruti*, the scriptures of Buddhists and *Sāṅkhya*. He was store of supreme knowledge and an expert in all the arts.[140]

Early kings of south Orissa were benevolent monarchs and had respect for the age-old customs, particularly *Dharmaśāstras* or religious laws. It is said that the king Prabhañjanavarman[141] ruled the kingdom in accordance with the *Prajādharma*. Midnapore grant, states that the king Śubhakirtti ruled Daṇḍabhukti like a father and had good knowledge of religious laws.[142] The king Gopachandra, one of the feudatories of the king Śaśāṅka, Jayarampur grant informs us, was strict follower of *Dharma* and was looked upon by his people as personification of *Dharma*.[143] Midnapur grant informs us that five desirable noble qualities[144] viz. truthfulness, prowess, art of war, learning and beauty which were separately possessed by the five Pāṇḍavas were accumulated in the king Somadatta. According to Soro pls. the king Śambhuyaśasa was famous for his modesty, liberal grants to his favourites, and performance of several good deeds.[145] All these expressions in the grants of kings of the early period indicate that the sovereigns of the Orissa of early period gave much importance to the cultivation of the noble qualities for ruling the kingdom successfully.

Kings of the Śailodbhava dynasty were the strict followers of the *Daṇḍaniti* of *Śukrāchārya*. According to Khurda pls. the king Mādhavarāja had acquired the knowledge of *Chtushṭayavidyā* in his childhood.[146] He was a sound administrator and the king Dharmarāja of the same dynasty was well-versed in all the *Śāstras*. He possessed excellent qualities and was free from all failings.[147] The kings of the dynasty, as the honour paid to *Brāhmaṇas* and Sāmantas in the beginning of their grants suggest, were masters of art of administration. During the regime of the Bhaumakara dynasty the princes were to receive the education before their coming to the throne. As stated in the Talcher grant, Śubhakaradeva studied sacred texts during his childhood[148] and he must have received military training as well. Dhenkanal grant of the Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī describes the Bhaumakara kings as liberal donors, patrons of scholars, supporters of the merit (*Suci Guṇa Paksha-Pālishu*) and always ready to help the people. Besides, they were brave and crushed the formidable enemies of the kingdom with ease. They did not impose heavy or oppressing taxes upon the people. They made liberal grants in the cause of the religion, in order to enlighten their own subjects. They constructed various *maṭhas*, monasteries and temples (*Vividha Maṭha, Vihāra, Prāsāda*).[149] According to Dhenkanal grant the queen did not impose heavy taxes (*Mṛdu kara*). She respected the preceptor, was lover of the truth and friend of all. She had the officers who were ingrained with the pure character and had a big circle of chiefs and good writers. She got herself coronated for protecting the fortune of the Kara kingdom

and wanted to rule it in accordance with the principles of *Dharmaśāstras*. She ruled like the goddess *Kātyāyanī* mounted on lion.[150] As stated in the Talcher grant of the king Śubhakaradeva king Kusumahara was born with all royal accomplishments including statecraft, self discipline and was capable of being bowed by numerous rulers. He was sharp in understanding the spirit of the texts of the *Śāstras* and was the foremost protector of the earth extended on all four sides. He was brave and defeated many enemies with his own arms.[151] According to Angul charter of the queen Dharmamahādevī, the Kara dynasty was famous for well-behaved (*Sad-Vṛtta*), peace loving (*Sukha Śitala*), friendly (*Saṅgāta*) kings endowed with peerless qualities (*Anindita Guṇa*) and patron of scholars.[152] Hindol grant, year 93, of the time of Śubhakaradeva informs us that the king had acquired profound knowledge of the *Āgamas*.[153]

Almost all the kings of the Bhañja dynasty are described as brave and just ruler like Yudhiṣṭhira. Somavaṁśins were follower of the general principle of *Rājadharma* as laid down in different works on polity. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, as mentioned in his Orissa state museum pls. of the year four, was well-versed in *Āgamas* and was looked upon by his subjects as the incarnation of Yudhiṣṭhira,[154] the epic hero. Kings Bhīmaratha and Yayāti II have been described in some records as learned kings. Brahmeśvar temple inscription informs us that the king Udyotakesarin participated in battles during the regime of his father Yayāti II.[155] These references and the practice of appointing the princes of royal blood as governors to some provinces suggest that the princes were given some sort of military and practical administrative training along with the other education. The records of the Gaṅga dynasty also provide us some information regarding the education of the princes of the dynasty.

Builders: The kings of the period constructed forts for the protection of their kingdom. Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja who was well-versed in all the sacred scriptures issued the charter from the place named Alatālaṅghapurakoṭa.[156] The term Koṭa at the end of the name suggests that the place was protected with some sort of fortification. Each of the four words composing the name, Ala+tālaṅgha+ pura+koṭa has got its own importance. The word Ala forming the first part of the name 'means on this side'. The meaning of the word suggests that there were two places of this name situated on two sides of some object. The word Tālaṅgha denotes a place with abundant Tālaṅga trees. Pura is a well-developed town and Kota speaks of fortified place. Thus, the name suggests the existence of fortified Pura on one of the sides of, probably, forest of Tālaṅgha trees. It may be Vanadurga. The place has been identified with a place Longhara in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. Besides, as stated by Behra Bankāda was Giridurga.[157] The kingdom of Bhaumakaras who followed Śailodbhavas also contained fortified towns. Baud pls. year 158, of

the queen records the grant of Koṭṭapuragrāma. The name of the place is composed of three words, Koṭṭa+pura+grāma.[158] It was a fortified Pura but due to some reasons it was reduced to grāma. It seems that the place was in existence prior to the time of the Bhaumakara dynasty and it may have been in decadent state during their rule. It was donated by the king, probably for rehabilitation. Prevalence of the forts is also known from the place names mentioned in the grants of the Bhañja dynasty. As mentioned in the Jurada grant of the later Bhañja king Nettabhañja, donated place Jurāḍāgrāma was situated in the Gaḍavishaya[159] i.e. the vishaya named after the prominent fort. The place could not be identified.

Some grants of the Bhaumakara dynasty speak of the embankments (*Bandha*) and bridges (*Setu*). Kumurang charter of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī records the grant of the village Kāleśvara extended up to a palm tree, *Sottrabandha*, *Samudrabandha* and a bridge *(Setu)* in the east and Payāḍa in the west.[160] Bhañja king Ranabhañja, as mentioned in Orissa museum pls. Nettabhañja constructed a reservoir and named it as Raṇabhañja *Vandha* (*Bandha*).[161] These embankments or *bandhas* were raised around the plots of land for irrigation from tank, well or river and there were ditches cut across these bandhas. Besides, there were natural trenches filled with water from nearby hills.

Many kings founded new towns in their own names. e.g. Gayāḍapura[162] mentioned in Talcher grant of the king Śivakaradeva III was in Madhyama-khaṇḍavishaya in Uttara Tosalī. The name of the village suggests that it was founded by the king Gayāḍa, Sāntikara I. The king had in his possession some land and villages for his private expenditure. The Nuapatana pls. of the Somavaṁśin king refer to the grant of the land from the king's own fief.[163] The villages containing such land, villages and some times regions were known after the title *Rāja* or *Rāya* of the monarch. The names, such as Rāirāvishaya, Royarāvishaya, Rāigrāma, Devībhogavishaya known from the records available to us may be the names of this type. Of these, the first four names are from the grants of the Bhañja dynasty and the last one is mentioned in the charter of the king of Somavaṁśin dynasty. According to Orissa museum pls. Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja granted a village Vāriśāmāgrāma in Rāirāvishaya.[164] The name may be, originally, Rāiura i.e. the place in the possession of the king. Later on it became the division of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. Undated Sonepur grant of the king Śatrubhañja records the donation of the place Milupādikhaṇḍakshetra in Royarāvishaya.[165] It may be Rāyaurā. It seems to have retained its identity in the place named Rohila situated in Kanhaia police station in Talchera taluka in Dhenkanal district. The place Rāigrāma[166] referred to in the Orissa museum pls. of the king Nettabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa may be Rāyagrāma and can be identified with place Raiguda or Raipur in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. All these

dynasties divided their kingdom into administrative divisions and ruled their kingdom with the help of ministers and officers.

Kshatriya Agriculturists: Some times persons who were in ancient military force of Orissa followed the profession of the cultivators. Place Taspaikerāgrāma[167] in Uttarapalli on the bank of the river Mahānadī mentioned in the charter of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, R.Y.16, seems to represent this type of cultivators. The name is composed of four words, Tas + pai + kerā +grāma. Tas or Tasā, according to Banerjee, seems to be the changed form of the word Chasā=cultivator, Pai may have been written wrongly for Paik, the descendents of ancient military force of Orissa who were originally paid from Chakrin or service land,[168] Kera= Kheṭa, Kheḍa a small settlement of cultivators in the field and grāma is a settlement of farmers and peasants with minimum hundred families. Thus this was the settlement of the warriors turned into cultivators.

Vaiśya : The third component of the society is represented by farmers, traders, moneylenders, artisans, craftsmen etc. According to *Dharmaśāstras*, along with the study of the Vedas, like the first two classes, Vaiśyas were to look after agriculture, rearing of cattle, trade, money lending, arts and crafts etc. They were in large number and by this time some Vaiśyas had started to follow professions of other castes as well.

Vaiśya Agriculturists: Agriculturists were known in our period by the term *Kuṭumbins*. They have been mentioned in many of the grants along with the householders, *Brāhmaṇas* and royal officers living in the donated villages e.g. Ragolu, Ningondi, Andhavarman, Madras museum grants of the kings of the Māṭhara[169] dynasty, Siripuram pls. of the king of Vāśishṭhikula, two Baranga grants and Koroshoṇḍa grant of the king who were devout worshippers at the feet of their father, are addressed to Kuṭumbins along with the people living in the donated villages. Of the miscellaneous royal families ruling over south and south-eastern Orissa Parlakimedi grant of Pṛithivīmahāraja also refers to Kuṭumbins. Of the records issued by the kings of the dynasties ruling over south and south-western Orissa, Tersinga pls. of the king Tushṭikara and Kesaribeda pls. of the king Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka of the Nala dynasty are addressed to *Kuṭumbins* along with the others.[170] Coming to the grants of the Somavaṁśin dynasty, Vakratentali grant, Patna grant, Kalibhana pls, Satalama grant, Jatesing Dungari grant and Mahākosala Historical Society pls.[171] refer to agriculturist householders along with the *Brāhmaṇa* residents of the donated villages. All these references speak of the class of the Vaiśya agriculturists.

Grāmas: In the same way the grāmas mentioned in the grants of the different dynasties can also be taken as representing the Vaiśya community. As mentioned in the *Kaiyaṭa*[172] Commentary of *Patañjali's Mahābhāshya*, the colony of the

agriculturists was known as grāma. According to Kauṭilya,[173] a group of hundred to five hundred houses of agriculturists *(Kṛishikāras)* and Śudras is known as grāma. The definition of the grāma given in *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[174] slightly differs from these definitions. It states that a colony founded by *Kṛishikāras* and Śudras with their own efforts in the field is known as grāma. *Kauṭilya* and *Śukraniti* express different opinion regarding the extension of the grāma. While the former states that the grāma containing hundred to five hundred houses of agriculturists and Śudras should be extended upto one or two *Krośas.*[175] *Śukraniti* puts this limit to one *Krośa.*[176] *Kauṭilya*[177] further enjoins that object like rivers, forests, dried streams, valleys, dams and trees like Śālmali, Banyan, Aśvattha and Śami should be utilised to decide the boundaries of the grāmas.

Traders: We know of the traders as Vaṇika from undated Baud grant of the Bhañja king Raṇabhañja, Orissa museum grant of Bhañja king Nettabhañja, Antirigam pls. of the king Jayabhañjadeva, Jurada grant of Nettabhañjadeva, Phulbani pls. of the king Raṇabhañjadeva and also from Sonpur grant of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of Somavaṁśin dynasty.[178] Besides, among the officers addressed in Sumandala pls. of Pṛthivīvigraha, Khandipada-Nuapali grant of Chharamparāja, Jayarampur grant of Gopachandra, Nimuna pls. year 9 and Puri pls. year 12, of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja[179] there is one officer known as Vyavahārin. The designation Vyavahārin[180] is normally used for the merchant and this merchant officer mentioned in all these grants may be incharge of the trade of the place. Pradhāna is one more designation used for the traders in the grants available to us. He is mentioned in Jayarampur charter of the king Gopachandra as incharge of different padrakas[181] and though the term Pradhāna denotes the headman of the village it is also used for the head of the traders community. We also know of the traders and trade markets from the Baud pls. of the king Nettabhañja. In the description of the place Navāṅgulakapattana, the grant refers to Paṇḍita Sarthārathi, different markets, Prāchiyamāna, traders in the market (Vipaṇi vaṇiga) Sārthavāha pramukha of different markets[182] etc. Thus, it seems that trader's community in different parts of the region during the different period had some sort of organisation. We also know of the traders' organisation from the Sonpur grant of the Somavaṁśin dynasty referred to above. The charter records the donation to Kamalavanavaṇikasthāna[183] i.e. organisation of vaṇikas at Kamalavana.

Vaiśya Writers: Some Vaiśyas had accepted the job of writers in the royal court and some times engravers of the grants as well. Writer Padmanābha of undated Baud grant of the king Raṇabhañja was the son of Vaṇika Pāṇḍi.[184] Vaiśya writers are also mentioned in the grants of the Somavaṁśin kings. The writer of the Gaintala and Kudopoli pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya and

Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, respectively, were Vaiśyas. While the writer Haridāsa of the former grant is described as the son of Vaṇika Purṇṇadatta of the latter grant is referred to as the son of the Śreshṭhin Kiraṇa.[185] The engraver of the Phulbani pls. of R.Y.9, of the king Raṇabhañja was vaṇika Suvarṇṇakāra Pāṇḍisuta Jayanāga and Khilingar pls. of Rāṇaka Dānārṇava were engraved by vaṇika Hari.[186] Writer of Antirigam grant of Jayabhañjadeva was vaṇika Gaṇeśa.[187] Jurada grant of the king Nettabhañja was written on the pls. by vaṇika[188] Malaka. Many of the grants of the Bhañja kings were engraved by vaṇika Suvarṇṇakāra.[189]

State and Military Officers: Some persons of this caste distinguished themselves as state officers and military officers as well. One of the inscriptions of the Imperial Gaṅga period refers to one Guṇadāsa of Vaiśyakula as a Mahāsenāpati. In other grant one Vaiśya named Amaru is described as Padirāya and another Vaiśya is mentioned as officer incharge of royal store.[190]

Śreshṭhi: There were bankers or heads of the merchant guilds too. Jayarampur grant of Gopachandra refers to Pradhāna Sāhu,[191] Adipur pls. of the king Durjayabhañja and Deogam grant of Raṇabhañja includes Puraśreshṭhi Dhuvaha and Puraśreshṭhi Vishṇudatta,[192] respectively, among the officers addressed by the king. Śreshṭhis have also been mentioned in the grants of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman.[193] Writer of the Kudopoli pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha was the son of the Śreshṭhi Kiraṇa.[194] References to Śreshṭhins in the grants of different dynasties indicate that they must be enjoying important status in the then society.

Place Names: The traders have been represented by only two places viz., Vaṇiggotrā and Vāṇivadāgrāma. Of these, the former is mentioned in Dasapalla grant, year 184, of the Nanda king Devānanda as the place of the donee Yaśadatta. Vaṇiga =trader +Gotrā = cowshed or stable and the name thus denotes the place with the common cow shelter or a stable belonging to the traders[195] and the name indirectly refers to the place occupied by the traders. The donated place Vāṇivaḍāgrāma mentioned in undated grant of Bhañja king Raṇabhañja was situated in Aḍagrāmavishaya.[196] The name may be Vaṇikavāḍagrāma i.e. The grāma with the cultivated plots owned by the traders.

Cattle Rearing: Cattle rearing was the most common profession of the Vaiśyas. Cow was the most favourite domestic animal and the kings were also very careful about the rearing of the cows. Asanpata image inscription of the king Śatrubhañja records the gifts of lakhs of cows made by the king at various places.[197] They have also been known from the place names such as, Govāṭaka, Vasuvāṭaka,[198] Gollāvallīgrāma,[199] Goyilavishaya,[200] Goyilokhaṇḍa,[201] Gopāraśṛiṅgavishaya,[202] Gūlaḍḍa[203] etc. While the first two places are known from Pedda-Dugam grant of the king Śatrudamana, Parlakimedi grant of the Pṛithivīmahārāja of Śrīrāma

Kaśyapa family refers to place Gollāvalligrāma and the names Goyilovishaya and Goilokhaṇḍa are mentioned in the grants of the kings of Śulki dynasty. The places Gopāraśṛiṅgavishaya and Gūlaḍḍa have been referred to in Hindol charter of the Śulki king and Parlakimedi record of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta, respectively. All these names speak of the places and regions occupied by the cowherds. As mentioned in the charter, places Govāṭaka and Vasuvāṭaka were situated in Vardhamānagrahāra they have not been identified. The place Gollāvalligrāma lying in Kuddhāvativishaya was turned into *agrāhāra* and donated to *Brāhmaṇa* Padmaśarman. The place seems identical with a place named Golwali near Kundakurti in Andhra Pradesh. According to Puri pls. of Śulki king Raṇastambha, donated place Pajārāgrāma was attached to Goyilokhaṇḍa and a place named Koṅkavirā was in Goyilavishaya. The chief place of the Goilokhaṇḍa has not been identified. Place Goilo the capital of the vishaya has been identified with a place Gailo in Parajang police station in Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district. Places Goilovishaya and Goilokhaṇḍa suggest that the regions were occupied mainly by the cowherds. The Goyilovishaya has been referred to in two more grants viz., (1) Dhenkanal grant of the king Kulastambha (2) Dhenkanal grant of the king Jayastambha. While the former record registers the grant of the place Jhāravāḍa in Goyilovishaya in Kodālakamaṇḍala extended upto Śankhajyotivalaya the latter charter informs us that donated place Chandrapura was in Koṅkulakhaṇḍa in Goyilovishaya.The place Jhāravāḍa which was surrounded by Śaṅkhajyotivalaya seems identical with a place of the same name situated in the bend of the river Śaṅkhajyoti in Panposh subdivision of Sundargarh district and the chief place of the vishaya seems identical with a place Goilo in the same subdivision and district. Donated place Chandrapura of the other record has retained its identity in the place named Chandrapur in Chhendipada taluka in Dhenkanal district and the locality Koṅkulakhaṇḍa which included donated place can be identified with the region round the place Kaṅkarai in the same taluka in Dhenkanal district. Goyila, the capital of the vishaya is identified with a place named Gailu in Motunga taluka in Dhenkanal district.

In Dhenkanal charter king Kulastambha is described as the lord of Gondramas i.e. the Gond people. Thus the names Koṅkulakhaṇḍa and Goyilo indicate that Gonda and Koṅka people and cowherds occupied the Kodālakamaṇḍala ruled by Śulkis. The Gopāraśṛiṅga-vishaya in Kanarḍḍāmaṇḍala referred to in the Hindol charter of the Śulki king Kulastambha, year 4, included the donated place Soggagrāma containing donated land. The name of the vishaya, Gopāra + śṛiṅga denotes the settlement of the Gopālas on the top of some hill dominating the surrounding area. It is not identified but the chief place of the maṇḍala seems identical with a Kanarda in Barbil taluka in Keonjhar district. The place Gūlaḍḍa of the Parlakimedi grant may be Goulavāḍa = the habitation of the cowherds. It

seems to have given its place to a village Golunda in Nugaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. Besides, the references to Gokuṭa in Talcher grant of king Śivakara, year 149, and Kumurang charter[204] of Daṇḍimahādevī suggests that they were also the constituents of the village community. The donated place Duhāgrāma referred to in Pedda-Dugam charter of the king Śatrudamana, year 9, indicates the habitation of the persons who were milkers by profession. The place has been identified with the place Pedda-Dugam, the findspot of the pls. in Srikakulam district. But we would like to take it as identical with a place Dūvapeṭa in Srikakulam district.

Śūdras : Available records do not furnish us any information about the fourth class in the then society. Tersinga grant of the king Tushṭikara refers to one Janturadāsa[205] as the writer of the grant and according to some scholar the word dāsa associated with his name denotes that, he may be of Śūdra caste. If so, we will have to take the engraver Badurākalpadāsa of the Baud pls. of the king Nettabhañja as of the same class. Besides, we can take the people doing low type of profession like reed workers mentioned as Vetrakarmaṇi[206] in Jayarampur pls. of the king Gopachandra and Śauṇḍika, ferryman on the rivers and streams, referred to in the grants of the Kara dynasty[207]and Naṭas and Naṭakāras known from Dharmalingeśvara grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king and some of the Bhaumakara grants[208] and elephant catchers, hunters, bird catchers, fishermen etc. as representing this class.

Elephant Catchers: While place names, Hastināpurakshetra, Hastileṇḍagrāma, Sivarākhaṇḍa, Hastipāda, Hastigrāma etc. mentioned in the grants of the kings of Bhaumakara, Bhañja and Somavaṁśin dynasties denote the existence of elephants names, such as Dantayavāgubhoga and Dantayavā-gumadamba, referred to in the grants of the king of Pitṛibhakata dynasty, point to the places famous for preparing rice gruel for elephants and place named Lohaśṛiṅgara mentioned in the grant of Gaṅga king denotes a place famous for the manufacture of iron chains, probably for elephants. A frieze depicting elephant catch on the lintel of Bharateśvara temple informs us about the existence of the elephant tamers and catchers in the then society.[209] According to Banpur record, Śailodbhava king Madhyamarāja was expert in the art of taming and also of catching the elephants.[210] Some people in these divisions and the place Lopaśṛṅgara may be elephant tamers and catchers by profession.

Professional Castes: Following professional castes were also the important constituents of the then society.

Metal Workers: Among the metal workers, engravers and seal markers of the grants are most important. The engraver was to engrave the order of the king on the copper pls. and the seal marker was to put a seal of the king on the copper pls. Engraver was strictly warned to engrave every detail of the grant carefully and

seal marker was to seal the record properly. Some grants of the Somavaṁśin king refer to the engraver as Vijñānī. While the Patna pls. of the year 4 and Cuttack pls. of year 9 of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti were engraved by Vijñānī Mādhava, his Patna pls. of the year 24 and 28 were engraved by Vijñānī Vāsuka and Madhumātha, respectively. Vijñānī Madhumalla was the engraver of Cuttack pls. of the year 3 and Vijñānī Sonnāṅgaka was the engraver of Mahulpura grant of the year 2 of the king Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha.[211] The title Vijñānī associated with their names indicates that they had perfect knowledge of the art of engraving. They were some times given some landed property[212] as a reward for their work. The reference to the donated place Vijñānīgrāma in one of the grants of the Bhañja kings denotes that they had their own habitations too.

Seal Makers: Seals were made of alloyed metal and preparing the mould of the seals was a difficult job. Seals used by the different dynasties point to the existence of the skilled seal makers during the period of our study. The reference to the house of Kāṁsakāras[213] in one of the directions of the donated land in Puri pls. of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja, year 12, may be the house of seal makers of the period. Kaṁskāras have also been referred to as engravers in the inscriptions of the kings of Śvetaka Gaṅga dynasty.[214]

Images: Large number of metal sculptures recovered at Achyutarajapuram also speaks of the existence of metal workers during the period of our study. According to Rath these images were made by the casting technique using the lost wax process[215].

Goldsmiths: Goldsmiths also played important role in issuing of the grants. They were employed in the royal court for engraving of the copper plate grants. Banpur pls. of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja was engraved by the goldsmith named Adityadeva.[216] Majority of the grants of the Bhañja dynasty were engraved by *akshaśāli*. Goldsmiths as engraver of the grants are known from the grants of the Somavaṁśin kings as well. Kalibhana pls. of 6th year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya was engraved by goldsmith.[217] Absence of the place names after goldsmith suggests that they were mostly employed in the royal court and the reference to the engraver coming from the lane of goldsmiths[218] in Balijhari grant of the 4th year of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin suggests, they were residents of the towns and of villages as well.

Blacksmith: The existence of the blacksmiths are known by the names such as Siṅghalagrāma[219] mentioned in Baranga grant of the king Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Pitṛibhakta family and a place Lohasṛiṅgara, a donated place mentioned in Badakhimedi grant of G.E. 308, of the king Gaṅga Devendravarman III. The name Siṅghalagrāma may be originally, Siṅghāṇagrāma. It may have obtained its name after rusted iron objects. The place, as the record informs us was

changed into Baraṅgāgrahāra.[220] It is identical with a place Baranga in Ganjam district. The word Loha is generally taken as denoting iron and the name Lohaśriṅgara speaks of the place famous for the iron objects like chains made for elephants, fishhook etc. and indirectly implies the existence of the habitation of blacksmiths. It has been identified with a place Lohunia situated to the south of Paljhadi, findspot of the pls, in Nuagaon police station in Chikiti taluka in Ganjam district.

Weapon Makers: According to Badakhimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman, the king granted a village Bhusuṇḍāgrāma[221] situated in Aṇḍadāvishaya. The name Bhusuṇḍā denotes a place occupied by the manufacturer of some kind of weapon, perhaps fire arms.[222] The place is identified with a village named Bhusunda in Patapara police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.[223] Besides, there were some people who were well-versed in Kumbhi mantra used in the worship of weapons. These people seem to have been represented by the place named Sutantarakumbhavishaya[224] mentioned in Terundia pls. of Bhaumakara king Śivakaradeva in the context of the grant of some villages in the vishaya. The name may be Sutantra=well-versed in the doctrine[225] and Kumbha=a name of a *mantra* pronounced over weapons.[226] The region is not identified but it seems to be the habitation of the people who were well-versed in this *mantra*.

Coppersmiths: According to the Baud charter, donated place Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra[227] was situated in Olāśṛiṅgavishaya. It may be Tambakārakhaṇḍakshetra. The name suggests that it was the habitation of the coppersmiths and like weavers and Śauṇḍhikas known from the grants of the Bhaumakara dynasty they were to pay some type of tax to the government. The place seems identical with a place Tambrakata in Jarapada police station, Angul taluka of Dhenkanal district.

Perfume makers: People of the period were aware of the use of perfumes in day-to-day life and perfumers enjoyed important position in the society. People following the profession of perfume making were, as the names such as Gandhdāṭapāṭimaṇḍala, Gandharavāḍimaṇḍala[228] and Rālagranthavishaya[229] denote, living together in the region where the required raw material was available in plenty. The first two regions mentioned in the Nibina charter of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, and Jatesing Dungari pls. of the king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, respectively, imply the existence of the region famous for manufacture of some sort of perfume prior to the regime of Somavaṁśin dynasty. Both the names seem to speak of one and the same place and have been identified with the place Gandharadi in Baud taluka of Phulbani district. As mentioned in Kapotesvara temple inscription, Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III donated some *Vāṭis* of land in Rālagranthavishaya to *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras*. Rāla, the word forming the

first part of the name is kind of resin[230] used for fumigating the atmosphere in the temples and also in houses particularly at the time of worship of the god and also in the evening. The name of the region implies plenty of trees producing Rāla and also the people devoted to the collection of the Rāla.

Dyers or Colour Makers: According to the Antirigrama grant of the Bhañja king Jayabhañja, donated place Reṅgaraḍā was in Khiñjaligaḍavishaya.[231] The name of the place may be Raṅgārapāḍā or vāḍā and speaks of the settlement of dyers or colour makers. It has been identified with Ranganipatna in Odgaon police station in Nayagarh taluka in Puri district. They have also been represented by the place named Roṅgaḍāmaṇḍala[232] in the Kelga Telugu-Choḍa grant. It is not identified.

Potters: The only name after the potters is Kumbārapadrakagrāma[233] mentioned in Midnapore grant of Śubhakīrti, feudatory of the king Śaśāṅka. According to the grant, it was situated in Ketakapadradeśa. The name speaks of the habitation of the potters. It may be somewhere in Midnapore district.

Clay Modelers: Talcher record of the king Śivakaradeva refers to the place Pustariyāpura in Madhyamakhaṇḍa in Uttara Tosalī.[234] The name Pustriyā may have come from the word Pusta =Working in clay, modeling etc. The name thus indicates the village occupied by the clay modelers or the workers in clay. It is not identified.

Conchshell Workers:Place names such as Kumvukīrikshilākagrāma, Kāmverālavishaya and Śaṅkhapura inform us something about workers in conchshell. According to Olasinga pls. of the year 5, of *Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra* Bhānudatta, he donated a village Kumvukīrikshilālakagrāma in Uttamāloka-vishaya[235] to the deity Maṇināgeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka at Chaikāmbakā. The name is composed of three words, Kumvu+Kiri+Kshilāka+grāma. Kumvu may be Kambu=conchshell, Kiri = noise of cutting shell, Kshilāka = small hill, Grāma=settlement of farmers and peasants. The name suggests that, originally, it may be the settlement of conchshell workers, situated on some or near some small hill. In later period it was developed into grāma. The grant was issued from the place named Andhaśruṅga. This place seems to have obtained its name after the blind religious mendicant and may be Andhsubhaikshuka.[236] It can be identified with one of the two places named Olasing in Khorda taluka in Puri district.[237] But the place Kambukirikshilākagrāma is not identified. The region Kāmverāla-vishaya,[238] as mentioned in Russelkonda charter of the king Nettabhañja, year 26, included the donated village Vaṇḍutuṅgagrāma. The name of the vishaya seems to have come from the word Kāmbvika=dealer in shell, maker or vendor of shell ornaments.[239] It seems to be the settlement of the workers related to the sale of shell objects. It is not identified. Place Śaṅkhapura.[240] the third name of this type has been mentioned in Talcher pls. of Bhaumakara king Śivakara III, year 140. As

referred to in the grant it was situated in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya in Uttara Tosalī near some river. It must be a habitation of the conch shell workers and has been identified with a place Sonkhmur in Khamar police station, Pal-lahara taluka in Dhenkanal district.[241] The name Śāṅkhika[242] mentioned in the Nagari pls. of the Gaṅga king probably denotes workers in conch shell.

Weavers: References to Tantuvāya in Talcher pls. of Bhaumakara king Śivakaradeva, year 149, Kumurang[243] pls. of Daṇḍimahādevī and Nagari pls. of the Gaṅga king denotes that a weaver was the well-established constituent of the then society. According to these grants the donee was given the right to recover taxes from weavers. We also have place names implying the existence of weavers. As referred to in Pedda-Dugam grant of the king Śatrudamana, year 9, the donee *Brāhmaṇas* had come from the place Paṭṭuvagrāma.[244] The place may be famous for its silk weavers and obviously for silk cloth. It has not been identified. Two more names denoting the weavers are Paṭṭavādapāṭaka[245] and Paṭṭavāḍapāṭakagrāma[246] referred to in Antirigam grant of the Bhañja king Yaśobhañja and Kapoteśvara temple inscription of Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma, respectively. According to the former grant the donee of the grant had come from Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka in Koṇtarāvaṅgavishaya. The word Paṭa forming the first part of the name denotes cloth and the term Vāḍa, in the second part of the name speaks of the cultivated plot. The name thus speaks of the hamlet of the weavers in garden plot. In the later period it was developed into Pāṭaka and came to be known as Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka. While the place Koṇtarā, chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place Kotarangi and the place Paṭṭavāḍapaṭaka with the place Patapur in Nimpada police station and Kakatpur police station respectively, in Puri district.[247] The place Paṭṭavāḍapāṭakagrāma of the other grant, as the name denotes, was originally, the settlement of weavers situated in the small cultivated plot and in the later period it was developed into Pāṭaka and then into grāma. Its first component Paṭṭa denotes cloth +vāḍa= hamlet in small cultivated plot + Pāṭaka = can be taken as small habitation +Grāma=settlement of farmers and peasants. It was the place of donees and was situated in Koṇtarāvaṅgavishaya. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place named Kotarangi in Nimpada taluka of Puri district and the place Paṭṭavāḍapāṭakagrāma can be identified with one of the two Patapuras in Kakatpur police station, Nimpada taluka in Puri district.[248]

Distillers: Some people were distillers i.e. Śauṇḍhikas by profession and as mentioned in Talcher and Kumurang grants of the Bhaumakara dynasty the donees of the grant were given the right to collect taxes from them.[249] They are also known from the place names mentioned in the records of the kings of Somavaṁśin dynasty. As mentioned in the Patna pls. of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti the donee *Brāhmaṇa* had come from a place Mādhvāla.[250] The name seems to have come from

the word *Mādhvaka* i.e. spirituous liquor prepared from honey. The place is not identified but it must be a settlement of the makers of liquors from honey.

Toddy Drawers: Like the distillers toddy drawers, as the place name Pāsitalagrāma mentioned in Patna pls. of sixth year of the kings Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya indicates, had their own settlement. According to the grant, the donated Pāsitalāgrāma was in Potāvishaya. According to Russell R.V. and Hiralal R.B. toddy drawers and labourers[251] were known as Pāsis. The place has been identified with a place Pointala or Pointil, two miles east of Bolangir in Bolangir district.

Hunters: According to Soro pls. year 260, of the king Śambhuyaśa, donated land was in Sarephāsaṅgagrāma[252] in Sarephāhāravishaya in Uttara Tosalī. The name of the vishaya, probably, denotes the region infested with reed grass and Sarephāsaṅgagrāma may be a habitation of the hunters who used noose for catching the animals. While the chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place Soro, headquarters of the taluka of the same name in Balsore district the hunter's place can be identified either with a place named Saraifapur in Dhamnagar taluka or Sapagaria in Soro taluka in Balasore district.

Bird Catchers: A place named Teturagrāma[253] referred to in Badakhimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman was situated to the west of donated land in Paḍalaśṛiṅga. It may be Taittiragrāma, a habitation of the catcher of bird Patridge. It has been identified with a place named Tintinipalli[254] in Badagad police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district. It comes to the west of Padhala or Patala that seems identical with the ancient place Paḍalasṛiṅga.

Reed Workers: We know of the reed workers from the reference to Vetrakarmaṇi[255] in the Jayarampur grant of the king Gopachandra. A division named Sarephāhāravishaya mentioned in the grants of Śambhuyaśa, Bhānudatta and Somadatta denotes the region infested with reed grass and it implies the existence of the people following the profession of reed workers. The region included the territory of Soro taluka in Balasore district.

Carpenters: Soro pls. of Somadatta, year 15, was issued from the camp at Āmratakshaka.[256] The name seems to be very interesting and can be interpreted differently. The word Amra denotes mango tree and Takshaka is also a name of the tree. Besides, it also denotes the species of snake and means a carpenter as well. We have taken the word *Takshaka* in the sense of carpenter and the name of the vāsaka denotes a settlement of carpenters with mango tree.

Bards: Some people were bards by profession and they had their own settlements. Place named Vandirakagrāma[257] referred to in the Balasore grant of Bhānudatta represents the place occupied by bards. The village, record informs

us, was in Sagaḍhāhāravishaya and it remained uncultivated upto the time of the grant. It was made over to four *Brāhmaṇas* as permanent *agrahāra*. Bards were regarded as descendents of Kshatriya by a Śudra woman. But according to Hārita he is pratiloma sprung from Vaiśya male and Kshatriya female.[258] The term Vandi seems to have developed from the word Vand, Vanda, Vandi means praising. The meaning of the word suggests that originally the place was occupied by the praisers of the king and these may have been descendents of Kshatriya by Śūdra female. As they were Anuloma sons of Kshatriyas, kings, out of necessity, they were given the job of bards whose only duty was to praise the kings. A place Vandirakagrāma, mentioned in our record may be a settlement of bards like Vāndiuri[259] referred to in Bharat Kala Bhavan pls. of Chandella king Madanavarman and identified with famous place Banda, headquarters of the district of the same name in U.P. The place, Vandirakagrāma, however, has not been identified.

Other People: Apart from the different castes referred to above, there were different people as well. According to census report of 1981 there are 62 Scheduled tribes living in different parts of Orissa. Some place names available from the grants of different dynasties ruling over different parts of Orissa indicate the existence of different tribes in Orissa in ancient past.

People in general have been represented in Talcher pls. year 149, of the king Śivakaradeva III by the place named Janapaṅgā.[260] According to the description in the grant it was lying in the north of donated place Suraddhipura in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya in north Tosalī. Rivers and streams surrounded the donated place on all sides. It had Koraṇḍiyakshetra (peculiar species of ducks), Hastināpurakshetra (elephants), on the west, Śaṅkhapura (habitation of conchshell workers) near the river on north-west, Tamālākhaṇḍakshetra (black Khadira tree) on the north-east, Pustariyāpura (clay modelers) near the river on the east, and the place named Janapaṅgā on the north. The name denotes that the place must have been occupied by the people of different castes and professions. It seems to have retained its identity in the place named Jenapada, Khamar police station in Pallahara taluka of Dhenkanal district. The donated place Suraddhipura (Samṛiddhipura) can be identified with a place Saradhrapur in Talcher state, Dhenkanal district. There is one more name of this type. Ganjam pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Pṛithvīvarmadeva informs us that the king donated a village in Ja(no)ravishaya.[261] Originally, the name of the vishaya may be Janauravishaya and it denotes the region occupied by all sorts of people. It seems identical with the place Jenpur in Nuagaon police station of Dighpahandi taluka of Ganjam district.

Devotees of Gods: Some places were recognised after the devotees of different gods e.g. a place Rāgolakagrāma[262] mentioned in Ragolu pls. year 24, of the king Nandaprabhañjanavarman. According to the grant the king donated a piece of

homestead land in the exchange of previously granted *agrahāra*. The place has been identified with the place Ragolu, findspot of the pls. in Srikakulam district. It seems to have obtained its name after its inhabitants who were the devotees of Rāghava.

Kaṅka: There are two names after these people. Hindol pls. of the king Śubhakaradeva record the grant of the place Noḍḍilo in Kaṅkavirāvishaya[263] in north Tosalī to the god Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭāraka. The vishaya has been identified with the region round the place Konkarai on the south bank of the river Brahmani in Jarapada police station in Chhendipada taluka in Dhenkanal district. Behra has identified the place Kaṅkavirā with a place Karavirā in Angul taluka Dhenkanal district. Puri pls. of Śulki king Raṇastambha register the grant of a place named Kaṅkanaira in Goyilokhaṇḍa in Goilovishaya.[264] The word Kaṅka forming the first part of the name denotes Kaṅka people and the word naira in the second part of the name seems to have come from the word Nera=Nivārā=shelter and the meaning of the name speaks of the shelter of the Kaṅka people. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place Goilo in Dhenkanal district and the place Kankanaire seems identical with the place Kankil in Parjang in Kāmākshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district.

Koṅka: According to Dhenkanal charter of the king Jayastambha, the king granted the village Chandrapura in Koṅkakulakhaṇḍa[265] in Kodālakamaṇḍala. The name of the khaṇḍa denotes the place occupied by Koṅka kula. It has been identified with a place named Kankarai in Jarapada police station in Chhendipada taluka in Dhenkanal district. There is one more name after these people. As mentioned in Dasapalla charter of Rāṇaka Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, Saṁvat 198, granted place Koṅkairā was in Ramaṇavavishaya.[266] It may be Koṅkakhedā i.e. the habitation of the Koṅka people in the field or near the field. It has been identified with a place named Konkarda in Patpur police station in Dighpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. These people are also known from the Patna grant of, year six, of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. As mentioned in the record, the donee *Brāhmaṇa* had come from the place Koṅkaleḍḍa.[267] The name may be Koṅkalapāḍā. It denotes the place occupied by the Koṅka people and has been identified with the place Konkanara in Sambalpur district. It may be a place founded by the Koṅka people.

Guha: Undated, damaged and unpublished Ambegaon grant of the Bhaumakara queen Daṇḍimahādevī refers to administrative division named Gahaṅguvishaya[268] in south Tosala. The name seems to denote the Guha people and the vishaya may have included the region around Gahaṅgu in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Bhilla: Ganjam pls. of Daṇḍimahādevī records the grant of a village

Villigrama[269] in Varaḍākhaṇḍavishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. The name seems to represent wild mountain tribe Bhilla. The place has been identified with a village Bealgaon under Hinjali police station in Chatrapur taluka in Ganjam district. As mentioned in Mahulpara grant of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha, the place Bhilvigrāma[270] was situated in Abhaparākhaṇḍa in Antarudavishaya. The place has not been traced yet.

Kola: According to the Taltalai grant of the Bhaumakara queen Dharmamahādevī, a place named Kolāñchagrāma was situated in Talmuravishaya in Uttara Tosalī. The place perhaps denotes a locality occupied by the Kola people. It has not been identified. Antirigam record of the Bhañja king Jayabhañja was issued from Kolāḍakaṭaka.[271] The place Kolāḍa has been identified with a locality named Koolada in Ganjam district and seems to be the place dominated by the Kola people. There are two more place names representing these people. While Sambalpur University pls. of the year twenty-three of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya refer to a place named Kolleḍḍāmaṇḍala[272] Kamlapur charter of the king Mahāśivagupta 5th Karṇa mentions a place named Koleḍāpāṭa.[273] These places seem to have retained their identity in the modern villages Badakarala and Sankarala on the border of Bolangir and Sambalpur district.

Kommo: Ganjam pls. of Saṁvat 198, of the king Śatrubhañja refers to the donated place Komvabāḍagrāma in Baḍākhaṇḍavishaya.[274] It may be Kommavāḍagrāma i.e. the settlement of the Kommo people in the cultivated plot. The place has been identified with a place named Konomono in Chatrapur taluka in Ganjam district. Kommo people are also known from Amoda pls. of K.Y. 831 Rajim stone inscription dated K.Y. 896 of Kalchuri kings Prithivīdeva I and II, respectively. While the former grant refers to Nonallā, queen of king Ratnadeva as the daughter of the lord of Kommomaṇḍala the latter record informs us about the conquest of the Kommomaṇḍala 750 by Devasiṁha.[275] The chief place of this maṇḍala seems identical with the place Komo, situated along with some other places in forested region in Katghora taluka. It seems that it was some forest tribe. The place Komvabāḍagrāma from our sources may also be a place, like the Kommomaṇḍala of the Kalachuri grants, dominated by forest tribe of Ganjam district.

Śavaras: According to the Adipur pls. of the year 193 and 233, King Raṇabhañja donated places, Bṛihat-Sārāigrāma and Svalpa-Sarāigrāma in Urattivishaya.[276] The places, as the names denote were, probably Śavararaigrāma, occupied mainly by the Śabaras and the term Bṛihat and Svalpa associated with the names speak of the twin settlements of the Śabara people. Place named Sarei in Champa taluka in Keonjhar district seems to represent ancient Śabararāigrāma. It seems that when the production of the early Śābararāigrāma proved insufficient to maintain the

increasing population some people left the place and marched forward in search of suitable place and founded a new settlement. They named it, in the memory of their earlier habitation, Śābararāigrāma. In order to distinguish it from the earlier one, of the smaller size, people named it Svalpaśābararāigrāma. Thus, these names point to the migrating activities of the ancient times and also the existence of the twin settlements in the forest cleared area i.e. rāi.

Kokkaṭa: Phulbani pls. of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja records the donation of the village Kokaṭāgrāma[277] in Tulsīdgavishaya. It was situated on the bank of the river Ambāḍa. It may be the name after people and seems identical with a place Kakatapur in Nimpada taluka in Puri district.

Paduma: According to Madras museum grant of the king Narendradhavala place Padumbā[278] was to the east of donated place Taḍeśvaragrāma. It seems to be the settlement of Paduma people. It has been identified with a place Baramba.

Gond: King Kulastambha of the Śulki dynasty and king Devānanda of the Nanda family have been described in Puri pls. of Kulastambha and Baripada museum pls. of Devānanda, respectively, as the lord of Gondramas and in some plate of the Nanda family there is reference to Ashṭādaśa Gondrāma as well. Degaon pls. of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya also refer to the name Gondrāma. The name denotes the region lying between the rivers Śaṅkha and Koel, the other tributary of the river Brāhmaṇī and states of Gangapur, Bamra and Bonai in Sundargarh district.

Māna: Talcher charter of the king Śubhakaradeva records the grant of a place named Aḍḍhendrakoṇāgrāma in Maneravishaya[279] in Dakshiṇa Tosalī. Donated place has been identified with a place Adhaigandi in Narasingpur state, about twenty-five miles south of the findspot of the grant. The vishaya seems to have obtained its name after Mana people.

Māṇḍiḍḍāvishaya : According to the Pettasara record of the king Nettabhañja alias Kalyāṇakalaśa, granted village Peṭṭasarāgrāma was situated in Maṇḍiḍḍāvishaya.[280] It may be Maṇḍikapāḍā or vāḍa, a place, probably, occupied by Maṇḍika people. There are places like Mandar, Mandimera in Ganjam district and ancient place may be identical with one of these places.

Kira: The Degaon pls. of the time of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya records the grant of a village Kiraṅkelāgrāma[281] in Telātaṭṭavishaya by the feudatory named Mugdhagondala of Rāshṭrakūṭa family. The place has not been identified. It seems to represent the people known as Kira. There are places such as Kermailo, Kergava in Raigarh and Raipur district and there may be many more places like these, denoting the settlement of the Kira people, in ancient times. The king of Kira[282] people has been referred to in Goharwa pls. of the Kalachuri

king Karṇa in the list of the defeated kings by the king Gāṅgeyadeva. The Bheraghat inscription of K.Y. 907 of Narasiṁha refers to the lord of Kira[283] along with the defeated kings of Pāṇḍya, Vaṅga etc. *Varāhamihira*[284] places them in the east. It seems that they had occupied some places in western Orissa prior to the time of the grant. In modern times they have been known in Bhopal, Raisen and Sehore districts of Madhya Pradesh.

Sāonta : The names pointing to the Sāonta people are Santonartākhaṇḍa mentioned in Jatesing Dungari grant of the year 3, of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti. The name speaks of the Khaṇḍa occupied by the Saonta or Sāvantas. It has not been identified.

Thus the society of the period under consideration was constituted, apart from four Varṇas, by the people belonging to different professions, low as well as of high orders. In addition, there were people of different tribes as well. Places Janapaṅgā and Jā(no)ravishaya known from the Talchera grant of king Śivakaradeva and Ganjam pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Pṛithivīvarmadeva respectively, indicates, were occupied by all types of people. Besides, the references to donee *Brāhmaṇas* coming from different regions suggest that many *Brāhmaṇas* migrated from other regions were residents of ancient Orissa.

Family life: The joint family system was the practice of the day. Almost all the grants recorded in the charters of the kings of the different dynasties were given for enhancing religious merits for the parents and the donor himself. Besides, grants were also made with the purpose of obtaining happy matrimonial relationship. As recorded in Rithpur charter, the king granted a village Kadambagirigrāma for attaining the blessing of the matrimonial relationship.[285] Some times grant were given in order to acquire the merit of Kanyādāna e.g. Tirlingi pls. of Gaṅga king records the grant of the village Navatulāgrāma in Korosoḍaka Pañchāli to Brahmachāri Pillīśarman and his sister Pillikāsvāmini, well-versed in *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas,* with a view to obtain the virtue of Kanyādāna.[286] Dharmalingeśvara charter of the king Anantavarma, GE. 204, of the same dynasty as above, records the grant of the village on the occasion of Kanyādāna[287] at the request of his brother Jayavarman. According to Parlakimedi grant of the king Vajrahasta, the king granted a village Hossaṇḍi to the son of Erayamarāja, the Rājaputra, on the occasion of Kanyādāna.[288]

Grants were always given by the king and queens were to make the grants with the permission of the king. As mentioned in Banpur grant of the time of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja, real donor of the grant was the queen Kalyāṇadevī, probably queen mother, but the grant was endorsed by the king.[289] Khillingar record of Kalyāṇadevī of the time of Rāṇaka Dānārṇava of Ambavāḍimaṇḍala registers the grant of a village given by the queen with the permission of the king.[290] Some

times king, as the Russelkonda grant of the king Nettabhañja denotes, gave grants on behalf of the queens and princess as well. According to the grant, the king granted a village Vaṇḍutuṅga in Kāmverālavishaya on behalf of his two queens and princess.[291] Grants were also made at the request of family members as well. As referred to in Dharmalingeśvara charter, year GE. 204, of the Gaṅga king Anantaśaktivarman a village was granted at the request of his brother Jayavarman.[292] The instances of giving grants jointly with other members of the family are also known. The king Tushṭikara,[293] as description in Tersinga charter suggests, gave the grant jointly with his mother. The copper pls. charter of the king Narendrabhañja records the grant of two different grāmas[294] given by two brothers to one and the same donee.

Donee Family:The existence of the joint family can also be seen from the records registering the grants to the members of the same family e.g. Rithpur pls. of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman registers the grant made in favour of the *Brāhmaṇa* Dayārya and his eight sons.[295] Madras museum grant of the king Anantaśaktivarman, year 46, records the donation given to two brothers.[296] Grants were, generally given to single *Brāhmaṇa* or to group of *Brāhmaṇas* of different *Gotras* and references to the donees along with the names of their father and grand-father in some grants of the early period[297] and also in the grants of the Bhañja and Somavaṁśin dynasty speak of the prevalence of the joint family system.[298] But the instances of separate families are also known from the grants e.g. Pedda-Dugam grant informs us that the gift was divided into three shares (*vṛittis*) between two donee brothers. Of these, two shares were given to one brother and remaining third was given to other brother.[299]

Honour to Ancestors: Grants were also made in the honour of ancestors. As mentioned in Koroshonda pls., Pitṛibhakta king Viśākhavarman granted Tampoyakagrāma in Korosodakapañchāli with the purpose of obtaining religious merit for his father.[300] Baud pls. of the king Nettabhañja records the grant of Stambhakārakhaṇḍakshetra on the occasion of the death of the queen mother Vāsaṭā Mahādevī.[301]

Marriage Systems: Available grants do not speak anything specifically about the eight forms of marriages mentioned by the ancient sages. But the instances of making grants of villages and lands on the occasions of Kanyādāna referred to above, indicate that some forms of marriages prescribed in *Dharmaśāstras* and *Smṛtis* were prevalent in the then society. As referred to in Talcher grant of Bhaumakara king Śivakaradeva, year 149, king Unmattasiṁha forcibly took the daughter of the king of Rāḍhā as his wife.[302] The description suggests the prevalence of Rākshasa form of marriage and our literary work Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa prescribes this form as suitable for Kshatriyas.[303]

Similarly, the description of the conquest of the Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti in Jatesing Dungari grant of R.Y. 3 implies the existence of the Svayaṁvara[304] form of marriage among the royal families. As for the Gandharva type of marriage we do not have direct evidence showing its prevalence during the period. But, scholars have taken the sculptural representation of beloved waiting for the lover to come or writing a love letter to lover on Muktesvara, Vaital and Rajrani temples at Bhuvanesvara as implying Gandharva form of marriage. These form of marriages, though were recognised form for the Kshatriyas and royal families, society, in general, preferred to have marriages arranged by the parents and performed by the priests. Marriage scenes depicted on the northern wall of Bharateśvara and southern wall of Paraśurameśvara temple at Bhuvanesvara probably speak of the Prajāpatya form of marriage.[305]

A marriage within the caste was the recognised rule of the day. Our sources provide us information regarding the marriage systems prevalent among the ruling families only. Kshatriyas had matrimonial alliances with other Kshatriya families. Hindol pls. of Śubhakaradeva III, year 103, inform us that Tribhuvanamahādevī, mother of Śubhakara was the daughter of Nāga king.[306] Pṛithvimahādevī, queen of Śubhakara IV, as mentioned in Baud grant of the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, was the daughter of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya[307]. Bhañja king Raṇabhañja of Khiñjalimaṇḍala married the daughter of Niyārṇṇava, probably, a Kadamba feudatory of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara.[308]

Intercaste Marriages: Russelkonda pls. of the king Nettabhañja informs us that the grant was given on behalf of the queens Kshatridevī and Kaivartadevī and also the princess Meghāvatidevī.[309] While Kshatridevī, as the name suggests, was Kshatriya princess Kaivartadevī, as the name denotes, was the daughter of fisherman. This seems to be the instance of the *anuloma* type of marriage. Prevalence of this form of marriage is also known from place name. A place Vandirakagrāma[310] mentioned in the Balasore grant of Bhānudatta seems to be the settlement of the bards. According to *Brahmapurāṇa* Vandin is one who praises the king. While some authorities opine that he is a *pratiloma*[311] sprung from Vaiśya male and Kshatriya female some describe him as *anuloma* from Kshatriya male and Śudra female. There must be many more examples of this type of marriages. The sons from such marriages were appointed as bards in the court and they had their settlements as well.

Polygamy: As the available evidence suggests, monogamy was the usual practice and polygamy was also in vogue during the period. Bhaumakara king Śubhakara had two queens Gaurimahādevī and Vakulamahādevī.[312] Of these, the latter one was the princess of the Bhañja dynasty.[313] Bhañja king referred to above had three wives and Nettabhañja, another Bhañja king, referred to in Ganjam pls.

had two wives named Mahāmāyā and Jochchikā.[314] The Somavaṁśin king Bhīmaratha[315] had two queens. Almost all Gaṅga kings had more than one queen and Anantavarma Choḍagaṅga had, as stone inscriptions found at Sri Kurmam, Draksharam and some other places indicate had number of queens.[316]

Besides, according to Bisvarupa Das, the practice of keeping mistress is also evident from Sirpur[317] stone inscription of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta and hundred ladies giving gift for burning of the lamps before the god Kurmeśvara for increasing the life of the king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga must be cuncubines of the king. His minister Daḍḍapānāyaka had also a concubine named Maḍaguḍi Sāṇi Vāsamā.[318] Besides, eunuchs also, as the reference to them among the people addressed by the king in Nagpur stone inscription of Somavaṁśin king Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta suggest, enjoyed respectable position in the society.[319]

Position of Women: We do not have much information about the education of women from the epigraphs of the period found in Orissa. But it seems that the ladies of the royal families were educated and were associated with the administration of the kingdom.[320] The description of the virtues of Tribhuvanamahādevī in the charters of the Bhaumakara dynasty throws welcome light upon the established notions about the virtues of woman prevalent in the then society. According to the Dhenkanal grant, Tribhuvanamahādevī, daughter of Rājamalladeva, apart from hundreds of auspicious signs of sovereignty over the entire earth decorating her body, had mastered all the fine arts. She was the very personification of magnanimity and was modest, full of curtsey and beautiful.[321]

It seems that some queen mothers e.g. Giridevī, the mother of Gopachandra and Bappadevī, mother of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja enjoyed exalted position in the society.[322] Some grants of the Bhañja dynasty mention queens among the officers and people to whom the grants are addressed.[323] Some times queens were associated with the duties related to the giving of the grants. Dasapalla grant of Nettabhañja informs us that the seal of the grant was marked by the queen Jaimahādevī. As referred to in Orissa museum pls. of the king Nettabhañja, the grant was prepared with the permission of the queen[324] and sometimes the grants were communicated to the people with the permission of queens[325] and some grants e.g. Kalibhana, Jatesing Dungari, Ratnagiri, Sankhameri etc., of the kings of Somavaṁśin dynasty refer to ladies of feudatories and officers among the people addressed by the king.[326]

Sometimes the work of marking and affixing the seal to the grant was entrusted to women. While the Pettasara grant of the king Nettabhañja was marked by Vāgulina Vachikā, Ganjam pls. of the same king was sealed by a woman Mahāmāyā and the seal of other Ganjam charter of the same king was fixed by Lady Jachchhikā

from noble family[327] and the seals of many charters of the Śvetaka Gaṅga kings were marked by the queens.[328]

Sculptures of the period help us to judge the status enjoyed by the queens during the period. They along with the king, as the panels in Ranigumpha in Udayagiri hill at Bhuvanesvar suggests, attended cultural show and visited the religious places, offered worship to sacred objects and also watched dance performances. The female servants attended the royal couples.[329] Women writing a letter depicted on the walls of Mukteśvar temple speak of the education of the women of Orissa in general during the period.

Building Activities : Queens of the time took part in the building activities as well. Haṁseśvara temple inscription informs us that Bhaumakara queen Mādhavidevī built a temple of Mādhaveśvara, re-excavated a *vāpi* and established a market near the temple.[330] As mentioned in Brahmeśvara temple inscription, Kolāvatī, queen of Somavaṁśin king Yayāti II and mother of king Udyotakesari constructed a temple of Brahmeśvara along with four miniature shrines at Siddhatīrtha at Ekāmra. The temple was adorned with golden pinnacle and some beautiful maids decked with ornaments were also given as Dārikā to the temples.[331] Chandrikādevī, the daughter of Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima III, built the temple of Anantavāsudeva at Bhuvanesvara.[332]

Female Rulers: The period also witnessed the regimes of no less than six female rulers viz., Tribhuvanamahādevī I, Tribhuvanamahādevī II alias Prithvīmahādevī, Gaurimahādevī, Daṇḍimahādevī, Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī. All these queens of Bhaumakara dynasty ruled the kingdom successfully. Dhenkanal[333] grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī I informs us that she came to the throne after the death of her son Śubhakaradeva III and assumed the imperial epithets like *Paramabhaṭṭārikā, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara* denoting the sovereign status. She was endowed with many qualities of head and heart and as described in Talchera[334] grant of her grandson Śubhakaradeva IV, carried the administration of the kingdom very efficiently. She suppressed the rebellions firmly and for this reason, probably she has been described as to ascend the throne as Kātyāyanī,[335] the presiding deity of Orissa mentioned in tantrika work Kālikā Purāṇa.[336] Pṛithvīmāhādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī II, as known from her Baud grant,[337] year 158 ascended the throne after the death of her brother-in-law Śivakaradeva II. But nothing is known about her rule. Same is the case with the rule of queen Gaurimahādevī[338] who succeeded king Śubhakaradeva V. She in her turn was succeeded by her daughter Daṇḍimahādevī. Kumurang grant of year 187, informs us that she assumed imperial epithets, *Paramamāheśvarī, Paramabhaṭṭārikā, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvarī* denoting the sovereign status. She successfully subdued the formidable and hostile kings by her prowess and secured the borders of her kingdom. During her regime people

led peaceful and happy life.[339] According to the prevalent tradition, she constructed the Śiva temple named Daṇḍiśvara at Jajpur,[340] Vakulamahādevī, second queen of the king Śubhakaradeva V came to the throne after Daṇḍimahādevī. She is described in her own grants and Taltalai grant of Dharmamahādevī as an ornament of the Bhaumakara dynasty.[341] Dharmamahādevī was the last female ruler of the dynasty. As the places donated by these two queens are located in Dhenkanal and Angul[342] region, adjacent to the territory of the Bhañja dynasty it seems that the rule of the dynasty, during the period was restricted to this region only. She ruled about five years. The kings of the then powerful neighbouring dynasties supported the accession of the Bhaumakara queens. e.g. the Gaṅga king Rājamalla must have played important role in elevating his daughter Tribhuvanamahādevi I to the Bhaumakara throne[343] and Somavaṁśin king Janamejaya killed the king of Orissa and helped his daughter Pṛithvimahādevī in ascending the throne.[344] The Bhañjas, as stated by Das, probably brought two princess, Vakula and Dharmā to the Bhaumakara throne.[345]

Women in Orissa, as can be seen from the sculptures in Ranigumpha and Ganeshgumpha on Udayagiri hills, were well acquainted with the military exercise. Here we see the panels depicting women fighting with swords and shield in their hand with their male counterparts. One of the scenes depicting a woman killing a ferocious lion with a long spear indicates that they were good hunters as well. Similarly, the scene representing a group of ten women and a single man fighting, face to face with the herd of three elephants speak of their skill in the hunt of wild elephants. Besides they were good elephant drivers and horse riders. While a panel in Ganeshgumpha depicts a woman driving the elephant with goad a panel in Manchapuri cave represents a woman riding a caparisoned horse.[346] They can also be seen on the temple walls at Konark.

Devadāsī or Dārikā: Available evidence suggests the existence of the institution of Devadāsī prevalent in Orissa during the period of our study. According to Bhañjanagar pls. of the king Nettabhañja, Saptaśata Dārikā Parivāra[347] was informed about the grant of the place named Ataigrāma in Vāsevakhaṇḍa in Khiñjalimaṇḍala. There must be some temples to which seven hundred Dārika families (Parivāra), referred to in the grant, were attached. The donated place Ataigrāma seems identical with a place named Atraipalli in Tarsingi police station, in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district but the chief place of the Khaṇḍa could not can be identified with the place Vasudevapur, Patapur police station Asika taluka, Ganjam district.

Sometimes these Devadāsīs were dedicated to the temple by the ruling kings or queens. Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin registers the grant of beautiful maids adorned

with gems set ornaments as Dārikā[348] to the temple of Brahmeśvara constructed at Siddhatīrtha at Ekāmra by queen Kolāvatī. As mentioned by Bisvarupa Das, during the regime of Somavaṁśin and Gaṅga kings dancing girls were appointed in the temples of Śiva[349] such as Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara, Śobhaneśvara and Madhukeśvara etc. Reference to dancing girls in Gadia Telugu inscription[350] of Nāgavaṁśī king Someśvaradeva indicates that the practice of appointing dancing girls for the entertainment of the god existed in adjacent Bastar region as well. One inscription of Chola king Rājarāja I records the transfer of four hundred temple women[351] from other establishment in Chola kingdom to the king's own temple at Tanjore.

The Gaṅga kings were patron of music and dance. The performance of the music and dance by maidens in the temples had become a general practice by the time of the rule of the Gaṅga dynasty. King Choḍagaṅga made provisions for the maintenance of dancers, instrumentalists, and singers in the temple of Madhukeśvara. Anaṅgabhīmadeva constructed Naṭamaṇḍapa in the temples of Lingaraja and Jagannātha. Narasiṁhadeva I is credited for the construction of the Naṭamaṇḍapa in the temple at Simhachalam and for the appointment of beautiful eyed damsels in the temple. Naṭamaṇḍapa in the temple of Konark was constructed during the regime of Narasiṁhadeva III. He also made provisions for the maintenance of the two flutists and eight musicians in the temple at Simhachalam and engaged eighteen beautiful women as singers and dancers.[352] In the temples they were appointed for singing and dancing at the time of the morning and evening prayers and weaving of the lamps. In some temples they were also to play on the musical instruments, blowing conch, preparing garlands and fanning the deity. Narasimha I, Gaṅga king, donated one hundred beautiful damsels as songsters. In Gaṅga records we find several instances of royal and rich devotees making provisions for singing in the accompaniment of instruments as well as dancing for the deity.[353] It seems that Devadāsis in Orissa enjoyed respectable position in the then society. It is said that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga founded a village named Chudāṅgasahi at Puri for Devadāsīs of Jagannātha temple. They were to perform, in addition to the singing and dancing, all the routine duties in the temple. In local language these were known as *māhāri* and practice of appointing Devadāsīs for the temples continued for considerably long period during the regime of the Gaṅga dynasty. They were looked upon with respect. Jayadeva, founder of the *Bhakti* movement in Orissa married a Devadāsī named Padmāvatī associated with the temple of Jagannātha.[354] But the economic prosperity and social status brought about their degradation in the later period.

Practice of appointing female dancers and singers in the temples has been supported by Medhātithi.[355] Ibn Khurdadhbih refers to about thirty dancing girls

appointed for dancing around the image of god. Abuzaid describes them as the "women of idol". According to Alberuni, about five hundred girls were appointed for dancing and singing before the god round the clock in the temple of Somanatha.[356]

The prevalence of the practice is confirmed by the scenes representing lady dancers and lady musicians playing on the musical instrument on the walls of the temples at Bhuvanesvara in Orissa.[357] These ladies enjoyed relatively good position in the society and some of these, as references to Devadāsīs making grants for the maintenance of the temples had earned great wealth too.[358] In the later period, however, their contacts with the kings and rich personalities made them to neglect their duties in the temple and it ultimately lead to their moral degradation. In course of times they obtained the status of prostitutes.

The institution of Devadāsīs was also prevalent in Buddhist temple at Hajo in contemporary Assam. Itsing refers to girls delighting the Buddhist deities with their dance. As stated by D.D. Kosambi, the Buddhist monasteries situated on the crossing of the major trade routes were given ample grants by the merchants and these monasteries served as great bank and supply houses to the merchants. The presence of dancing girls must have attracted the traders towards these monasteries and made them to grant liberally for their maintenance.[359] We also know of the existence of the Devadāsī institution in the Buddhist vihāra from inscriptions. The Ratnagiri inscription of the sixth year of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa gives us interesting information regarding the Devadāsīs in Buddhist Mahāvihāra at Saloṇapura. According to the grant the king donated a village Koṇagrāma in Brahmeaṭṭhāvisakhaṇḍa in Uttara Tosalī to a lady named Rāṇī Karpuraśrī, daughter of Māhuṇadevī and grand daughter of Udayamat Mahāri, a dancer in the mahāvihāra at Saloṇapura.The region of Brahmeaṭṭhāvisa-khaṇḍa, according to scholars, included adjoining portions of modern Balasore, Cuttack and Midnapore districts. The grant was bestowed upon the donee with rights to waters, lands, pits, barren lands, mango, Madhuka trees, treasures below and above the ground, the various *Margaṇis* and rights to recover *Hast-daṇḍa, Varabalivarda, Chittola, Andharuā, Pratyandharuā, Padātijivya, Antarvasāvak, Visayālī, Adhidaṇḍa, Haladaṇḍa, Bandhadaṇḍa, Vandāpanā* and *Vijayavandāpanā*, future taxes and also *Khaṇḍapālitya*. Besides the donee was to enjoy the grant without any oppression as well as right to all uparikaras.[360] The dancing girl with all the privileges, usually bestowed upon donees, was made, as if, the landlord of the donated village. The grant thus, refers to three generations of dancers in the Buddhist monastery.

Courtesans, as a class were not held in odium in ancient times. The great kings and religious teachers did not look down upon them. Amrapāli, the famous courtesan of Rājagṛiha, as described in Vinaya text of *Mulasarvāstivāda* was the

daughter of Mahānāmā, a rich citizen of Vaiśāli and according to the decision of the members of Licchavigaṇa, she agreed to lead the life of the public woman. Gautama Buddha himself visited her, took meal at her place and gladdened her by his religious discourses. The king Bimbisāra also visited her and *Pāli Vinaya* text tells us that on the request of the merchant he installed her as courtesan of Rājagṛiha.[361] Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa might also have made Rāṇi Karpuraśrī courtesan of the capital city. They were also appointed in the royal courts for the entertainment of the king, Sonepur inscription of the time of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, year 17, refer to *Vilāsinis*[362] living in the Arāma. These ladies mentioned here might be the courtesans in the royal court or of the city. Sobhaneśvara temple inscription of Gaṅga king also informs about the beautiful courtesans who adorned the capital of the Gaṅga king.[363] To have courtesans in the capital had become customary during the period. Vijayapura, the capital of Lakshamaṇasena had a large number of courtesans. They have been referred to by Someśvara as well.[364]

In later period they were degraded to the status of prostitutes. The vague reference to women of loose character[365] in Taltalai pls. of Bhaumakara queen Dharmamahādevī, probably speak of prostitutes. In the same way the description of beautiful white washed houses and living pattern of the unchaste women occupying these houses[366] in Patna pls. of 24th and 28th year of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti indicates that these were probably the houses of prostitutes.

Female Mendicants: We also know of female mendicants from the grants of Bhaumakara kings. The Talcher pls. of the king Śivakaradeva, year 149, records the portion of the grant to be kept for providing Chivara, Pindapātra, Śayanāsana, Bhaiṣijya for ten attendants of female mendicants.[367]

Material Life: In modern times, as described in the geographical work, in some portions of the region people live in very small rectangular shaped huts. Some times two or three huts are constructed in a row. Walls of these houses are made of wooden logs plastered with mud. These huts are generally provided with pitched roof thatched with different types of grass, some of which are deliberately cultivated for the purpose. The big houses are most of the times have the gable roof.[368] It will not be too far to assume that the pattern of houses of common man during the period of our study must not be much different from present pattern. We do not have any place name denoting the houses or material used for the construction of the building in general. However, the temples and other religious buildings assigned to our period, indicate that the use of stones and bricks was known.[369] As described in Dhenkanal charter of the year 110, of the Kara queen Tribhuvana-Mahādevī there were sky licking buildings with white colour in Guheśvarapāṭaka and the city was surrounded by white washed city walls. Besides,

the grant also refers to the construction of various Maṭhas, Vihāras and Prāsādas by the Bhaumakara kings.[370] It seems that while rich people were living in the houses constructed of bricks and stones houses of the common people were of wooden logs plastered with mud and roofs of the grass. The Talchera pls. of the Bhaumakara king Śivakaradeva refers to the portion of the grant to be preserved for the maintenance of the roof of the grass for the footprints of the god (Pādamulasya grassāchhādanārtha).[371] The references to the white washed houses of unchaste women in Patna pls. of 24th and 28th year of Somavaṁśin king Yayāti, referred to above do not tell us anything about the material used for the construction of these houses.

Though places named Kumbhārachheda[372] and Kumbhārapadrakagrāma[373] as well as pans and pots recovered in the excavations at Sisupalgarh[374] denotes the use of earthen pots and pans we don't have any idea about the other material used for preparing vessels used in the royal houses. We get some idea about the other household articles from the sculptures assigned to the Somavaṁśin period. As described by Rath, there are drinking vessels of different sizes, bowls, pots, bags, pedestals, divans, cots, low stools, hand fans, incense stick burners, book rest[375] etc.

Food and Drinks: Rice was the staple food of the period. Place names such as Varukoṇa vishaya, Kesalakagrāma, Kisarakellā, Kesalogākhaṇḍa,[376] referred to in Soro pls. of year 15 of Mahāsāmanta Somadatta, Kesaribeda pls. of Nala king Arthapati, Mahakosala grant of the king Mahābhavagupta IV, Uddyotakesarin, year 11 and Kelga pls. of Someśvaradeva, year 1, respectively, denote different types of rice available here during the period. Of these, the name Varukoṇavishaya speaks of the region producing species of inferior grain *Varuka* and the places Kesalakagrāma, Kisarakellāgrāma, and Kesalogākhaṇḍa speak of the Nāgakeśara variety of rice which is produced in Chhattisgarh province even in modern times. The region of Varukoṇa has been identified with a modern region named Barua paragana, which appears as Baruamahal under Sarkar Bhadraka in the famous work Ain-i-Akbari. Place Kesalakagrāma has been identified with Kesribeda, in Koraput district, Kisarakellāgrāma seems identical with the place Kesarakela in Bolangir district, Kesalogākhaṇḍa, the third place after Nagakesara species of rice can be equated with a place Kelga, findspot of the pls. in Bolangir district.

Kaliṅga region, as described in the famous work *Mānasollāsa*, was famous for the production of the rice. List of the dishes served in the marriage feast, described in the 16th Canto of the work *Naiṣadhiyacarita* of *Harṣa* includes fine white hot cooked rice with good flavour and saturated with ghee, sweet pudding, curry prepared of curd, powdered mustard seeds and chillies, thickened curd made from the milk of she buffalo, round reddish sweet cakes, another kind of round cakes,

sweet balls, cold water scented with Agaru and ice like cold water mixed with sugar. Sweet cakes are also seen in the hands of Gaṇeśa images on the walls of the temples and also in the hands of several figurines depicted on the wall of Muktesvara temple.

The grants given for the maintenance of *Bali, Charu, and Naivedya* also speak of the dishes prepared of rice. According to Rath, the word *Charu* denotes some special preparation of rice, other cereals, and sesamum (Til) etc. It is stuffed with milk and cooked with ghee or clarified butter in the sacred fire after oblations.[377] Hindol pls. of the king Śubhakaradeva, year 103, states that the family of Dānapati should be provided six āḍhakas of rice of the price of four Paṇas of cowries from the half of the income of the village allotted to the god Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka enshrined in the temple of Pulindeśvara.[378] We can say that while good quality rice, supplemented with wheat on certain occasions, was the main item of the food of the rich family inferior variety of grains like Varuka were used by poor people.

Sweetening Articles: Dishes were sweetened with molasses and honey. The place named Gauḍasimiṇilligrāma[379] mentioned in Cuttack pls. of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, points to the production of sugarcane and manufacturing of molasses. Similarly a reference to a place name Mādhvāla in Patna pls. of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti speaks of the place with abundant produce of honey.[380]

Of the spices used in the preparation of the dishes we know only of salt from place names. These place names discussed in the section salt industry imply the use of salt manufactured at these places in the preparation of variety of food articles.[381]

Vegetables: The dishes prepared with cereals were supplemented with vegetables like white gourd. A place named Kumurakelāgrāma[382] mentioned in Kumurakela grant of Rāṇaka Śatrubhañja denotes the place with abundant crop of white gourd at this place. The place has been identified with a place named Kumarakali in Birmaharajpur subdivision of Sonepur district. The dishes were made tasty with Tamarind which was available, as the place names Vakratentalīgrāma mentioned in Vakratentali grant, year three, of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya denotes, in plenty. The place has been identified with a place named Bantentuli or Bantentily in Sonepur district.

Fruits: Fruits, the other item of the food, known here are plantain, rose apple, mango, aquatic fruits etc. Of these, the former is represented by a place named Rasambhāgrāma in Arttanīvishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala.[383] It is modern village Rambha in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. The later fruit is known from two places named as Jambupadrakagrāma[384] in Koroṇḍiyavishaya mentioned in

Bamanghati pls., year 188, of Raṇabhañjadeva and Jambugrāma referred to in Kalibhana pls. of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya.[385] While the former place seems identical with a village named Jamada in Bahulda police station in Rairangapur taluka in Mayurbhanj district[386] the latter place can be equated with a place named Jamgaon situated near Kalibhana near Sambalpur in Sambalpur district. Place named Amratakshakavāsaka[387] in Soro pls. speak of the availability of mango fruit during the period. Existence of the aquatic fruit is known from the place named Singoāgrāma referred to in Cuttack pls. of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II Dharmaratha. As mentioned in the grant, it was situated in Devibhogavishaya. The place can be equated with the place named Singharvahi in Kondagaon taluka in Bastar district.

According to Hiuen Tsang[388], the region of Oḍra and Kaliṅga were famous for the production of variety of fruits. The Vāṭakas mentioned in the grants of the different dynasties[389] descriptions of the city of Vārāddā in Russelkonda inscription of the year 26 of the king Nettabhañja and of *udyāna*[390] in Jatesing Dungari pls. of the king Yayāti II of Somavaṁśin dynasty imply the production of different varieties of fruits. Surprisingly, the coconut, the favourite fruit of Orissa is mentioned in the records of the Gaṅga dynasty but not in the epigraphs of other dynasties. Kālidāsa states that the soldiers of Raghu drank the sweet juice of coconuts in the country of Kaliṅga.[391] While the right of donees over the mango trees in the donated villages in the records of kings of Somavaṁśin dynasty and description of the place Ekāmbraka adorned with hundred mango trees in Anantavāsudeva temple inscription of Gaṅga king point to the abundant mango crop during the period the reference to pomegranate[392] trees on one of the borders of the donated place in the grant of the Gaṅga king adds to the list of fruits known from the place names.

Non-vegetarian food: At least some section of the society had liking for non-vegetarian food. Reference to the right of donee to fish and tortoise[393] in some grants of the period e.g. Kelga pls. of the king Someśvaradeva of the Somavaṁśin dynasty, indirectly refers to the prevalence of the practice of taking non-vegetarian food. Iron fish hooks with sharp, tapering and curved ends recovered in the excavation at Sisupalgarh[394] in 2nd century A.D. to 350 A.D. levels also speak of the practice of catching fish with hooks as well as the profession of fisherman here in ancient past. Besides, the Kaivartas,[395] fishermen catching fishes with net, as the reference to Kaivartadevi in Russelkonda inscription of Nettabhañja, referred to above denotes, were also known. Kaivartas are also mentioned in Nagari inscription of the Ganga king.[396] Existence of both the types of fishermen in ancient times in Orissa points to the practice of taking fish diet in certain section of the society. Besides, the references to Bali[397] in the grants also imply the practice of taking non-vegetarian food in ancient times.

Drinks: The drinks in general use were milk, buttermilk, and juice of fruits and different varieties of liquors. The people in Orissa of our period used wine prepared from fruit juice, molasses, honey and toddy extracted from Plamyra palm and date palm as drink. We know of these varieties of spirituous liquors from place names such as Guḍḍavishaya, Madhuvāṭakagrāma,[398] Gauḍasimiṇilligrāma, Mādhvāla and Pāsitalāgrāma etc. Of these, the first two grāmas are referred to in Buguda and Banpur grant of the king of Śailodbhava dynasty, respectively and the remaining names are mentioned in Cuttack charter, year three, of king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, Patna pls. year eight, of the king Mahābhavagupta I Yayāti, and Patna pls. year six, of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, respectively, of the Somavaṁśin dynasty. While the name Guḍḍa vishaya denotes the region full of Mahua trees. Place Madhuvāṭakagrāma speaks of the place with plenty of Mahua trees and imply the manufacturing of the liquor from Mahua fruits and flowers. The second name referred to above is composed of three words Gauḍa+simi+ṇilli and the first word Gauḍa represents the places busy in preparing rum from molasses. The name Mādhvāla, the third name of the category, seems to have come from the Mādhvaka meaning spirituous liquor prepared from honey and place Pāsitalāgrāma denotes a place occupied by the persons busy in drawing Toddy from Plamyra Palm and date Palm. The seller of the wine, as Pāṇinī informs us, was known as Śauṇḍhika and drinking booth was called Śuṇḍika.[399] The references to the Śauṇḍhikas[400] in some of the grants of the Kara dynasty denotes the seller of the liquor. Thus there were sellers of the wine as well. The places like Duhāgrāma, Gollāvalligrāma, Goulāgrāma etc. mentioned in grants of the different dynasties must be well-known for milk and buttermilk.

Betel Leaves : In ancient times practice of chewing of betel leaves along with some ingredients like areca nut, catchu, lime etc. was most common. Betel leaves with essential ingredients was offered to the guests as a mark of honour. People doing the job of carrying betel box or selling betel were known as Vāguli and also as Vāgulika. Vāgulikas and Vāgulis, both male and female, as some of the Bhañja grants denote, were employed in the royal families for carrying the betel box for the king and queens.[401] Some times they were to do the job of engraving of the charter and also to put symbol on the grant.[402] We have a curious place name pointing to the production of betel leaves in ancient past. Panasi inscription of the year 9 of the Bhañja king Rayabhañja of Mayūra Vaṁśa records the grant of the place Jhāḍatāṁvoliya in Santoḍavāvishaya in Purvakhaṇḍa of Khijinga.[403] The name denotes that the place was famous for the abundant creepers of betel leaves. The place Panasi, the find spot of the grant is in Raruan police station of Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district and the place Jhādatāṁvoliya may tentatively be identified with the place Jhadaghosada while the chief place of the Santoḍavāvishaya may

have given its place to the locality named Santeranti[404] in the same police station and taluka of Mayurbhanj district. Tāmbūlika[405] mentioned in the Nagari pls. of the king Anañgabhīma III of Gaṅga dynasty denotes that there were betel seller in the township as well. Thus there were people who were betel seller and betel box bearer by profession. Rājaśekhara in his work Karpuramañjari mentions five female betel box bearer[406] among the female attendants in the queen's apartment. Curiously, the Vāgulikas are mentioned in the Bhañja grants and the place with abundant betel leave production is also known from their grant recovered from the place situated in Mayurbhanj district, the region where the Bhañja dynasty rose to power.

Dress and Ornaments: Both men and women wore two peace garments consisting of lower and upper garment. Lower garment was tied round the waist with different types of girdles. In the sculptures the gatekeepers are depicted with turban. Some sculptures of the period represent the ladies with lower cloth around the waist and the upper cloth worn like Sari of the present day. Some times the upper part of the body is covered with brassier only. Ladies of the lower class are seen here wearing lower cloth upto knees and upper part of the bodies is left bare.[407] These garments must have been manufactured, as the places named after cotton crop and silk producing trees indicate, of the cotton and silk cloth manufactured in Orissa at different places. According to Kauṭilya, Kaliṅga manufactured cotton cloth of the superior quality.[408]

Both, men and women of the period adorned different part of their bodies with variety of ornaments like girdles often set with gold links and pearl strings, gold necklaces, known as *Ratnahāra, Chandrahāra*, bangles, armlets, crowns and fillets.[409] Angul grant of the Kara queen Dharmamahādevī refers to the necklace of nice round pearls strung in beautiful strings.[410] The Kumurung charter of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī refers to the ornament Mañjirā set with rubies.[411] Besides, they must have used ornaments studded with diamonds and other semi-precious stones as well. As described in modern geographical work diamonds are recovered here in gravel beds of Mahanadi at river island Hirakud in Sambalpur district. Other gemstones are mostly found in geranulite belt of Eastern Ghats in Deogarh – Pallahara-Mahagiri group of rocks of Deogarh district. They are also found in the gravel beds of Mahanadi along with garnet, topaz, and cat's-eye. Orissa also produces emeralds, ruby sapphire, aquamarine, cheliodor, chrysoberyl, alexandrite, moonstone amethyst, quartz etc. in Angul, Sambalpur, Deogarh, Jharsugada, Bolangir, Sonepur, Baud, Kalahandi, Nawapada and Rayagada districts of northern, western and central Orissa. Coastal districts of Orissa do not have deposits of gems. In modern times the state is one of the leading producers of the gemstones in the country.[412] In ancient past the production of the gemstones must have been the monopoly of the ruling authority and only this class must have used the products.

Poor people in the society of the Maurya–Kharavela period must be using, as the reel shaped ear plugs and ear buttons recovered at Sisupālagarh[413] in c. 200 B.C.–100 A.D. levels and 100 –300 levels suggest, terracotta ornaments. Ear plugs recovered here have deep conical ends and groove in the middle. The ear buttons found here in the early period are wheel shaped and have shallow groove round the edge. These have been decorated with rosette pattern enclosed by a plain border. But the specimens belonging to the later levels are perforated in the centre and are decorated with devices such as petals circumscribed by a cabled border, rosette patterns, twine pattern around slightly raised knob etc.

Medhātithi refers to the ear ornaments, anklets, neck ornaments, finger rings, waistbands, leg ornaments wore by the ladies. According to the description of Rājaśekhara, princes wore different ornaments at different times. After bath she wore earrings, rows of bracelets, a ruby encrusted girdles, and emerald anklets but while on swing she had a pearl necklace around her neck, bracelets on her wrist, a girdle with small bells on her waist and jeweled anklets on her feet. All these ornaments can be seen in the sculptures on the temples at Bhuvanesvar as well as on the sculptures recovered at Khijjinga.[414]

Toilet Articles: Among the toilet articles collyrium was most common. While Angul pls. of Kara king refers to the use of black collyrium (Añjana) the practice of decorating cheeks with *'Patrāṅkana'* is known from Talchera pls. and Kumurung charter mentions the use of red dye for feet.[415] The use of mirror, as the sculptures of Nāyikā with mirrors in the left hand and applying vermillion on the forehead depicted on various temples at Bhubanesvar denotes, was known during the period.[416] *Rājaśekhara* in his *Kāvyamiṁāsā* gives detail description of the heroine's toilet arranged by her attendants just after her bath. In the list of the different ointments and toilette used in different seasons he recommends sandal, *aggalochana*, saffron, and musk for rainy season, saffron mixed with bee's wax for lips and fragrant oil for hair and crushed saffron in cold season and camphor powder for summer. Again as mentioned in his work *Karpuramañjari* sandal paste was rubbed to the body at mid day in summer. Incense was burned in pleasure houses in the evening.[417]

Means of Entertainment: The ancient Indian kings were very much interested in music and dance. Expert musicians, both in vocal and instrumental music and dancers were always appointed in the royal court and temples for the entertainment of the king and gods. The persons of high rank and authority were given the honour of *Pañchamahāśabdas* as a mark of distinction. The term *Pañchamahāśabdas* denotes five instruments and as stated in *Lingāyat Vivekachintāmaṇi*, these are Śṛiṅga or trumpet, the Tammata or *tambora*, the *Śankha* or conch shell, the Bheri or kettledrum, and the *Ghaṇṭā* or gong.[418] The honour of playing on these instruments at the time

of going out was bestowed upon feudatory by the paramount sovereign. The feudal chief Raṇabhañja, as mentioned in the grants of his time and Jayārṇṇavu, referred to Kamalpur pls. of the time of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, had acquired the honour of *Pañchamahāśabdas*. Jayārṇṇavu was hailed with the music of couple of conchshell. His golden *Damaru, Trivali* and *Turya* frightened his enemies.[419] All these instruments must have been played as solo and also in the company of other instruments. Talchera pls. of the Bhaumakara king Śubhakaradeva inform us about the practice of declaring the coronation of the king with the sound of *Turya-ghosha*.[420] Jatesing Dungari inscription of the Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti refers to trumpet and flute.[421]

We can see musical instruments like *Viṇa, Ḍholaka*, tamborine or *Khañjari*, flutes with lateral blowing holes, pipes, trumpets, cymbals both large and small, *Mṛdaṅga*.[422] etc. in the sculptures on the walls of temples at Bhuvanesvara assigned to our period.

Place names Tampoyakagrāma[423] and Kolāṁpoṁka[424] referred to in Koroshanda grant of the king Viśākhavarman of the Pitṛibhakta dynasty and Dhenkanal grant of the king of the Śulki dynasty, respectively, probably speak of some musical instruments. The name Tampoyaka may have obtained its name after the makers or players of Tumbaviṇā and seems identical with the places like Tamp in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. The place Kolāṁpoṁka may be Kolaṁbaka= body of lute without strings. It may be place famous for preparing Lute and has been identified with the place Kolambi (23^0 N, 83^0-41"E).

Music and Dance Concerts: Convivial social gathering, as mentioned in Hathigumpha inscription, was the occasion for eating, drinking and merry making, acrobaitcs, dancing and music.[425] The sculptural representations also denote the figures of female dancers and female musicians playing on musical instruments. Dance and music concerts were arranged in the temple. There are male dancers moving their feet and hands in accordance with the song of the male singers in the perforated window of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. The sculptures depicted on the temple of the Somavaṁśin period contain beautiful panel depicting the dance concert e.g. the ceiling of Mukteśvara temple shows a lady dancer dancing in the centre and female musicians seated around her are playing on different musical instruments. In another panel on the ceiling there are five lady musicians playing on different musical instruments. Besides, there are dancers on the walls of different temples as well.[426] There is also a panel bearing the scene of music concert. It depicts a lady musician giving performance accompanied with the instrumental music. As in the previous panel here also the players on the musical instruments are ladies.[427] But in *Prabhāvali* above the image of Pārvati there are heavenly musicians (Gandharvas).[428] Female dancers depicted on the Sun temple at Konark seem to

make movements in accordance to the tunes of the musical instruments they themselves are playing.

Drama: People also liked to watch drama performances. The sculptural representation of the king along with two queens in Ranigumpha of Udayagiri hills at Bhuvanesvar points to the practice of presenting the dramas in the presence of royal household. It was, probably presented, as the reference to the plays being staged in royal courtyards in *Naishadhiyacharita* suggests, in the palace itself. Plays were also performed in temples as well. The famous work *Prabodhachandrodaya Nātakam* by Krishna Misra informs us that the play was staged before the lord Purushottama.[429]

Among the other means of entertainment we have to include dice playing, hunting, catching of wild elephants, wrestling, fighting with sword etc. Vyāghragumpha inscription at Udayagiri assigned to Ist century B.C. or A.D. the name of the donor of the cave Subhuti or Bhuti is associated with the epithet Akkha-damsa. It may be *Aksha darśaka* i.e. one who inspects dice playing. According to Dharmanarayana Das, the expression seems to represent the office of "Town Superintendent of Dice playing".[430] Hunting scenes depicted in the Ranigumpha at Udayagiri, on the temple walls of Mukteśvara and also at Konark speak of the hunting pastime prevalent during the period. In one of the scenes on the Mukteśvara temple there is a scene of hunting of deer by persons with bow and arrow. Hunting has also been referred to in *Naishadhiyacharita* as well.[431] Elephant catching and hunting were the favourite pastimes of rich people in the society. We have a scene on the walls of the temple of Lingaraja depicting the trapping of wild elephants with tamed and trained elephants. Scenes of elephant catching can also be seen on the lintel of Brahmeśvara temple at Bhuvanesvara and Sun temple at Konark.[432]

Wrestling and fights with swords were, probably, popular means of entertainment among the common people. Some panels on the Liṅgarāja temple bear the scene of wrestling and swordfights.[433] In addition, as mentioned in *Naishadhiyacharita*,[434] boating might be a favourite pastime with the people of Orissa.

REFERENCES

1. *IO*, vol. I, p. 92, *l.* 8. Varaṅgāgrahāra mentioned in Baranga pls. of Nandaprabhañjanavarman was also granted to *Brāhmaṇas* of different gotras p. 116, *l.* 6.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96. *ll.* 5-8.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 116, *ll.* 6-11.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 100, *ll.* 8-11.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 101, *l.* 12.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 126, *ll.* 4-7.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 126, *ll.* 5-6.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 98, *ll.* 3-4.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 102, *l.* 7.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 104, *ll.* 2-3.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 106, *l.* 2
12. *Ibid.*, p. 108, *ll.* 2-3.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 110, *ll.* 2-5.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 112, *ll.* 2, 7.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 114, *l.* 3.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 124, *l.* 2.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 122, *ll.* 4-6.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119, *ll.* 7-9.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 131, *ll.* 2-7.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135, *ll.* 8-16.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138, *ll.* 7-12.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 140, *ll.* 11-13.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 143, *ll.* 13-20
24. *Ibid.*, p. 147, *ll.* 23-27.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152, *ll.* 9-12.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 156, *ll.* 1-5.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 154, *ll.* 1-5.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 180, *ll.* 10-11.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202, *ll.* 11-15.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 188, *ll.* 9-15.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 193, *ll.* 7-9.
32. HDS, vol. II, Part I, p. 94.
33. *SED*, p. 720, Col. I.
34. Madhya Pradesh, *CHGFPNI*, p. 319.
35. *IO*. vol. I, p. 182, 183, *ll.* 11-15.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 195, *ll.* 9-11; p. 197, *ll.* 10-11.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 199, *ll.* 7-9.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204, *ll.* 9-11.
39. *RFSD*, p. 180.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 210, *l.* 23.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 216, *ll.* 37-40.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 221, *ll.* 36-37.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 224, *ll.* 30-34.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 265, *ll.* 26-30.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 229, *ll.* 30-34. It is to be noted here that all these *Brāhmaṇas* have the names ending with the term *Svāmi*.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 238, *ll.* 41-49. *Brāhmaṇas* with the names ending with the term *Svāmi*.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 244, *ll.* 48-49.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 249, *ll.* 39-40.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 260-261, *ll.* 51-53.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 213, *ll.* 19-21.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 270, *ll.* 50-55.
52. *OUBK*, p. 4, *l.* 2.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 7, *ll.* 29-30
54. *Ibid.*, see text of the grant.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 22, *ll.* 22-23.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 64, *ll.* 33-34.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 54, *ll.* 22-24.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 27, *l.* 32.
62. *DMO*, p. 28, Nos. 2, 3; *EI*, XXVIII, p. 111. The donee family, as stated by D.C. Sircar, originally belonged to Tillaṅgalabhaṭṭagrāma in Rāḍhāmaṇḍala and the donee of the present grant must have been settled in Orissa only.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 28, No. 5.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 28, No. 6.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 28, Nos. 1, 7, 8.
66. *DMO*, p. 30, No. 9; *JBORS*, vol. II, pp. 396-400.
67. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 113, *ll.* 19-20.
68. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 188-189, *ll.* 26-33, p. 188.
69. *EI*, XXVI, p. 79, *ll.* 27-30
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96, *ll.* 18-23.
71. *EI.* XXXIV, pp. 99-100, *ll.* 22. -32.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-104, *ll.* 18-36.
73. *IO*, vol. VI, Khandedeuli grant of Raṇabhañja, p. 8, *ll.* 22-24.
74. *Ibid.*, A charter of Raṇabhañja, p. 12, *ll.* 20-26.
75. *Ibid.*, Adipur pls. of Narendrabhañja, p. 16, *ll.* 17-18. Sonpur grant of Śatrubhañja.
76. *Ibid.*, Adipur charter of the same king as above, p. 22, *ll.* 20-23.
77. *Ibid.*, Kesari pls. Śatrubhañja, p. 27, *ll.* 15-19.
78. *Ibid.*, Sonpur grant of Śatrubhañja, p. 54, *ll.* 26-27.
79. *Ibid.*, Kumurkela charter of the same king as above, p. 60, *ll.* 2-4.
80. *Ibid.*, Orissa museum pls. of Raṇabhañja, p. 67, *ll.* 18-20
81. *Ibid.*, Sonpur pls. of Raṇabhañja, pp. 73-74, *ll.* 20-25.
82. *Ibid.*, Taspaikera grant of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja.
83. *Ibid.*, Dasapalla grant of Raṇabhañja, p. 94, *ll.* 26-27.
84. *Ibid.*, Baud grant of Raṇabhañja, year 26, p. 100, *l.* 26.
85. *Ibid.*, Baud grant of Raṇabhañja, year, 54. p. 107, *ll.* 19-20.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 114, *ll* 20-21, Baud grant of the same king as above, year 58.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 122, *l.* 29, Undated grant of the king Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 188, *ll.* 20-22.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 193, *ll.* 16-19.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 198, *ll.* 16-20.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 179, *ll.* 19-25.
92. *Ibid.* p. 204, *ll.* 23-24.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 217, *ll.* 14-16.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 240, *l.* 20.
95. *IOTSPS*, Nos. I-V, VII, XII, XIV, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXVIII, Appendix II, IV, Supplimentary inscriptions, No, I, III,
96. *Ibid.*, VIII-X, XI, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXIV.
97. *Ibid.*, Supplementary Inscriptions Nos. III, V.
98. *Ibid.*, No. XV, IV.
99. *Ibid.*, No. XIII.
100. *IOTSPS*, pp. 173-174, *ll*, 4-19. Rupyakāshṭa palas, *l.* 19. It is measure of weight equal to *Karshas* or 320 *Rattis*. *HDS*, vol. III, p. 120-121.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 227, *ll.* 4-11.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339, *ll.* 3-12.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 359, *ll.* 16-26.
104. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 123-124, *ll.* 14-20.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 234, *ll.* 22-27.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251, *ll.* 12-23.
107. *Ibid.*, vol. V, Part I, pp. 7-11, *ll.* 128 f, pp. 47-49, *ll.* 127f.
108. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 244-246.
108. *OUBK*, p. 63, *ll.* 31-32. Kumurang pls. of Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī.
110. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 205, *ll.* 26-28.
111. *OUBK*, pp. 227, *ll.* 28-32 *Vṛishṭikāmanimittaya.*
112. *IO*. vol. I, p. 238, *ll.* 47-46, p. 229.
113. *OUBK*, pp. 4-7.
114. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 17, *l.* 38, p. 27, *l.* 15, p. 15, *l.* 15.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 36, *ll.* 15-18.
116. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 244.
117. *IO*, vol. I, p. 50, p. 230, *l.* 7.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.
119. *IO*, vol. VI, I, p. 270, *ll.* 50-53.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 229, V. 20.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 129, *l.* 33, p. 164, *l.* 18, p. 169, *l.* 36, p. 179, *l.* 39.
122. *IOTSPS*, p. 191, *ll.* 41-42.
123. *IO*, vol. I, p. 102, *l.* 9.
124. *OUBK*, p. 57.
125. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 53, *l.* 18, No. 24, p. 141, *l.* 37.
126. *CII*, IV, p. 472, Vv. 22-23, p. 473, V. 35.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 541-542, Vv. 23-27.
128. *IO*, vol. II, p. 169, *l.* 28.
129. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 159, *l.* 34, p. 141, *l.* 36.
130. *IOTSPS*, p. 203, *ll.* 49-50, p. 197, *ll.* 45-46.
131. *EI*, XXIX, Chatesvara inscription, p. 128-131. p. 130 V. 8, p. 131 V. 12.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 214, *l.* 13.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 273, V. 24.
134. *IO*, vol. II. p. 169, *l.* 28.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 306, V. 16, p. 308 translation.
136. *PBDSI*, App. p. 3, *l.* 26; *EI*, XIX, pp. 100-104.
137. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4, p. 64.
138. *CHOO*, p. 120.
139. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 35, *ll.* 16-18.
140. *IO*, vol. I, p. 172, *ll.* 11, 12.
141. *IO*, vol. I, p. 92, *l.* 3.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 203, *ll.* 6-7.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 174, *l.* 6.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 201. *ll.* 6-7.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 180, *ll.* 1-3.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 212, *l.* 5.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 263, *l.* 14.
148. *OUBK*, p. 35, *ll.* 27-28.
149. *OUBK*, p. 23, *ll.* 3-9
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27, *ll.* 17-23, p. 30.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 35, *ll.* 28-30, p. 38.
152. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54, *l.* 4-14.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 14, *ll.* 9-10.
154. *IOTSPS*, pp. 219-220, *ll.* 3-11.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 305, V. 10.
156. *IO*, vol. I, p. 249, *ll.* 33-34.
157. *RFSD*, pp. 144-145.
158. *EI*, XXIX, p. 217, *l.* 27.
159. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 216, *l.* 8.
160. *OUBK*, p. 64, *ll.* 44-45.
161. *IO*. vol. VI, p. XX, p. 158, *l.* 18.
162. *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 6.
163. *IOTSPS*, p. 359, *ll.* 16-26.
164. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 67, *l.* 18.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 54. *l.* 21.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 190, *l.* 20.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 87, *l.* 9.
168. *HOFETBP*, pp. 16-18, 25.
169. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 89, *l.* 4, 92, *l.* 5, 94, *l.* 6, 98, *l.* 4, 100, *l.* 3, 104, *l.* 3, 116, *ll.* 3, 4, 126, *l.* 2.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 154, *l.* 2, 156, *l.* 3
171. *IOTSPS*, p. 176, *l.* 6, p. 179, *l.* 4, p. 185, *l.* 14, p. 190, *l.* 10, p. 278, *l.* 20, p. 296, *l.* 5.
172. *PBSK*, p. 72.
173. *KA*, pp. 65-66.
174. *PBSK*, p. 72.

175. *KA*, pp. 65-66.
176. *PBSK*, p. 73.
177. *KA*, pp. 65-66.
178. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 123, *l.* 40, p. 158, 24, p. 213, *l.* 37, p. 218, *l.* 34, p. 274, *ll.* 58-59; *IOTSPS*, p. 196, *l.* 19, p. 198, Abstracts.
179. *IO*, vol. I, p. 139, *l.* 8, p. 143, *l.* 17, p. 249, *l.* 37, p. 261, *l.* 47.
180. *SED*, p. 1034 Col. 3.
181. *IO*, vol. I, p. 176, *ll.* 24-27.
182. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 227, *ll.* 9-11.
183. *IOTSPS*, p. 196, *l.* 19, p. 198, Abstracts.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 123, *l.* 40.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 203, *ll.* 52, 53.
186. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 274, *ll.* 58-59; *IO*, vol. II, p. 235, *l.* 41.
187. *Ibid.*, p. 213, *l.* 37.
188. *Ibid.*, p. 218, *l.* 34.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 69, *l.* 44, p. 74, *l.* 47, p. 82, *l.* 56, p. 90, *l.* 3, p. 96, *l.* 51, p. 108, *l.* 58, p. 274, *ll.* 58-59.
190. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4. p. 65.
191. *IO*, vol. I, p. 176, *l.* 27.
192. *IO*. vol. VI, p. 47, *l.* 7, p. 260, *l.* 20.
193. *IO*, vol. II, p. 284, *l.* 35, p. 300, *l.* 36.
194. *IOTSPS*, p. 266, *l.* 35.
195. *EI*, XXIX, p. 188, *l.* 30; *SED*, p. 364, Col. 3, Vaṇiga=Traders, Gotrā=shelter for cows, stable for cattle, stable in general.
196. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 12, *l.* 20.
197. *IO*, vol. I, p. 171, *l.* 7.
198. *Ibid.*, p. 131, *ll.* 4, 5.
199. *Ibid.*, I, p. 137, *l.* 7.
200. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 2, pp. 27-28, p. 28, No. 1
201. *EI*, XXIX, p. 169, *l.* 29.
202. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 113, *l.* 13.
203. *IO*, vol. II, p. 168, *l.* 16.
204. *OUBK*, p. 44, *l.* 24, p. 63, *l.* 31.
205. *IO*, vol. I, p. 163, *ll.* 15-16.
206. *IO*, vol. I., p. 176, *ll.* 26-30.
207. *OUBK*, Talcher grant of Śivakara, p. 44, *l.* 24; Kumurang pls. of Daṇḍimahādevī p. 63, *l.* 31; *EI.*, XXIX, p. 89, *l.* 31. Santiragram grant of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī.
208. *IO*, vol. II, p. 71, *l.* 23, Mātṛichandra of Apurvanaṭavaṁśa is mentioned here as engraver *OUBK*, p. 16, *l.* 33, p. 27, *l.* 33, p. 45, *l.* 38.
209. *RFSD*, p. 188.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 210, V. 13.
211. *IOTSPS*, p. 229, *l.* 41, p. 237, *l.* 66, p. 249, *l.* 64, p. 255, *l.* 75, p. 261, *l.* 73. p. 273, *l.* 62; *RFSD*, p. 142.

212. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 44, *ll.* 16-17.
213. *IO*, vol. I, p. 261, *l.* 51.
214. *IO*, vol. II, p. 266, *l.* 35, p. 284, *l.* 35. p. 289, *l.* 35, p. 300, *l.* 35.
215. *AOSM*, vol. I. pp. 22-27; *CHOO*, p. 186.
216. *IO*, vol. I, p. 256, *l.* 53.
217. *IOTSPS*, p. 187, *l.* 47.
218. *Ibid.*, p. 290, *l.* 77.
219. *IO*, vol. I, p. 116, *l.* 3; *SED*. p. 1213, Col. 3, Siṅghāṇa=rust of iron.
220. *SED*, p. 922, Col. 3. Varāṅga= Cassia bark Green Cinnamon. Its aromatic inner bark is used as spice.
221. *IO*, vol. II, p. 251, *l.* 21.
222. *SED*, p. 760, Col. 1.
223. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 219, No. 70.
224. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 216, *l.* 15.
225. *SED*, p. 1223, Col. 1.
226. *Ibid.*, p. 293, Col. 1.
227. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *l.* 22;
228. *IOTSPS*, p. 241, *l.* 15, p. 278, *l.* 19; *SED*, p. 345, Col. 1. According to scholars these places were named after the Bhañja king but we feel that the places were famous for some sort of fragrant substance used in the preparation of perfumes. Both the places, as the words Pāṭi and Vāḍi at the end of their names denote, were small settlements in the beginning and in course of times became the chief cities of the administrative division maṇḍala.
229. *IO*, vol. V, p. 47, *l.* 123.
230. *SED*, p. 879, Col. 1, Rāla= the resin of Shorea Robusta; *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 161, No. 127.
231. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 210, *l.* 11. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 94, No. 35, p. 95, No. 25.
232. *IOTSPS*, p. 338, *l.* 3. The place Rengarḍā may be identified with the places like Rogada in Surad taluka in Ganjam district or Ronganipatna in Nayagarh taluka in Puri district.
233. *IO*, vol. I, p. 203, *l.* 10.
234. *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 15.
235. *IO*, vol. I, p. 190, *ll.* 7-8.
236. *Ibid.*, fn. 3
237. *DCHB* Puri district, p. 214, Nos. 66, 156.
238. *IO*, vol. I, p. 146, *l.* 18.
239. *SED*, p. 274, Col. 1.
240. *OUBK*, p. 51.
241. *DCHB*. Dhenkanal district, p. 65, No. 56.
242. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 134-136.
243. *OUBK*, p. 44, *l.* 24, p. 63, *l.* 31; *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 131-134.
244. *IO*, vol. I, p. 131, *l.* 7.
245. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 204, *l.* 24.
246. *IO*, vol. V, Part I, p. 47, *l.* 123.

247. *HOFETBP*, vol. I, p. 184. *See* fn. 443 in administrative divisions, p. 216.
248. *DCHB* Puri District, p. 358, No. 44, p. 390, No. 131.
249. *OUBK*, p. 44, *l.* 24, p. 63, *l.* 31.
250. *IOTSPS*, p. 271, *l.* 9. *SED*, p. 808, Col. 3.
251. *TCCPI*, p. 2. Contents.
252. *IO*, vol. I, p. 182, *l.* 11, p. 183, Translation.
253. *IO*, vol. II, p. 245, *l.* 18; *SED*, p. 352, Coi. 2.
254. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 131, No. 168.
255. *IO*, vol. I, p. 176, *ll.* 26-30, p. 195, *ll.* 2, 7, p. 197, *ll.* 3-4, p. 199, *ll.* 2-3, 7.
256. *Ibid.*, p. 167, *l.* 1.
257. *Ibid.*, p. 193, *l.* 6.
258. *SED*, p. 720; *HDS*, vol. II, Pt. I, p. 94.
259. *MPCHG*, vol. II, p. 319.
260. *OUBK*, p. 51.
261. *IO*, vol. II, p. 275, *l.* 8.
262. *IO*, vol. I, p. 118, *l.* 2.
263. *OUBK*, p. 15, *l.* 16.
264. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 2; Kaṅka=people, *SED*, p. 312, Col. 2
265. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 1; *SED*, Koṅka =Name of people, p. 312, Col. 3.
266. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 188, *l.* 16. Kheta-Kheda.
267. *IOTSPS*, p. 174, *l.* 15.
268. *TBKO*, p. 89, No. 7; *SED*, p. 360, Cols. 2-3, Guha=name of people.
269. *EI*, VI, p. 139, *l.* 29; *SED*, p. 757, Col. 3.
270. *IOTSPS*, p. 274, fn. 88.
271. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 210, *ll.* 9-10.
272. *IOTSPS*, p. 343, *l.* 7.
273. *Ibid.*, p. 362, *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 313, Col. 3.
274. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 193 *l.* 14.
275. *CII*, IV, p. 405, *l.* 17, p. 454, *l.* 5, p. 456, V. 5.
276. *IO*. vol. VI, p. 15, *l.* 15, p. 17, *l.* 38; *DCHB* Kendujhar district, p. 123, No. 64.
277. *Ibid.*, p. 269, *l.* 25.
278. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 252, *l.* 18; *SED*, p. 584, Col. 1.
279. *OUBK*, p. 36, *l.* 34.
280. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 172, *ll.* 11-12; *SED*, p. 775, Col. 3, Maṇḍika=name of people.
281. *IOTSPS*, p. 350, *l.* 52.
282. *CII*, IV, p. 256, V. 16, *ll.* 17-18.
283. *Ibid.*, p. 315, *l.* 10.
284. *ISBV*, p. 82.
285. *IO*, vol. I, p. 159, *ll.* 5-9.
286. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 76-77, *ll.* 7-12.
287. *Ibid.*, p. 87, *l.* 12.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 168, *ll.* 13-15.
289. *Ibid.*, p. 255, *ll.* 44a, 44b.

290. *IO*, vol. II, p. 233, *ll.* 15-16, p. 234, *ll.* 24-25.
291. *IO*, vol. I, p. 187, *ll.* 28-29.
292. *IO*, II, p. 87, *l.* 9.
293. *IO*, vol. I, Part II, p. 82, *ll.* 1-4, *ll.* 5-8.
294. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 15, *l.* 16, p. 17, *l.* 38. pp. 153-154.
295. *PBDSI*, App. No. 1, p. 2, *ll.* 6-10.
296. *IO*, Vol. I. p. 98, *l.* 7.
297. *IO*, II, *See* Badkhimedi pls. of the Ganga king Devendravarman; p. 124, *ll.* 19-20. *IO*, vol. I, Part II, p. 169, *ll.* 39-40. Buguda pls. of Śailodbhava king Mâdhavavarman.
298. *IO*. vol. VI, For the grants of Bhañja kings and *IOTSPS* For the grants of Somavaṁśin kings.
299. *IO*, vol. I, p. 132, *ll.* 12-13 text, p. 133, Abstracts.
300. *Ibid.*, p. 126, *l.* 3-4, p. 127 Abstracts.
301. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *ll.* 28-29.
302. *OUBK*, p. 43, *ll.* 5-6.
303. *OSCRA*, p. 92.
304. *IO*, vol. IV, p. 220, *l.* 14.
305. *OSCRA*, pp. 92-93.
306. *OUBK*, p. 14, *ll.* 10-11.
307. *TBKO*, pp. 74-75.
308. *IO*, vol. VI, p. XV.
309. *IO*, vol. I, p. 147, *ll.* 28-29.
310. *IO*, vol. I, p. 193, *l.* 6.
311. *HD*, vol. I, Part II, p. 94. Also see under Professional caste described above.
312. *TBKO*, p. 115.
313. *OUBK*, pp. 57-58, pp. 62-64.
314. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 179, *ll.* 40-41, p. 184, *l.* 37, Ganjam pls. of Nettabhañja.
315. *IOTSPS*, p. 329, *l.* 18.
316. *HO*, Part I, pp. 196-197.
317. *IO*, vol. IV, p. 72, *l.* 13, V. 18.
318. *OSCRA*, p. 91.
319. *IO*, vol. IV, p. 122, p. 119, *ll.* 10-12.
320. *OSCRA*, p. 90.
321. *OUBK*, p. 29, *ll.* 11-13.
322. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 174-175, *ll.* 6-8, p.
323. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 27, *l.* 2, p. 47, *l.* 5, p. 217, *ll.* 16-17. p. 260, *l.* 20.
324. *Ibid.*, p. 159, *l.* 34, p. 194, *l.* 35,
325. *Ibid.*, p. 189, *l.* 39, p. 200, *l.* 40.
326. *IOTSPS*, pp. 213, *l.* 8, 279, *l.* 22, 311, *ll.* 34-35, 356, *l.* 34,
327. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 179, *ll.* 39-41, p. 184, *l.* 37.
328. *IO*, vol. II, p. 266, *l.* 36, p. 271, *l.* 30, p. 277, *l.* 35, p. 300, *l.* 36.
329. *OSCRA*, pp. 81-82; *HO*, Part I, Pls. XVLL, XVIII.
330. *TBKO*, p. 66; *EI*. XXVIII, p. 182.

331. *IOTSPS*, p. 305, *ll.* 13-14, p. 306, *l.* 17, p. 307, Abstracts.
332. *OSCRA*, p. 81.
333. *OUBK*, p. 25, *ll.* 9-17, p. 26, *ll.* 23-24; *TBKO*, p. 73.
334. *Ibid.*, p. 35, *ll.* 9-17, p. 37, Translation.
335. *OUBK*, p. 26, *ll.* 20-21.
336. *OSCRA*, p. 76.
337. *TBKO*, p. 76.
338. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
339. *OUBK*, pp. 63, *ll.* 19-21, *ll.* 25-26, p. 65, *ll.* 21-23.
340. *OSCRA*, p. 77.
341. *TBKO*, p. 78.
342. *OUBK*. Angul pls. Dharmamahādevī, pp. 53-54, *ll.* 21-26.
343. *Ibid.*, p. 29, 25, *l.* 11.
344. *OSCRA*, p. 77.
345. *TBTT*, p. 191.
346. *OSCRA*, p. 82.
347. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 222, *ll.* 16-17.
348. *IOTSPS*, p. 306, *l.* 17, V. 15.
349. *OSCRA*, p. 84.
350. *ICPB*, p. 163, No. 277.
351. *TAIK*, p. 381, p. 397, fn. 154.
352. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4, p. 69.
353. *OSCRA*, pp. 84-85.
354. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
355. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4, p. 69.
356. *OSCRA*, p. 84.
357. Muktesvara temple, Ceiling of the porch, *CHOO*, p. 130.
358. *OSCRA*, p. 88.
359. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
360. *IOTSPS*, p. 312, *ll.* 41-43, fn. 44-49.
361. *AIU*, pp. 568-569.
362. *IOTSPS*, p. 194, *l.* 1.
363. *OSCRA*, p. 89.
364. *Ibid.*
365. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
366. *IO*, vol. IV, p. 191, *ll.* 1-11, p. 200, *ll.* 1-13.
367. *OUBK*, p. 45, *l.* 28.
368. *IRG*, p. 762.
369. *TBKO*, pp. 129-135, p. 152-153; *RFSD*, pp. 198-213.
370. *OUBK*, p. 24, *ll.* 1-2, p. 25, *l.* 8.
371. *Ibid.*, p. 45, *l.* 27.
372. *IO*, vol. I, p. 213, *ll.* 19-20.
373. *Ibid.*, p. 203, *l.* 10.

374. *DMCI*, p. 73; *AI*, No. 5, p. 80, Fig. 5.
375. *CHOO*, p. 131.
376. *IO*, vol. I. p. 199, l3, p. 156, *l.* 3; *IOTSPS*, p. 296, *l.* 1, p. 319, *l.* 9.
377. *CHOO*, p. 126.
378. *OUBK*, p. 15, *l.* 23.
379. *IOTSPS*, p. 259, *l.* 32.
380. *Ibid.* p. 227, *l.* 9.
381. *See* Section Mineral Industries.
382. *IO*, vol. I, p. 60, *l.* 9.
383. *EI*, VI, p. 142, L 27.
384. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 3, *l.* 19.
385. *IOTSPS*, p. 185, *l.* 20.
386. *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 3, *l.* 19.
387. *IO*, vol. I, p. 197, *l.* 1.
388. *OSCRA*, p. 122.
389. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 108, *l.* 8, 140, *l.* 11, 195, *l.* 7, 199, *l.* 7.
390. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146, *ll.* 4-7; *IO*, vol. IV, p. 219, *l.* 4.
391. *OSCRA*, p. 124.
392. *IOTSPS*, p. 168, *l.* 9-10, *l.* 8; *IO*, II, p. 319, *ll.* 11-12.
393. *Ibid.*, p. 319, *l.* 15.
394. *DMCI*, p. 190.
395. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
396. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 131-134.
397. For example Hindol pls. of Śubhakaradeva and Sonepur grant of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya.
398. *IO*, vol. I, p. 216, *l.* 31, p. 255, *l.* 44b; Amarakośa, Dvitiya Khaṇḍa, Guda, p. 34, 4. 27.
399. *IK*, pp. 119.
400. *OUBK*, p. 15, *l.* 18(According to the grant, the donee was bestowed upon with the right of recovering tax from Śauṇḍhika)
401. *IO*, Vol, VI, p. 24, p. 217, *l.* 18.
402. *Ibid.*, p. 189, *l.* 40, p. 194, *l.* 36, p. 200, *ll.* 41-42, p. 217, *l.* 18, p. 222, *l.* 16, p. 174, *ll.* 34 -35.
403. *TOHRJ*, vol. XLI, Nos. 1-4, p. 20, *ll.* 12-14.
404. *DCHB* Mayurbhanja. district, p. 447, no. 88, p. 446, No. 144.
405. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, p. 256, *l.* 132.
406. *HCKK*, p. 91.
407. *CHOO*. p. 128.
408. *KA*, p. 109, No. 37, 2. 11. 39.
409. *Ibid.*, p. 129. *TBKO*, p. 116, Nāga images with plain bracelets, pearl necklaces, waist chains on the walls of the temples of Vaital, Sisireśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Mohini, and Uttareśvara at Bhubanesvara and Vahiraṅgeśvara on the top of Dhauli, rich in sculptures, have been assigned by Panigrahi to Bhaumakara period.
410. *OUBK*, p. 53, *ll.* 8-11.
411. *Ibid.*, p. 65, *ll.* 19-21.

412. *GO*, pp. 250-251.
413. *DMCI*, pp. 145-146.
414. *TBKO*, p. 116; *HCKK*, pp. 89-90.
415. *OUBK*, p. 54, *l.* 18, p. 43, *l.* 6, p. 63, *l.* 21.
416. *See* for example Mukteśvara temple. *CHOO*, p. 129.
417. *HCKK*, pp. 89-90.
418. *CII*, vol. III (Early Guptas), p. 297.
419. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 67, *l.* 9, p. 73, *l.* 15, p. 79, *ll.* 19-20; *IOTSPS*, p. 362, *ll.* 6-8, p. 364.
420. *OUBK*, p. 35, *l.* 25.
421. *IO*, vol. IV, p. 219, *l.* 9
422. *CHOO*, p. 130.
423. *IO*, vol. I, p. 196, *l.* 2.
424. *DMO*, p. 30, No. 9; *SED*, p. 313, Col. 3.
425. *SI*, pp. 219-220, *ll.* 17-18.
426. *CHOO*, p. 130.
427. *Ibid.*
428. *OSCRA*, p. 148; *CHOO*, p. 130.
429. *OSCRA*, p. 148; *CHOO*, p. 130.
430. *HK*, p. 273.
431. *OSCRA*, p. 147.
432. *Ibid.*
433. *CHOO*, p. 130.
434. *OSCRA*, p. 148.

Chapter VIII

Economy

Landed Wealth

Land along with other sources of the economy in the ancient past, was owned by the state and the income obtained from these sources was utilised to defray the expenses of the kingdom, state worship, giving grants to different personalities, rewards to intellectually eminent persons etc. Hence, the primary concern of the state was to have secured and steady income from these sources. In ancient times agriculture was the main source of income of the state and the kings always tried to bring more and more fallow and waste land under cultivation. Most of the kings in ancient times must have granted land and villages, though it has not been specifically mentioned in any of the grants available to us, to *Brāhmaṇas* and religious institutions with this object in view.

Orissa had, mainly, an agrarian type of economy in ancient times. Most of the grants issued by the kings of the different dynasties have been addressed to *Kuṭumbins*, denoting agriculturist householders. Besides, the names of donated villages associated with the suffix grāma also point to the settlements of cultivators prior to the time of grants. As mentioned in *Kāyaṭā*[1] commentary of *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, the colony of agriculturists was known as grāma. The word grāma, as given by *Kauṭilya*,[2] denotes a settlement with hundred to five hundred houses of *Kṛishikāras* and Śūdras. According to *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,[3] it is the colony of the *Kṛṣikāras* and Śūdras founded by their own efforts. The definition of grāma given in *Śukraniti* differs from *Kauṭilya* in the respect of its extension. While *Kauṭilya*[4] opines that it should be extended up to one or two *krośas* the former authority[5] restricts it to one *krośa* only. *Kauṭilya* further informs us that the boundaries of the grāmas should be decided with the help of rivers, forests, dried streams, valleys, dams, and trees such as *Śālmali, Aśvattha, Nyagrodha, and Śamī*.[6] Thus, the references to *Kuṭumbins* and the donated grāmas denote that the technique of the cultivation was well developed by the time of our study. This arable land in the kingdom, as

the available evidence denotes, was divided among the different people in the kingdom.

Royal Land: Apart from general ownership of the land the king owned some land privately. The income from this land was used for meeting the expenses on the members of the royal family. Such lands and villages were named after the kings and sometimes after queens as well. We can divide this type of place names into two groups viz., Names beginning with the word Rāya and names with the word Deva at the beginning. The place names such as Rāirāvishaya,[7] Royarāvishaya,[8] Rāigrāma[9] etc. mentioned in Orissa museum pls. of R.Y. 9 of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, undated Sonepur grant of the king Śatrubhañja of Khiñjalimaṇḍala and Orissa museum pls. of Rāṇaka Nettabhañja, respectively, belong to first type. Of these, the first two names speak of the big administrative units and the last one speaks of village of agriculturists and *Śūdras*, possessed privately by the king. While the Rāirāvishaya seems to have included the territory around the place named Raigoda[10] under Bantala police station in Angul taluka the region Royarāvishaya seems identical with the territory around a place named Rohila[11] in Kanhai police station in Talcher taluka of Dhenkanal district. Ancient names of these places may be Rāiura and Rāipurā or Rāiurā respectively. Place Rāigrāma seems to be ancient name of the place Raiguda or Raipur[12] in Nugaon police station, Digpahandi taluka, Ganjam district.

Other names of this class, as stated earlier begin with the word *Deva*.The king in ancient times was addressed as Deva and his counterpart was known as Devī. The names of this class are Debhogakakshetra, Devagrāmavishaya and Devībhoga. According to Tersinga charter of Mahārāja Tushṭikara, Queen Kaustubheśvarī donated Debhogakaksetra to *Brāhmaṇa* Droṇasvāmi. The grant was issued from Parvatadvāra. The name may be Devabhogakakshetra. The name is composed of three words viz., Deva+bhogaka+kshetra and speaks of the region or area reserved for the enjoyment of the king. The place can be identified with a place named Devabhoga in Dharmagadh subdivision of Kalahandi district near the Tel river valley. The river forms the boundary of the district.[13] The other place of this class, mentioned above, has been referred to in the Purushottamapura pls. of the year 13 of Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman. According to the charter, the donated place Ambagrāma was situated in the Devagrāmavishaya.[14] Devagrāma, the chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place named Degan in Purushottamapur police station in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. According to the Cuttack pls. of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, the donee of the grant had come from Siṅgoāgrāma in Devībhogavishaya in Kosala.[15] The name denotes the region reserved for the enjoyment of the queen. It has been identified with a place Devībhoga in the Bindranavagarh tahsil in Raipur district. Place Sāmantabhukti-

vishaya mentioned in Kama Nalinakshipur charter addressed to the officers of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman also speaks of the region owned by the king. The record registers the grant of the village Badaribhashṭhigrāma in Sāmantabhuktivishaya.[16] The chief place of the vishaya may be identical with the place Sumantapura in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district.

Sāmantas : Some land was owned by the Sāmantas of the ruling dynasties as well. Bamanghati pls. of Rājabhañjadeva records the grant of the Brāhmaṇa-vastigrāma in Brāhmaṇavastivishaya in Uttarakhaṇḍa in the favour of Sāmanta Buḍḍha, son of Muṇḍi Sāmanta. The grant was to be enjoyed permanently without any disturbance.[17]

Warriors : Lands awarded in lieu of the services to the warriors were owned by those warriors. These warriors in course of time turned cultivators and the names of their habitations speak of this peculiar feature. The donated place Taspaikerāgrāma mentioned in the charter of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja seems to be the habitation of this category. According to the grant, the king donated the village Taspaikerāgrāma attached to Uttarapalli[18] that was bounded by the river Mahanadi. The name is composed of four words, Tas+Pai+Kerā+Grāma. The term, as stated by Banerjee is the form of the word Chasās, the cultivators and the word Pai may have come from the word Paik = the descendants of military force of the ancient Orissa. Kerā =Kheda- small village. The additional suffix, grāma, at the end of the name denotes the development of Kerā into grāma i.e. settlement of the farmers and peasants. Thus, the place seems to be the habitation of the descendants of the ancient military force of Orissa who were originally paid from Chakrin or service land enjoying the gift of the village. The place must have existed long before the time of grant. It has not been identified.

Religious Institutions: Apart from the royal families and past soldiers and Sāmantas, some land was placed in charge of religious institutions, temples, monasteries, ascetics etc. These authorities were given grants of the lands and villages with the same privileges as those of the *Brāhmaṇa* donees. Kanas pls., of year 280, of Lokavigraha register the grant of Urddhvaśṛiṅgagrāma in Uṭidavishaya to the monastery of Maṇināgesvara Bhaṭṭāraka at Ekāmbaka. The grant was given for the maintenance of the *bali, charu* and *sattra* at the *maṭha* as well as *Brāhmaṇas* of different gotras, who were students of *Maitrāyaṇiya* school associated with the said Maṭha.[19] Olsinga charter, year 5, of Mahāsāmanta and Mahāpratihāra Bhānudatta refer to the grant of Kambukṛikshilākagrama in Uttamālokavishaya to the deity Maṇināgeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka of Ekāmbaka and the *Brāhmaṇa* students of the *Maitrāyaṇiya* school of *Yajurveda* residing in the *maṭha* attached to the said deity. The land in the gift village is stated to have remained previously uncultivated.[20]

According to Paudagadh inscription of the time of Nala king Skandavarman the king constructed a temple of Vishṇu and gave some donation for the worship of the god and for the maintenance of the Sattras for *Brāhmaṇas* and ascetics. The grant was tax-free and was to be enjoyed without any disturbance permanently.[21] Hindol pls. of Bhaumakara king Śubhakaradeva, year 103, registers the grant of the village Noḍḍilogrāma in Kaṅkavirāvishaya to the god *Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka* enshrined in the temple of Pulindeśvara, built by Pulindarāja. The income from the village was to be utilised for offering ablution, sandal paste, flowers, incense, lamp, *bali, charu*, and oblation to the god and also for the repairs of the temple and maintenance of the servants in the temple. Besides, Śaiva ascetics, were to get free meal, garments and medicines against malady and the family of *dānapti* was to be provided everyday with six *āḍhakas* of husked rice at the cost of four *paṇas* of *cowries* from the same. The donee was to collect all the taxes from all the sources of income of the village.[22] Patna museum pls. of the Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, (year 22) records the donation of the Vāhiravāḍa in Dakshiṇapāli in Khiñjalimaṇḍala by Vidyāmahādevī, wife of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja to Vijayeśvara with all the rights to hidden and unhidden treasure.[23] According to Indian museum pls. of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman, queen Śrī. Elā, wife of Gaṅgasvayambhu, granted some portions of land in Bheṭhiśṛṅgagrāma and Paduṇigrāma in Paḍaṇikhaṇḍavishaya with rights to treasures, separately, to Śrī Lokamādhava and Svayambhukeśvara and to *Brāhmaṇas*.[24] As mentioned in Sonpur pls. of the time of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya the Kamalavaṇavaṇikasthāna made over the village Gottaikelāgrāma they received from the king to the temples of gods Keśava and Aditya-bhaṭṭāraka, for meeting the cost of *bali, charu, naivedya* and repairs to the temples.[25] Banpur pls. of the king Indraratha of the same dynasty records the grant of the village Laghukumbhī in Saghṛtakhallākhaṇḍa in Thorāṇavishaya Koṅgodamaṇḍala to the goddess Khadiravaṇi–bhaṭṭārikā maintenance of the *bali, charu, naivedya* with all the rights and privileges.[26] Kings of the later Gaṅga dynasty also made similar grants to the temples.

Ascetics: Sometimes grants were also made to ascetics e.g. Banpur charter of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja alias Mānabhita records the grant of three *Ṭimpiras* of land situated in the place Suvarṇṇaraloṇḍi in Thoraṇavishaya and two Ṭimpiras of land in the place Madhuvāṭaka attached to Raṇḍāsimā in the favour of the *eka śāṭa Prabuddhachandra*, disciple of *Arhaḍāchārya Nāsichandra*, probably for the maintenance of *bali, charu* and *sattra*, in some religious institution. The donor of the grant was queen Kalyāṇadevī. The grant was to be enjoyed by the donee without any disturbance till his death.[27] Dharmalingeśvara temple inscription of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Devendravarmā informs us that the king made the grant of the village Haḍuvaka in Pushyagiripañchālivishaya to his preceptor Pataṅga Śivāchārya on the occasion of taking Dikshā.[28]

Buddhist Institutions: We also know of the grants made in the favour of the Buddhist institutions. Jayarampur pls. of the king Gopachandra register the grant of Śvetavālikāgrāma in Śvetavālikāvithi to the Āryasaṁgha for the construction of *vihāra* at the *Mahāvihāra* of Bodhipadraka where the image of Ārya Avalokiteśvara was installed. The expenses incurred for the maintenance of *bali, charu*, worship of the deity as well as the Āryabhikshusaṁgha was also to be defrayed from the grant. The residents of the village were ordered by the king to pay usual share of the produce and other income to *dharma-saṁgha*. Grant was made by Mahāsāmanta Acyuta. It was free from all taxes. But the donee was required to pay fixed amount of one hundred *aripiṇḍaka churṇika* annually.[29] Talcher pls. of the year 149, of the king Śivakaradeva of the Baumakara dynasty donated the village Kallāṇi in the Purvvarāshṭravishaya in Northern Tosalī to the god Buddhabhaṭṭāraka enshrined in the temple built by Amubhaṭṭaka. The income of the grant was to be utilised for the same items as above and the donee was endowed with the same privileges as those mentioned in the previous grant referred to above.[30]

Brāhmaṇa Donees: Majority of the grants of the period were bestowed upon the *Brāhmaṇas* along with all the privileges and rights to be enjoyed by them. They were exempted from paying taxes and from the entry of *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas*. They had the rights to minor and major treasures of the places and were to enjoy the grants perpetually. Villagers were asked to obey the donee *Brāhamaṇas* and to pay the taxes due to king to the donees and sometimes they were endowed with the right to recover the additional taxes from weavers, brewers, cowherds etc.

Thus, the cultivable land of the region was divided among the royal family, Sāmantas, religious institutions, ascetics and the *Brāhmaṇas*. All these members must have cultivated the land with the help of the professional farmers who have been referred to in many of the grants of the period as *Kuṭumbins*. While many of these farmers may be cultivating their fields independently some may be cultivating the fields of others with their own implements on the contract of giving fixed share of produce to the owner of the land and were known as *kulas*. Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra[31] in Olāśramavishaya referred to in Baud pls. of the year 60 or 70, 5 of the Bhañja king Nettabhañja, Milupāḍikhaṇḍakshetra referred to in Sonpur pls. of the king Śatrubhañja[32] and Kurukulokhaṇḍakshetra[33] mentioned in Orissa state museum pls. of the king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti of Somavaṁśin dynasty were perhaps, this type of cultivators. Of these names, the name Stambakāra and Kurukula indicate that they were cultivating the land on the contract basis. The name Milupāḍī, probably speaks of the group of the hamlets looking after cultivation jointly.

Apart from the donations of the habitations of the cultivators, the kings also created new habitations by giving the villages and lands as *agrahāra* to the *Brāhmaṇas*.

The majority of the grants, as we have seen earlier, of the Māṭharas, the Vāśishṭhas and Pitṛibhakatas of Kaliṅga inform us about the new villages established by creating *agrahāras*, usually in the favour of the learned *Brāhmaṇas* and rarely in the favour of the traders and traders community. The Vaiśyāgrahāra[34] referred to in the grant of the Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava speak of the practice of creating such *agrahāras* prevalent in the kingdom of the Gaṅga dynasty. The farmers of these newly created habitations were asked to pay to the donees all sorts of dues paid up to the time to the king.

Royal Officers : Besides, lands were also offered to royal officers of the high rank in turn of their services rendered to the government. The village or number of villages granted to these officers were known as *bhoga* and the officer was known as *Bhogin*. The officer enjoying more then one *bhoga* was known as *Bṛihadbhogin*. The village Bhogapāṭaka mentioned in the Bishamagiri grant of the king Indravarman of the Śvetaka Gaṅga dynasty was under the enjoyment of the officer *Bṛihadbhogin*.[35] These *Bhogika* officers in the early period worked in different capacities. Sometimes they were made in charge of the administration of the city or Pura e.g. the donee *Brāhmaṇa* of the Sṛuṅgavarapukoṭa grant of the king Anantavarman of the Vaśishṭha kula was the *Bhogika* of Achanṭapura[36] and *Bhogika Boḍhudeva*[37] of the Koroshonda pls. of the Viśākahavarman acted as the executor of the grant while the king Hastivarman of the Gaṅga dynasty made the grant of the village Rohaṅki in Varāhavarttini at the request of *Bhogika Buddhamañchī*.[38]

The rivers such as Mahanadi, Brahmani, Vaitarani, Suvarnarekha, Tel, Rishikulya, Vansadhara and their tributaries water the region. Large portion of this region is hilly. As the different organic elements in water and on mountains and hills are responsible for the different grades of fertility of the land the soil here shows different varieties such as rich deltic alluvial soil in the eastern part of the Ganjam district, Lateritic soil extended from Ganjam Khondmal district boundary to north-eastern corner of Dhenkanal district, very small eastern patch of Keonjhar district and large area of the western part of the Bolangir and Sambalpur districts, red soil covers the table land in the Mahanadi and Tel basin as well as whole of the northern portion of the Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh districts. There are two regions with brown soil, one in the north-east of Hirakund reservoir stretching over to the area of Sambalpur district and the other is found in Baliguda subdivision in Khondmal that is covered with thick reserve forest. Black cotton soil is found in patches on both sides of the river Mahanadi in Athmalik, Angul, Rairakhol, Baud and Sonepur divisions. According to the geographers, the lateritic soil is not suitable for agriculture, red soil is poor for plant life and the region covered with brown soil is covered with dense bamboo forest and various species of trees of moist deciduous forest and black cotton soil is suitable for the cultivation of rabi crops

like wheat and pulses.[39] Let us now turn to the place names revealing the nature of the soil.

Wavy Surface : Some names available to us indicate regions and places with wavy surface. While place named Chhavalakkhayagrāma denotes the place with folds of earth here and there and is represented by the place named Chailu in Purushottampur police station in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district the names like Veṇḍāhāravishaya, Veṇḍuṅgavishaya etc. speak of the region in Mayurabhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, and Sundargarh district with wavy earth surface.[40]

Dissected Surface: Places such as Tamataḍāgrāma, Nanūṇichaḍḍā, Nānvakhaṇḍavishaya,[41] speak of the places with dissected earth and regions where the cultivable land was not available in one peace. Of these names, the first one denotes the place with dissected earth surface. It is not identified. The place Nanūṇichaḍḍā seems to speak of the place with small-detached hamlets situated to the north of donated village Hossaṇḍigrāma. Originally, the name may be Nānuṇicheḍḍapāḍa i.e. the village divided into small parts and seems identical with a place Chanchadpalli in Nugaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. The third name points to some region in Ganjam district divided into small pieces, may be due to hills. It has not been identified.

Low Level : There are places situated in low levels and in this group we have to include the places such as Nivināgrāma, Khollāda, Nivaṇḍāgrāma and Nimunāvishaya.[42] Of these the first two names represent the places situated in the low level in Ganjam district the third one speaks of the place in Raipur district and the last one denoting the low lying region has not been identified. As these places and the regions were situated in the low lying region arable land available here may not be very large.

High Level : In contrast to the places situated at low level there were places like Aropaḍāgrāma, Uchisamagrāma[43] etc. denoting the villages situated on high ground. Both these places are known from the Lingaraja temple inscriptions of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. Of these, the first place name may be Arohapāḍagrāma and seems identical with Arapada in Balipatana police station in Bhubanesvara taluka in Puri district. The latter place however, has not been identified.

Stony Surface : There are places like Prastaravāṭaka, denoting stony earth and Baraḍakhaṇḍavishaya[44] indicating the regions with hard earth. While first name represents the place with stony surface in Kalahandi district the other place is identified with a place in Ganjam district. Curiously, the Tersinga pls. mentioning the first name of the group refers to the grant of the piece of follow and stony land (*Prastarakshetra mukha*) along with village Prastaravāṭaka that supports our interpretation of the name.

Sandy Region : Place named Svetavālikāgrāma in Śvetavālikāvīthi[45] speaks of the sandy grāma in the sandy region in Balasore and Cuttack districts of Orissa.

Muddy Places: Normally the muddy deposits which cover the earth in the rainy season disappear along with the rains but it is not so with some places. The rainwater here dose not flow away easily and completely but is soaked in the earth itself. Place names like Chikkhlikāgrāma, Ḍelaḍelīgrāma[46] etc. represent such muddy places in Kanker taluka in Bastar district and in Bolangir district of Orissa, respectively. The soil here may be wet and sticky and had high moisture retaining capacity.

Dusty Places : Along with the wet places we have to take the cognisance of the dusty places as well. There are two names, Phaṁsurāvishaya and Tali, mentioned in the grant of the Bhañja king and Somavaṁśin king respectively, in this group. While the name Phaṁsarāvishaya or Pāṁsurāvishaya denotes the region with dusty earth the place named Tāli speaks of the locality with dusty earth.[47] The former place seems to include some region round the place Panasi in Raraun police station in Karanjia taluka in Mayurbhanj district and the name Tali corresponds to the name Tala on the confluence of the rivers Manyari and Seonath in Bilaspur district.

Salty Soil : The places representing the soil of this type are Saloṇapura, Salavaṇikāgrāma, Loṇḍakakhaṇḍakshetra in Olāśṛṅgavishaya[48] etc. Of these, the first one mentioned in the Neulapur grant of the Kara king Śubhakaradeva retained its identity in the modern place named Salonapura situated in Balasore district, the second place referred to in Gautami grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king can be identified either with a place named Solabandha or Salabana in Ganjam district and the third place known from the Baud grant of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Nettabhañja is identified with the place Ramudi. It may be a place with salty water and paying some amount of salt as revenue. While the first two names represent the places with salty soil the third one denotes the place with salty water.

Different Types of Land : Descriptions of the donated villages in the epigraphs of some of the kings inform us about the types of land such as Sagarttoṣara (land with pits and dry barren land), Sajalasthala (marshy land), Śunyakshetram (cultivable waste-land, Prastaramukhakshetra (rocky or stony land) etc. situated in the donated villages.

Terms Denoting Cultivated Land : The names referred to above speak of the nature of the soil as well as give us some idea about available arable land. We have the term Chirkhilaśunya for cultivated land in Kanas pls. of Lokavigraha and Soro pls. of Somadatta. The cultivated field is generally denoted by the term Kshetra-Kheta e.g. Ragolu pls. of 26th year of Pitṛibhakta king Nandaprabhañjanavarmā inform us that the donated land was situated between the two Viprakshetras, and

amidst the plots of land known as, Sthāvarakakshetra, Kauchhalikanummika-kshetra, Śankarāryakshetra Dharmmapaṭṭakshetra and Karaṇḍaka-kshetra.[49] These names denote the fields of different persons as well as the field owned by some religious institution. Besides, we have two types of places named after the agricultural operations viz., (1) names beginning with the word showing particular feature of the place and (2) names implying joint cultivation. Curiously, the names in both these groups have the double suffix *Khaṇḍakshetra* and in order to distinguish the field cultivated by different persons and group of persons from one another they have been named after some peculiar features of the places. While the place names like Kālañjarakhaṇḍakshetra[50] and Valkākhaṇḍakshetra[51] denoting field with Kālañjara trees and with some species of trees famous for their barks, respectively, belongs to the first group the names Milupāḍikhaṇḍakshetra,[52] Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra,[53] Kuḍukulokhaṇḍakshetra[54] have to be included into other group. These three names after the cultivated fields imply the agricultural activities undertaken jointly by the group of hamlets and group of persons either the members of the same profession or by the members of the same family. These are all donated places and speak of the joint agricultural activities of the people living at these places long before the time of the grant.

Agriculture is a co-operative industry and the residents of the places must have cultivated fields here with joint efforts. As stated by Kauṭilya, agricultural operations required the services of the persons with the knowledge of different sciences, like the science of tracing underground water, plant cultivation, proper selection and storing of seeds, rainy and sowing period, choosing auspicious time for ploughing and sowing operations, etc. related to agriculture. Lastly, we cannot forget the labourers who actually do the ploughing and sowing. Besides, the skilled artisans like carpenters, blacksmiths, herdsmen, basketmakers, ropemakers etc. who have good knowledge of the implements required by the farmers also play important role in the agricultural activities by providing all essential implements. In order to protect the crop from the swarms of pests, mice etc. ancient farmers must have taken the help of the fowlers, snake catchers and hunters as well.[55] All these people may be living near the fields. While the Milupāḍikhaṇḍakshetra seems to represent the place occupied by the farmers living in separate hamlets near the fields Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra and Kurukulokhaṇḍakshetra may be denoting the places dominated by the Stamabkāras and members of the Kuru family, respectively, with a good knowledge of the science of agriculture and must have employed other workers and artisans, living in the same place and also from neighbouring places to work for them. The place Vapbhumigrāma[56] mentioned in the Antirigam pls. of the king Yaśobhañja, is a place of the donee. The word Vapa forming the first part of the name donotes cultivated field and the name thus speaks

of the village with no land uncultivated. It has been identified with a place named Boppangi in Chatrapur taluka of Ganjam district. The word Kshetra, in course of time, was turned into Kheṭa. The only place name ending with the word Kheṭa, available to us, is Ullakheṭa.[57] It has been referred to in the Mahakosala Historical Society pls. of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II Udyotakesarin. The place was famous for the bird owl.

Agricultural implements: Sickles, hoes, plough etc. were the favourite implements used by the cultivators of the ancient Orissa. Iron sickles and hoes recovered in excavation at Sisupalgarh[58] suggest the use of these implements in agricultural operations. Sickles recovered here are with curved blades and hoe which is useful for removing weeds, thorns, and stones is with broad cutting edge, and circular tang.

The implement has been mentioned by *Pāṇinī* and *Patañjali* as *Stambaghna*.[59] It has also been mentioned in *Daṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa* of Balarama Das.[60] According to old Bengali literary work plough, cleaver, sickle etc. were common agricultural implements used in ancient Orissa.[61] Plough, the most common and important agricultural implement was quite well-known in ancient times and has been referred to in literary records from *Vedic* times to the Gupta period. The *Lāṅgala* mentioned in *Vedic* literature has lance pointed share and a well smoothed handle. According to *Jātakas*, the ploughshare was made of iron and the pole was of wood and a pair of oxen was yoked for drawing the plough. Sometimes, the land was ploughed with thousands of ploughshares and *Hala*, *Kulliya*, and *Nāṅgala* were the types of ploughshares. *Pāṇinī* refers to it as *hala* and *lāṅagala* and *hali* was the large plough. It was known as *Jitya* too. He further informs us that the plough was made of three parts; long wooden pole known as *īshā*, central portion called *potra* and *kuśi* or ploughshare fitted in *potra*. It was made of iron (*ayovikāra*). Terms like *apahala, apasira or apalāṅgala* suggest that each farmer was not expected to have its own plough. Agriculture became an important department of the government under the supervision of the special officer well-versed in the subject during the Maurya period. Normally, a pair of bullock was used for ploughing but, as referred to by Megasthenes, elephants were also used for the purpose. The implement is also known from the literary works such as *Gāthāsaptaśati, Milindpañha* and Tamil literature.[62] As mentioned in the work of *Sarala Mahābhārata* of fifteenth century, plough yoked with bullocks was the common implement of cultivation of the period. Sarala Das was himself a cultivator and was ploughing the land with wooden plough.[63]

Irrigation : Irrigation plays important role in the agricultural activities. There are two types of irrigation, viz, Flow and Lift. While the former system includes canals, the later method includes tanks and wells. Orissa peasants in ancient times

depended, apart from seasonal rainfall, upon the artificial irrigation. They knew the technique of irrigating the fields from, at least, the times of the king Khāravela. Hathigumpha inscription[64] of the king informs us about the existence of 300 years old canal constructed during the regime of the Nanda king in Orissa. Khāravela seems to have extended this canal upto the Kaliṅganagarī by spending 35 lakhs of "rupees" for the construction of the canal and roads.[65] Water of this canal may have been used for irrigating the fields. Besides, channels, streams, rivers, tanks, wells, ditches and trenches filled with water from mountains etc. mentioned as forming the boundaries of many of the granted villages and lands mentioned in the charters of the period may have been used for the irrigation purposes. While some of the donated places were surrounded with rivers, streams or tanks on all sides some places had these water sources on more than one border e.g. Ragolu pls. of the king Nanadaprabhañjanavarma refers to Karañjataṭāka, moat, deep ditches, drain from well (*vāpipālya*), bridges for crossing the ditches, Leni nadi and trenches filled with water from mountain on different borders of the donated *agrahāra*.[66] Nivina pls. of the Śailodbhava king refers to the Joḍapapḍivanarāi, Joḍavanarāi and Pavadisilāgādi on the east-west and south of the donated village Nivinā.[67] Hindol pls. of the Bhaumakara king informs us that place Noḍḍilogrāma in Kāṅakvirāvishaya was bounded on the north-east by Dhānyamadajoṭa, on the east by Śṛigālajoṭa and on the north by Gaṅgeṭijoṭa.[68] Talcher pls. of the king Śivakara describes that donated village Kallāṇigrāma had Joṭa on its east and Kavaḍejoṭa on its south-east. Other Talcher grant of the same king refers to the Sumeyi river on the north-east, Devālayajoṭa on the east, river on south and south-east, river on the west and north-west of the donated village Suraddhipura.[69] Coming to the grants of the Gaṅga dynasty we have description of the streams running on the south and west of the donated village Kariyachheda in Mādhokhaṇḍakshetra in Paḍalaśṛṅgagrāma.[70] Pherava grant of the same dynasty as above states that the village Pheravāgrāma in Lohaśṛṅgaravishaya had dry bed of the river on its south, Meghāvati river on the north, Kodrava channel on the south and pits on north-east.[71]

Tanks : Now we come to tanks situated on different sides of the donated lands and villages. While some places like Haḍuvaka in Pushyagiripañcāli had taṭāka on one of its sides, some places e.g. Tālaathera had line of taṭāka on one of its sides. Bhasaṇḍāgrāma in Sāmantabhukti had Sara on its west and Pushkariṇi on its east.[72] Some times the donated village had tanks on three sides. e.g. Salavaṇikagrāma in Hembakamatambavishaya, as mentioned in Gautami pls. of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman had Kosaṁvataṭāka and Udayataṭāka on its east, south and north.[73] Water from these sources was taken by means of channels. The terms Pāli, Pālisimā and Ali[74] mentioned in the Ragolu pls. referred to above, and Kamanalinakshapur pls. and Dharmalingeśvara grants, respectively, speak of

use of channel irrigation during the period. For holding the water peasants had raised embankments known as *bandha* along the water and villages were donated along with these *bandhas*. Kumurang grant of the Bhauma queen Daṇḍimahādevī refers to the donation of the Kāleśvara with *Sottrabandha, Samudrakarabandha* and bridge on its east[75] of the village. Bhañja king Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, his Orissa museum pls. informs us, constructed reservoir and it was known as Ranabhañjavandha.[76] The donee had the right to open the sluice of *Udakabandha.*[77]

As mentioned in the Mahābhārata by Sarala Das (15th century), Oriya kings constructed canals, tanks and wells for drinking as well as for irrigation purposes. Madalpanji of 16th century A.D. also refers to kings busy in the constructing canals and tanks for irrigation.[78] We feel that these references speak of the continuation of the practice of irrigation prevalent here in ancient past.

It seems that the ancient cultivators, followed the flow irrigation method for taking water from rivers and streams and they may have used lift irrigation system for taking water from tanks and trenches situated at different levels. There are two modes of lift irrigation. While in the first mode the water is lifted with earthen pot or bucket attached to crossbar tied to bamboo pole and poured into the pipe of the hollowed trunk of the palm tree directed to the fields in the second method water is scooped with the help of sort of basket of split bamboo.[79] Peasants of Orissa may have followed both these methods.

As was usual with the early farmers the cultivators here used cowdung, waste from the cowshed, remains from the crops as manure for the field. Besides, as described in Orissa District Gazetteer of the Puri district the people here knew the use of oil cake of Neem, Mahua and castor as manure for the field. The practice of shifting cultivation and burn method prevalent in the hilly areas of Koraput, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh districts may have provided ash as manure in the fields. As mentioned in the literary work *Kanhavachana*, dated to 6th century A.D., ash was used in the field and especially in the field of Brinjal in order to protect the crop from insects.[80] Same work provides us two categories of land for the different varieties of rice crops. According to it, Balia land was suitable for winter paddy while the land with the water retention capacity was suitable for Sharad i.e. autumn paddy and the soil with the mixture of clay silt and very little sand i.e. Matal soil was also suitable for paddy cultivation.[81]

Agricultural Products : In modern times paddy is the most important crop of the region. It is the staple cereal and is cultivated by tribals as cash crop as well. While quality of the rice produced in western part of the province is fine that of the eastern part of the region is coarse. The Mahanadi, Brahmani, Vaitarani, Buda Balang, Rishikulya river valleys and Hirakund canal area are famous for the wide cultivation of the rice. Bolangir, Sambalpur, Dhenkanal and some eastern portion

is famous for intensive cultivation of paddy but it is insignificant in Phulbani and Sundargarh districts.[82] Rice appears to be the main crop of the region in ancient times as well.

We know of the production of rice from the references to rice in inscriptions as well as from place names. Hindol pls. of the king Śubhakaradeva informs us that the price of the six *aḍhakas* of rice was four *Paṇas* of cowries.[83] The grant of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman refers to the donation of the land producing one hundred standard measures of the paddy.[84] Some food articles prepared from rice are also known from place names as well as from the references in inscriptions. Thus, the place name Dantayavāgubhoga[85] mentioned in Bṛhatproshṭhā grant of the king Umāvarman of the Pitṛibhakta dynasty denotes, some kind of gruel prepared from rice or yava for elephants. Inscriptions of the Somavaṁśin dynasty mention rice as one of the items required in the religious rituals. Grants are given for the maintenance of the *Bali, charu, naivedya* and the term *charu* points to the dish prepared of rice, other cereal and sesamum[86] etc.

According to famous work *Mānasollāsa*, Kaliṅga region was well-known for the rice production and the list of the variety of dishes prepared for the marriage feast, described in the 16th canto of *Naiṣadhiya Harshacharita* assigned to early part of the 12th century A.D. includes the dish of fine, white, hot, cooked rice saturated with ghee.[87] Chinese traveller Wang-Ta-Yuan of 14th century informs us that the forty-six baskets of rice, the staple food of the people, were sold for one cowrie only. People in 15th century A.D., as stated in Mahābhārata by Sarala Das, were paying rice as land tax (sanja) to the king.[88]

Besides, the places named Kesalakagrāma,[89] Kesalogākhaṇḍa,[90] Kisarakellā,[91] Sāraḍḍāvishaya,[92] mentioned in Kesaribeda pls. of Nala king Arthapati, Kelga pls. of the king Someśvaradeva, Mahakosala Historical Society pls. of the king Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakesarin of Somvaṁśin dynasty and Komand pls. of the Bhañja king Nettabhañja, respectively, speak of the rice crop. Of these, the first place has been identified with the place named Kesaribeda in Koraput district, the second name seem to have retained its identity in the place named Kelga in Bolangir district and the third place is equated with a place Kesarakela six miles to the east of Bolangir in Bolangir district. The word Kesala forming the first part of these names is, probably written wrongly for the word kesara denoting Nagakesara species of rice. This species of rice is cultivated in Chhattisgarh region in modern times. The leaves of the rice plant of this species of rice are of the colour of Brinjal and the rice grain is of red colour. The yield of this variety of rice is less in comparison to other varieties of rice.[93] These names seem to denote the places and region producing this peculiar variety of rice in ancient past and because of the colour of the grains the places were named as Kesarakagrāma, Kesalogākhaṇḍa etc.

Curiously, the name Sāraḍḍāvishaya denotes rice crop taken in winter (*Śarada ṛitu*). *Kanhavachan* refers to Sarad as autumn paddy.[94] The name Sāraḍḍā may be originally Saradapāḍā and can be identified with a place Surapada[95] in Nayagarh taluka, Puri district. Production of inferior variety of rice as the place named Varukoṇavishaya in Sarephāhāravishya[96] mentioned in Soro pls. of the year 15, of the Mahāsāmanta Somadatta indicates, was also known in ancient past. The region has been identified with Barua in Bhadraka taluka in Balasore district. Barwa mahal under Bhadraka Sarkar mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari appears to be the same region.[97] There is one interesting place name implying the crop of the rice during the period of our study. It is Dantayavāgubhoga[98] referred to in Bṛhatproshṭhā pls. of the king Pitṛibhakta Umāvarman. The word Yavāgu forming the second part of the name of the bhoga denotes rice gruel and the word Danta in the first part of the name indicates elephants. Taken together the name suggests the division well-known for elephants as well as for the manufacture of decoction made form rice for them. The chief place of the bhoga may be identical with the place Dantavarapukota on the bank of the river Vansadhara, about 20 kms. to the south of Kadagandi forest and to the north of Srikakulam.

Other Crops : The Nagari pls. dated 1231 A.D. of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīmadeva refers to the field with the crops of *yava, godhum* and *ikshu*.[99] The archaeological excavations carried out at Viratgarh in 1924 brought to light burnt rice, mustard, wheat, paddy and varieties of edible grains along with the sickles used for cutting paddy crops. According to Arjun Joshi, the remains point to the crops taken during the regime of the Bhañja dynasty of Khijjiṅgkoṭṭa.[100]

In modern times, along with wheat produced in limited area in the hilly parts of Sambalpur, Bolangir, Sundargarh and Baudh-Khondmals and millets in some drier interior parts of the Bolangir, Sundargarh and Dhenkanal districts the region also takes other crops like horsegram, Mung, Biri (Black gram) Kulatha, pea, mustard, linseed, groundnut, jute, mesta, cotton and sugarcane. While the oilseeds and pulses are cultivated in the virgin soil or on foothills in Bolangir, Phulbani, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, and Dhenkanal areas jute is cultivated only in the low river valleys for the domestic purposes and sugarcane is produced in irrigated regions.[101] We don't have any evidence pointing to the beginning of the cultivation of the crops of mung and biri (black gram) in the region. But both these grams were known, as the reference to these crops in *Sarala Mahābhārata* denotes, in 15th century.[102]

Oil Seeds : We have got only one place name denoting the oilseed production during the period. It is the place Tilapadraka[103] mentioned as the place of donee in Adipur grant of Saṁvat 193 of the king Narendrabhañja. It has not been identified. But the reference to the gift of a land for the supply of castor oil to the god and for perpetual burning of the lamps in the temple in the Mukhalingam inscription of

the king Vajrahasta III of the Gaṅga dynasty speaks of the crop of the castor oil seeds.[104] The timetable for the sowing of the *til*-sesamum in given *Khanavachan* denotes the progress of the technique of the cultivation of *til* during the period. The work recommends last eight days of *Phālguna* and eight days in the beginning of *Chaitra* as the best sowing period for having the good yield of the crop of *til*. According to the work, mustard should be sown in autumn.[105]

Cotton: It is said that cotton of high quality was produced in Orissa in ancient times. As mentioned in *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, Kaliṅga was one of the seven countries famous for the production of the best quality of cotton.[106] Cotton goods from Kaliṅga are also known from the *Mahābhārata* of *Vyāsa*. Reference to Kārpāsa and Charakhā in the temple chronicle famously known as Madalapanji also speaks of the cotton crop of Orissa.[107]

Other Products : Under this head we have to include the fruits and vegetables known during the period. Mango which is the most popular fruit of the modern times is known from the place name Amrataksakavāsaka[108] referred to in the Soro pls. of 15th year of the king Somadatta. The existence of the tree is also known from the references to it in inscriptions. Mango groves formed a source of income of the government during the regime of the Somavaṁśin dynasty. Vakratentali grant of the third year and Patna charter of the sixth year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya records the grant of the villages Vakratentalī and Vakaveḍḍagrāma, respectively, along with the Mango and Madhuka trees (Sāmbra Madhuka).[109] The technique of the cultivation of the mango groves was quite developed by the time of our study. Mango trees were planted, as stated in *Khanavachan*, at the gap of twenty hands from each other.[110] Large regions were covered with Madhuka trees. Buguda pls. of the Śailodbhava king records the grant of the place Puipoṇigrāma in Guḍḍavishaya.[111] The word Guḍḍa seems to have derived from the word Guḍa=Mahua tree. There are many places with the names ending with the word Guda under Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district and the chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place Buguda in the same taluka and district. Similarly, the place Madhuvāṭaka[112] attached to Thoraṇavishaya, mentioned in Banpur charter of the king Dharmarāja of the same dynasty as above, speaks of the plantation of the Mahua trees. It has been equated with the place Madhupur in Khandpada taluka in Puri district. Rose apple is the other fruit known from our sources. The place Jambupadraka[113] mentioned in Bamanghati pls. year 188, of the king Raṇabhañjadeva as one of the donated places in Koroṇḍiyavishaya seems to have been situated amidst the large number of Jambu trees. It seems identical with the place named Jamada, in Bahalda police station in Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district. Jambugrāma,[114] the other name after this fruit is known from the Kalibhana grant of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of the

Somavaṁśin dynasty. It has been identified with a place named Jamgaon near Kalibhana in Sambalpur district. Rasambhāgrāma in Arttani vishaya in Koṅgodamaṇḍala in Dakshiṇa Tosalī[115] denoting plantain has been mentioned in undated charter of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī. It seems to have maintained its identity in the place named Rambha in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. We have evidence pointing to the crop of Jujube and Pomegranates as well. As referred to in Kama-Nalinakshapur charter of Saṁ. 173, of the king Sāmantavarman the place Badaribhashṭhigrāma was situated to west of Morapāḍa trees and to the north of the Piṇḍarā trees[116] in Sāmantabhuktivishaya. The name points to the village with large number of decayed Jujube trees. It seems identical with a place named Boripadar in Nuagaon police station, Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. The word Piṇḍarā seems to have derived from the word Piṇḍirā = Pomegranate tree. The names denote that some places in Ganjam district contained large number of decayed Jujube trees, Pomegranate trees and also Morata species of trees with sweet juice. The famous Tamarind tree is represented by two place names, Koṇatinthigrāma[117] in Khaṭiyavishaya and Vakratentalīgrāma in Lupattarākhaṇḍa[118] referred to in Baud grant of 54th year of the king Raṇabhañja and Vakratentali grant of 3rd year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of the Somavaṁśin dynasty. Of these, the former place has been identified with a place named Kontuani to the south of Baud in Phulbani district and the latter corresponds with the place named Bantentali in former Sonepur state, sixteen miles to the west of Sonepur. There is one interesting name denoting the trees of arecanuts. As mentioned in undated Siripuram record of the king Anatavarman of the Vāśiṣṭha family, donated village Toṇṭapara was situated in Kharpurimadamba[119] in Pattanabhoga. The name may be Khapurimadamba. The word Khapuri denotes arecanut tree and the division Madamba seems to have obtained its name after plenty of arecanut trees. The chief place of the division Madamba has not been identified but the donated place Toṇṭapara seems to have yielded its site to a place named Totapara or Totavada in Srikakulam district. It will be proper to say here that chewing of betel leaves with pieces of areca nuts is the most common practice in India.The guests invited on the occasion of marriage or any such auspicious occasion are given betel and nut as a token of honour. The practice is prevalent in many parts of India in modern times as well. Inscriptions of many of the kings refer to the person appointed for offering betel leaves in royal court and also in the temples. The work *Khanavachan* tell us that betel creepers are better grown in shady places and time of three Śrāvaṇas or two years is required for the complete production of betel and for the good crop plants should be planted in the month of Śrāvaṇa.[120]

Here it will not be out of place to take into account the technique for taking a good crop of banana described in the work *Khanavachan.* It is important fruit as

well as vegetable in Orissa and the work advises to the cultivators to prepare the holes for the plants of banana in the month of *Phālguna*. The holes, it states further, should be one and half hand deep and plants should be planted at the distance of seven hands from each other. The leaves of the plant should not be cut off till the plant bears the fruits. As mentioned in it Coconut was also the important crop of the region and holes prepared for planting its plant should be three hands deep. The holes were to be filled with salty soil, salt, green manure and other. The roots of the plants should be cleaned every day and no other tree should be placed near these trees.[121] The Chinese traveller Yuan-Chwang refers to different fruits produced in Orissa. The 'Tarikah-I-Fruz Shahi'of 'Shams-I-Siraj' is in very much praise of spacious houses and fine gardens of fruits and flowers of the people of Jājanagara.[122]

Now we come to the names after vegetables. There are only two names in this group and curiously, both these names speak of the white gourd i.e. both these inform us about the different names prevalent for it in different parts of Orissa. The names are Taṇḍulavalugrāma in Vorttonokavishaya[123] referred to Patiakela grant of the year 230, of the king Śivarāja and Kumurakelāgrāma[124] mentioned in the Kumurakela charter of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja. The word Taṇḍula forming the first part of the former name means a kind of gourd and the word Valu, in the second part of the name, seems to denote Velu i.e. creeper. Thus, the name denotes the place infested with the creepers of some species of gourd. It has not been identified. The term Kumura in first part of the latter name denotes white gourd and the term Kela, in the second part of the name, denotes Kheda = a village. The place seems to have obtained its names after the sumptuous crop of the white gourd. It retained its name in the place named Kumarkali in Birmaharajapur subdivision of the Sonepur district. In addition to these vegetables known from place names we know of the crop of Brinjal and Parvel cultivated in the region in the ancient past. Of these the plant of former vegetable were planted throughout the year except in the months of *Chaitra* and *Vaisākha*. Plants were protected from insects by applying ash and were watered when the fields became dry. The latter vegetable was planted in the month of *Phalguna* and the soil mixed with some sand was selected for its crop.[125]

Vāṭaka : The place name ending with the word Vāṭaka points to the place which has obtained its name after some peculiar features. The names are Usavāṭakagrāma, Madhuvāṭaka, Somavāṭaka and Dhārāvāṭaka. According to the Ranpur grant of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhita, the king donated some *Ṭimpiras* of land in Usavāṭakagrāma in Tanekaṇḍrāvishaya.[126] The place has been identified with a place Ustapada in Ranpur taluka in Ganjam district. The name denotes the sugarcane plantation in this taluka of Ganjam district. In the same way there was a plantation, as the name Madhuvāṭaka in Thoraṇavishaya[127]

referred to in the Banpur grant of the king denotes, of the Mahua trees. It has been identified with a place named Madhupur in Khandpada taluka in Puri district. Places Somavāṭaka and Dhārāvāṭaka[128] mentioned in Dharmaliṅgeśvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman point to the places with plantation of Soma plants and a plantation near some stream, respectively. These places have not been identified.

Here it will not be out of place to state that the name Somavāṭaka referred to above may have been related to the herb known in Sanskrit as Somarājī and Kālem Jiri in Marathi. It is a tall erect herb and its stems and leaves are covered with minute hairs. Its flower heads are in small clusters and each head contains with 30-40 minute purplish flowers. Its cylindrical fruits are hairy and have reddish tuft of hairs on the top. The tree is found all over India upto an aptitude of 1,500 Mts. and is more common in waste places near habitations. The drug prepared from its fresh and dry seeds is useful in thread worm infections but it is not effective stimulant, antiseptic or urine promoter, as described in old literary works.[129]

Agriculture was the basic economy of the ancient Orissa and most of the grants were awarded for perpetual enjoyment and were made tax free or were required to pay, some small amount of money annually as rent to the government. The donees of the grants i.e. *Brāhmaṇas* and religious institutions thus were made landlords of these places. These donees equipped with superior knowledge, the rights and privileges and the status in the society must have taken a lead in organising the agricultural operations that in course of time resulted in the expansion of the agricultural as well as allied industries. Agriculture is a co-operative industry and in their efforts, as recommended by *Kauṭilya* they must have utilised the services of the resident farmers as well as the people well acquainted with the science of agriculture, of tracing underground water, plant cultivation, proper selection of seeds as well as storing of seeds, science of weather and sowing seasons, and artisans like carpenters, blacksmiths, herdsmen, basket makers, rope makers, etc. with good knowledge of the implements required for the agricultural operations living in the village as well as in neighbouring places for preparing the implements. They must have enlisted the services of the labourers for actual work of sowing and ploughing. In addition, for protecting the crop from swarms of the pests, mice etc. they must have taken the help of hunters, fowlers, and snake catchers as well. In short they must have worked like the *Sitādhyaksha* of *Kauṭilya*.[130] Thus efforts of the donees contributed largely towards the expansion of the agriculture and by employing the local artisans for satisfying the local needs they helped the rise of self sufficient villages as well as different small industries such as basket making, rope making, wood cutting, carpentry and metal industry. It is to be remembered here that all these were small household industries.

As the agriculture was the main profession of the period the kings of all the dynasties always tried to increase the agricultural productions by giving the grants of the villages and land to *Brāhmaṇas* and religious institutions. The limits of the granted villages and lands are described in two different ways. Sometimes the limits are not specifically mentioned but the charter inform us that the villages or lands were granted with their well established boundaries defined in some instances with the help of natural objects such as hillocks, streams, tanks, trees, groves etc. We can have some examples of the second type in support of our contention. Ningondi pls. of the Māṭhara king Prabhañjanavarman states that the donated place Hoṇārāmagrāma was bounded by Rukmapati in the north, Vyāghraprastara, Śālmali tree and a mole-hill on the west, and sea on the south. The donated area was made *agrahāra* and was named as Niṅgoṇḍi.[131] Similarly, the donated land, as mentioned in the Ragolu pls. of the king Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Pitṛibhakta dynasty, was situated between two Viprakshetras. But the limits of the donated village *agrahāras* are mentioned here specifically. Thus the localities, Hojamyaka, Dusi, Chilli and Goṇḍya had to their north some villages and Kāṇḍak tree and a bridge. Of these the *agrahāra* Hojamya was bounded on its different boundaries by ponds (Taṭāka), pits (Garttas), bridges (Setu), Channels (Pāli) from ponds (Taṭākapāli) and wells (Vāpi-Pāli), anthills (Halandvalmika, Mandāravalmika, Utkulāndikāvalmika), Trees like Maricha, Nimba, Khochā, Śṛṅga and Suhi bushes, fields- (Upavāsakshetra, Kauchhalikanummikakshetra, Dharmapaṭṭakshetra, Sthāvaraka Sankarāryakakshetra) and ditches (Garttas) filled with water from mountain, pond (Taṭāka) and the river Lena.[132]

Coming to the period of Śailodbhavas we have Nivina grant of Dharmarāja, year 9, and Puri pls. of Dharmarāja describing the boundaries of the donated village and land as well. According to the former record, granted place Nivināgrāma in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāra in Koṅgodamaṇḍala had Trikūṭa, Joḍapapadivanarāi, anthill, Vaṅakasilāvanarāi, to its west, Trikūṭa, Pāṇiśilā, Sākhātarimaṇivāḍhaivaṇi and Digśilā to the north, Joḍavanarāivāḍa to the east, Somaṇitrikūṭa to the north-east, Vāghaguhātrikūṭa to the south-east and Pavadisilagāḍi in the south.[133] The latter charter informs us that the donated land in Kiṇiyachheda in Doṅgigrāma in Varttanīvishaya had grāmarathyā on its east, rows of trees to the south, tank on the west and to north it extended upto the house of a bronze smith at the end of the road.[134]

Similar survey system prevailed during the regime of the Bhaumakara dynasty as well. As recorded in Hindol charter, the donated village Noḍḍila in the Kāṅkavirāvishaya in the northern Tosalī was bounded on the north-east by Dhānyamādajoṭa, on the east by the Śṛugālajoṭa, on the south-east by Vanamandāra, on the south by Panktāpolla, on the west by Vendrākaṭaka and on the north by

Gaṅgeṭi-joṭa.[135] According to Talcher grant of the king Śivakaradeva, year 149, the donated Kallaṇigrāma in Prvarāshṭravishaya had Trikūṭa on the north-east, anthill, and joṭa on the east, Kavaḍejoṭa on the south-east, Kavaḍejoṭa and Gohiri on the south, Garttikā on the south-west, Vitavirā, Tailakhāta on the west, Trikūṭa on the north-west and Baghagarttikā and Māṣa river on the north.[136] As mentioned in the Talcher grant of the king Śivakaradeva III, the donated Suraddhipura in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya in Northern Tosalī had Tamālakhaṇḍakshetra and Sumeyi river in the north-east, Devālayajoṭa and the river close by Pustariyāpura on the east, same river on the south-east, on the south river flowing close to the place Gayaḍāpura, Trikuṭa and river close by Kalyāṇapura on south-west, river close to Hastināpurakshetra and Koroṇḍiyakshetra on the west, river close to Śaṅkhapura on the northwest and Janapaṅgā on the north.[137] Hindol pls. R.Y. 4 of the Śulki king Kulastambha provides interesting information of the boundaries of the donated place Soggagrāma in Gopāraśṛiṅgavishaya in Kanaraḍḍāmaṇḍala.[138] As per the description, the donated place was surrounded by Pañcaśasya (corn, grain), Puṇyavṛiddhi, Sarvvadā, Sārtura (may be Sārataru, pith tree, the plantain Kadala=without any wood), Kāraṇḍava (may be Kāraṇḍa=sort of duck) and Kuśagrass useful in the ritual of sacrifice. It seems that the donated place was situated amidst the fields producing all sorts of grains, plenty of Kadali or plantain plants, tanks with Kāraṇḍa species of duck[139] and plenty of Kuśa grass. On account of this beautiful and prosperous surrounding the donated place had obtained the name Soggagrāma=Svargagrāma.

Donated Nayaḍāgrāma in Gandharavāḍimaṇḍala in Khatiyavishaya mentioned in the Baud grant of the king Saloṇabhañja had big Śilā on its east and south, Tuṇḍridhiṅgasimā on the west and Mahanadi on the north.[140] Madras museum pls. of Narendradhavala of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgi while registering the grant of the place Taḍeśvaragrāma in Gomuṇḍalamaṇḍala states that the place had Guḍeśvara boundary stone in the north, Viṇapatharaparvvata in the north-east, Champa border pathara and Padumbā in the east, Gāḍa in the south, Vāristupa boundary on the south-west, boundary stone of Kosumbrā and Bṛhatparvvata in the west and Suvṛida parvvata in the north-west and Matchhinā (may be Machhini) in the north.[141]

Coming to the regime of the Gaṅga dynasty we have grants recording the donations of the villages and lands along with their four boundaries. According to the Dharmalingeśvara inscription of the G.E.149, of the king Devendravarman donated village Haḍubakagrāma in Pushpagiripañcālivishaya had Guṇahārigarttā extended towards south in east, Kadamba trees, Nimba trees, Sarjja trees, Timira trees around Taṭāka and Chinchā tree, at the end of western boundary, Bhallātaka and Jambu tree to the north of Taṭāka and Chulla-Veṇā, to the north of Chulla-

Veṇā, towards the east two Śālmali trees, Kośamba tree and Saptaphaṇā bushes, Bṛhatśilā, ant hill, with Jambu tree, Chinchā-Jambu trees, Taṭāka, the Madhuka tree, and towards the east the aforementioned Gunahārigarttā.[142] Thus, the donated place Haḍubakagrāma was situated amidst the trees and tanks. Dharmalingeśvara inscription of the king Anantavarmā describes the boundaries if the Tālattheragrāma in Kroshṭukavarttanī. According to it, the place was situated amidst the hills and different species of trees in different directions.[143] Nirakarapura grant of the time of Gaṅga king Devendravarman state that the place Pagaḍākheḍa in Mahendrabhoga had Akshayavaṭa on its east, bushes and tamarind tree on its south and southwest, towards the west there was Audumbara tree, and at some distance Asurālaka and a peak of the mountain, then on the north a peak of the mountain and to its north was the Saśyotasu river.[144] Boundaries of the donated village Badaribhashthigrāma in Sāmantabhuktivishaya mentioned in Kamanalinakshipur grant of the king Sāmantavarman, had on its east the Morapāda trees, on the west State high-way, on the north Piṇḍarā tree and on the south Pālisimā (embankment).[145] The boundaries of the donated place Aśvatthachheda in Lohaśṛṅgaravishaya, as described in the Pherava grant of Saṁvat 185, of the king Sāmantavarman, extended upto the bed of Śushkanadī running towards south, in the east, Meghāvati stream to the west, Kodrava channel on the north, pits in the north-east and pits on the south.[146]

Now we come to the boundaries of the lands donated by the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. As mentioned in the Badakhimedi grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarmadeva, of GE.100, donated Kariyāchheda in Madhokhaṇḍakshetra in Paḍalaśṛṅgagrāma in Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya was bounded by Gaḍaridhruva on its eastern corner, and stream flowing towards south in the east, stream flowing like serpent towards west in the south, a stream on the west, road to the north of Teturagrāma in the north.[147] Donated land in Svalpakālañjarakhaṇḍakshetra in Bhasaṇḍāgrāma in Sāmantabhuktivishaya referred to in Kama-Nalinakshipura pls. of the king Jayavarman was bounded by a lake on its east, by Skandaśarmāchheda to its south and stream to its west.[148] The granted land in Vāḍoḍegrāma in Khalugakhaṇḍavishaya, as Badakhimedi pls. of the king Bhupendravarman inform us, was bounded on the east, west and northern direction by Maira ali simā and by a portion of Varembāuntigāda in Agneya direction.[149] Bishamagiri pls. of the king Indravarman informs us about the boundaries of the donated land in Amerśingagrāma in Jalaṁvoravishaya. According to the description, on the east, the land was situated on the western side of the tank and extended as far as river. It was bounded on the west by the Bhogapāṭaka land of Bṛihadbhogika and on the south, it was bounded by the river as far as the middle of its bed[150] but the limit on the north was to be decided by the donee. Thus the donated land had river on the east and south. Similarly, the donated piece of land in Salavaṇikāgrāma in Hemavakamatamba-

vishaya, as described in Gautami pls. of the king Indravarman, had quiver shaped anthill on its east, taṭāka on the south-west, Kośamva taṭāka on the west, forest on the south and Udaya taṭāka on the north.[151]

Thus, these demarcations of the donated lands and villages speak of the prevalent practice of describing the limits of the settlements and lands with natural objects. Some times, some border was to be decided by the donee himself e.g. Bishamagiri pls. of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king while describing the limits of the donated land in Amerśingagrama states that "in the north it was bounded by such limit you like". This expression reminds us of some practice of measuring the land referred to in the grants of the contemporaries and subordinates of Imperial Guptas. While Baigram charter of Gupta Year 128 informs us that the boundaries were decided by placing husks, charcoal[152] in the ground the Mallasarul pls. of regnal year 33 of Gopachandra mentions the system of measuring the land by placing posts or pillars[153] in the ground. Sircar narrates interesting practice of measuring the gifted land referred to in the grants of the Chola and Pāṇḍya dynasty. According to it, an officer seated on she elephant, followed by subordinates, was to take a round around the gifted land while the subordinates were to mark the boundaries and note down the details of the land with the progress of the procession. Sircar refers to the King Jājuka of Kānyakubja, who, it is said, granted a land to *Brāhmaṇa* by means of *Śāsana*, as much land as he could traverse in four *praharas* on horseback.[154] It will not be too much to suggest here that some rulers of the Gaṅga dynasty must have followed some such practice for measuring the donated land. The references to the boundaries of the donated lands, apart from indicating the boundaries of the gifted locality throw welcome light on the environment prevalent around it.

Some times the area of the donated land was specified in the then prevalent land measures like *Hala, Daṇḍa, Hasta, Droṇa, Droṇavāpa, Ṭiṁpira, Gocharma, Vāṭi* etc. It is not possible to find out the exact area of the donated land with these land measures. The unit of the measurement, Sircar tells us, was cubit. It was often measured with the forearm of particular person in the service of the king and hence, the length of measuring rods changes from place to place. Different rods made of wood, bamboo etc. had the length of recognised number of such units. Some times these *Daṇḍas* with specific length are mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these, the Droṇa was popular in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. in different parts of India. It was also used for measuring grains and seems to have derived from the measure of capacity. One *Droṇa* was generally taken as equal to about one and half or two maunds and *Droṇa* as a measure of land denotes the land which requires one *Droṇa* of seed to be sown. The names *Droṇa* and *Droṇavāpa* seem synonymous. It is also used for measuring the land. Though it varies in length from country to country

one *Droṇa* is usually taken as little less to seven acres. Midnapur grant of Śubhakirti states that he purchased forty *Droṇas* of land and one *Droṇavāpa* of homestead in the village Kumbhārapadraka in Ketakapadradeśa and donated it to *Brāhmaṇa* Dāmyasvāmin.[155] Gocharma as a unit of measurement of land was prevalent in Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti.[156] During the regime of the Śailodbhava dynasty Timpira was the standard measure of land.[157] Land measure known as *Nala* was prevalent in the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka.[158] The other grant found at the same place[159] and of the same dynasty inform us about the prevalence of the another land measure known as Muraj and during the regime of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty unit of the land measure known as *Vāṭi*[160] was very much popular.

Agriculture was the main source of income of the royal treasury hence, to bring more and more land under cultivation, as the large number of grants of the villages and lands denote, was the primary concern of the kings of almost all dynasties. To achieve this purpose they created rent free holdings and asked the villagers to pay all the taxes, in kind and cash due to the royal treasury to the donees. In addition to this privilege the donees were given the rights to all the treasures of the villages and lands and some times the right to recover other additional taxes from the villagers as well e.g. Talcher grant of the year 149 of Bhaumakara king Śivakaradeva registers the grant of the village Kallāṇigrāma, made tax free, along with the rights of the donee to *sa-oparikara, sa-oddeśa, sa-tantuvāya, gokuṭa, -śauṇḍhika-ādi-prākṛitika, sa-kheṭaghaṭṭa-naditira, sthāṇa-ādi-gulmaka*[161] etc. The grants of the Śulki king Jayasthambha also seem to bestow in addition to the traditional rights, the privilege to recover the tax from blacksmiths (*lauha*), weaver (*tantu-vāya*), milkman (*gokuṭa*) and distillers (*śauṇḍhika*) upon the donees. Privileges granted to the donees in the charters of the Tuṅga dynasty also include the right to collect the tax from weavers (*tantuvāya*), herdsmen (*gokuṭa*), fishermen (*Kaivartas*), and others. Besides, he was entitled to recover the *śulka* from fording places (*śulka-tara-sthāna-ādika*).[162] All these privileges are specifically mentioned in the concerned grants. The number of these rights and privileges seem to have increased to the maximum, particularly during the regime of the later kings of the Somavamśin dynasty. Now in addition to the all usual privileges the donee was given the right to collect fines on different account as well as some occasional taxes as well from the villagers. Thus, the donee of the Jatesing Dungari pls. of the year three of the king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti had free access to the *nidhis, upanidhis*, pits, barren lands, mango and *madhuka* trees, bushes and shrubs, habitations and forests, waters and lands, *daś-āparādha* and all the *upari-karas* along with the exemption from the entry of the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*. The grant was made rent free holding and the villagers were asked to pay to donee all the royal dues like the *bhāga, bhoga, kara, hiraṇya* and live happily.[163] But the donee of the tax free

holding mentioned in the Balijhari grant, was to enjoy, in addition to these rights, mastery over trees such as śiṁśapā, *madhuka* and *tāla, hastidanda, vara-balivarda, citola, andhāruva, pratya-arthāruva, adattā, padātijivya, ahi-daṇḍa, āntarāvaḍḍi, bandhadaṇḍa, vijaya-vandāpanā, marggaṇika,* all the future taxes, *pratihāra,* the collection of all *uparikaras* and exemption from all the oppressions.[164] While Ratnagiri grant of the dynasty includes his right to collect *rintakāvaḍḍi, vasāvaki, haladaṇḍa, vishayāli and future taxes and khaṇḍapāliyaī*[165] in the already prevalent list of privileges the Kelga grant adds his right to fish and tortoises and also to realize *Suvarṇa-daṇḍa, vartma-daṇḍa, vandāpanā, tṛṇodaka, śāsanārdhika, cara-balivarda, go-gauḍa* to the list.[166] In addition to these rights Telugu-Choḍa grant from Kelga bestows the right over elephant's tusk, tiger-skin and various wild animals, low and high mounds etc. upon the donees.[167] This list of the privileges suggest that all the natural sources of the wealth were owned by the king and other can enjoy these only when these are bestowed by him.

Land Revenue: The cultivable land was known by the term *kshetra.* It was some times divided, as many of our grants denote, among the donees and the donated piece of land was sometimes known as *khaṇḍakshetra.* In course of time these *khaṇḍakshetras* were developed into hamlets and were subsequently turned into a revenue-paying village. Some of our epigraphic records tell us about the grants of the Khaṇḍakshetras. The donated Koṅkulakhaṇḍakshetra in Kodālaka-maṇḍala[168] known from the Dhenkanal grant of the Śulki king Jayastambha, Stambhakārakhaṇḍakshetra in Olāśṛiṅgavishaya,[169] mentioned in the Baud grant of the Nettabhañja, Milupāḍikhaṇḍakshetra in Royarāvishaya,[170] referred to in Sonepur grant of the king Śatrubhañja and Kurukulokhaṇḍakshetra in Gaṇḍitamavishaya in Uḍradeśa[171] referred to in Orissa state museum charter of the year four of the Somavaṁśin king must be rendering some share of produce as khaṇḍa to the government.

Industries : Rice Pounding: We shall now turn to the industries based on agricultural products and other related industries. As stated earlier rice was the principle product of the region. Rice is to be made eatable by removing pods of grains. This necessity led to the establishment of rice mills at different places in modern times. Curiously such centres were also in existence in ancient times as well. But they were restricted to the gift places only. Existence of such centres is known by the place names like Tossaḍḍabhukti, Bṛhadbhusāigrāma[172] etc. Of these, the former place is known from the Arang pls. of 7th year of the Śarabhapuriya king Sudevarāja and the latter place mentioned in Jatesing Dungari pls. of the Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti was situated in Uṅgādavishaya. The name Tosaḍḍa seems to have come from the word *tuchha, tusha* meaning the chaff of the grain or rice. Thus, the name implies the existence of the region famous for

producing rice on large scale as well as for pounding of the rice. The latter place is composed of three words-Bṛhad + Bhusāi+grāma. While the word Bṛhad forming the first part of the name indicates the existence of the two places small and big with the name Bhusāi, the word Bhusāi denotes the chaff of the rice known in local language as Bhusā and the term grāma associated with it speaks of the place with the powder of the chaff of the rice. It seems that there were two rice-hulling centers in Uṅgādavishaya. Orissa is famous for the production of rice of variety of species and the region of Mahanadi, Vaitarani and Brahmani valleys is very much famous for the rice crop. There are 93 rice mills clustered around the places situated near railway lines in Balasore, Cuttack and Sambalpur districts and rice hullers are working at the collecting centres all over Orissa.[173] It seems that rice-pounding industry, like the one in modern times, was the main agro-based industry of Orissa in ancient past.

Textile Industry : As referred to above the cotton cloth of the Kaliṅga country was very much famous. Textile products of Kaliṅga were highly praised articles of luxury in ancient world. Mānasollāsa refers to Kaliṅga as one of the countries producing fabrics fit for royal use. B.C. Majumdar also refers to fine cloth manufactured in Orissa. According to Rajendra Lal Mitra, textile products of Orissa were as fine as that of the finest cloth produced on Banaras looms in modern times.[174] Sculptural presentations on the different temples at Bhuvanesvara give us idea about the fine brocaded fabrics produced in ancient Orissa. Orissa textile industry was very much famous even during the British rule and textile goods of Balsore, Bhadrak, Soro etc. were very much in demand in Calcutta market.[175] The industry must have provided jobs to number of weavers. B.S. Das, on the basis of the records of 19th century states that textile industry of Orissa was dependent on short staple variety of indigenous cotton grown in and around the Sambalpur region.[176]

Place Names : We can trace the textile industry of ancient period with the help of the places named after cotton and silky cotton plants and weavers mentioned in the grants of different dynasties. There are places like Tuṇḍurāvagāma in Ramalavvavishaya, Tuṇḍimakhaṇḍakshetra in Santamamaṇḍala, Tulasīdga-vishaya, Tullāsidgāvishaya, Tullāśṛṅgavishaya, Tulumvakhaṇḍa, Tuleṇḍāgrāma, in Sandānāvishaya, Tuluvaraigrāma, Navatulāgrāma etc. denoting the cotton and mulberry plants. Of these, the name Tuṇḍurāvagrāma[177]mentioned in the Orissa Museum pls. of the Bhañja king Vidyādharabhjañja, R.Y. 26, Tuṇḍimakhaṇḍa-kshetra in Santamamaṇḍala mentioned in Naupatana pls. of the Somavaṁśin king, seem to have derived after Tuṇḍikera-cotton plant. While the first name of this group may be Tuṇḍuravanagrāma i.e. the place with stretches and stretches of land with Tuṇḍikera plants the place Tuṇḍimakhaṇḍakshetra points to the region with good crop of cotton plants. It is not identified. But the place Tuṇḍurāvagrāma

has been identified with a place named Tundura in Patapur police station Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district. Place names beginning with the word Tulla or Tula and Tulu and ending with the word Tula denote the divisions and places with abundant Tulu plants. According to Amarakośa,[178] it is Sahatut tree (Mulberry plant) producing the silky cotton. Silk worms are nourished on the leaves of this plant. This species of the cotton tree may be identical with the good cotton trees yielding cotton for many years referred to by Ibn Kurdadhibh.[179] The names Tulasīdgavishaya, Tullāsīdgāvishaya,[180] Tullaśṛṅgavishaya[181] and Tulumva-khaṇḍa[182] denote the big divisions named after the Tulu plants. Of these four names associated with territorial designations, the first one has been mentioned in Dasapalla pls. of R.Y.9 the second has been referred to in the Dasapalla grant of R.Y.24 of the king Raṇabhañja, the third is mentioned in Baud pls. of 58th year the king Raṇabhañjadeva of the Bhañja dynasty, and the last one has been referred to in Chaudwar grant of the 31st year of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. The capital places of these divisions have been identified with the places named Tulasipurapattana in Banpur taluka in Puri district, Tulasipura in Khandapada taluka in Puri district, Talasingi in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district and Turum, 27 miles to the south of Sambalpur on the river Mahanadi, respectively. Place Tuluvaraigrāma[183] in Itaṇḍāvishaya referred to in the Deogaon grant of the king Raṇabhañjadeva, Navatulāgrāma[184] situated in Korosoḍakapañchāli and mentioned in the Tirlingi grant of G.E.192, of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman and Tuleṇḍāgrāma[185] in Sandānavishaya known from the Chaudwar grant of the Somavaṁśin king speak of the places with plenty of Tulu plants. Of these places, Tuluvaraigrāma seems identical with the place Talagaon in Anandpur taluka in Keonjhar district. The place Navatulāgrāma has been identified with the village Nautalā to the south of Parlakimedi in the taluka of the same name in Ganjam district and Tuleṇḍāgrāma seems to have retained its identity in the village named Tulundi to the south of Bargarh in Bargarh taluka in Sambalpur district. It seems that large portion of Puri, Ganjam and Sambalpur districts and some portion of Keonjhar district was famous for the production of the Tulu plants and also the silk cloth.

These regions and the villages must have provided raw material for the manufacture of the silk cloth used by the people in ancient Orissa. This cloth may be of the type of tussar cloth produced in Sambalpur and Mayurbhanj[186] districts of Orissa in modern times.

Patta Silk : Besides, Orissa also produced silk cloth used for writing. The Indian Museum charter of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman supplies us a interesting name of the tree providing material for manufacture of this variety of silk cloth. According to the grant, the king donated village Bheṭhiśṛṅgagrāma and also some

portion of the village Paduṇigrāma in Paḍaṇikhaṇḍavishaya.[187] These names may be originally, Paṭuṇigrāma and Paṭuṇikhaṇḍa, respectively, representing the village and the division covered with the Paṭuparṇi trees. Amarakośa mentions Paṭuparṇi as a species of tree. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the village Paduni in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. These trees may have provided raw material for manufacturing the Paṭṭa variety of silk cloth used for writing, referred to in Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira[188] or Paṭachitras famous in Orissa from ancient past.

Kosā: Kosā cloth production may also have been known in the region in ancient times. Gautami pls. of Śvetaka Gaṅga king refers to Kośaṁva taṭāka[189] situated on one of the borders of the donated village Salavaṇikāgrāma in Hemvakamatamba-vishaya. It may be a tank surrounded by the Amba plant on which the silk worms spun the cases. There must be many more places with this tree supplying material for the weaving of the Kosā cloth.[190]

Dukula: People of Orissa also knew the technique of producing Dukula cloth made from the Dukula[191] plants. The Puri pls. of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja records the grant of the place Dukagrāma[192] in Varttanīvishaya. The name Duka may have come from Dukula = fine fiber plant. Kauṭilya refers to the different varieties of Dukula produced in Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya countries.[193] Varāhamihira[194] was aware of the manufacture of the Dukula cloth prepared from the fine fibers from the Dukula plant. Parasol, insignia of royal power, as described by him, was covered on all sides with a fresh white *dukula* cloth.[195] We see Parasols hold over the head of the kings in the sculptures on the walls of the temples at Bhuvanesvar and Konark. These may have been produced from the Dukula cloth manufactured by local weavers.

Silky Cotton Plants : Apart from the cotton and silk cloth the region must be manufacturing mattresses and pillows stuffed with silky cotton obtained from Śālmali[196] trees available here in large quantity.

Weavers : Weavers of the silk cloth were known by the name Paṭuvā and the place named Paṭṭuvagrāma[197] mentioned in Peddadugam charter of the year 9 of the king Śatrudamana seems to be the settlement of the silk weavers. Besides, the places Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka and Paṭṭavāḍagrāma[198] referred to in the Antirigram grant of the king of the Bhañja dynasty and Kapoteśvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king also speak of the settlement of weavers. Both these names seem to represent one and the same place. While the former place is mentioned as the donees place the latter place is donated place in Koṇṭarāvaṅgavishaya. It has been identified with the place Patapura in Kakatpur police station in Nimpada taluka in Puri district.

Inscriptions of the Bhaumakara dynasty refer to weaver's community in the donated villages e.g. Hindol pls. of the year 103, of the king Śubhakaradeva registers

the grant of the Noḍḍilogrāma in Kāṅkavirāvishaya with the additional rights of collecting taxes from weavers-Tantuvāya-and some other professionals.[199] Nagari inscription of the King Anaṅgabhīma III, of the Gaṅga dynasty also refers to the community of Tantuvāya in the donated township. There must be communities of weavers in different parts of the country but our knowledge of the production is restricted to the gift villages and divisions under the control of the different authorities. In addition there must be some weavers producing fabrics for the use of members of the royal family and for royal storehouse.

The modern geographical work informs us that Orissa[200] is now developing sericulture. The state in modern times comes second to Bihar in the production of Tussar. It is manufactured mainly in Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Sambalpur and Koraput districts. But the silk worms thrive mostly on Sal and Arjuna trees and Mulberry silk is not much produced. Cuttack, Ganjam and Puri districts are the main regions of the modern sericulture. These districts were also famous for mulberry silk cloth in early times. The authorities want to have the plantation of the mulberry plants on 4,000 acres of land that will produce 12,000 tons of Biovoltive cocoons.[201] It will lead to the revival of the old mulberry silk industry. Thus, we can take back the beginning of the silk industry based on mulberry plants to ancient times.

Coloured Cloth : Cloth was dyed with different colours such as scarlet, orange, yellow, red, etc. Red cloth was known as *Lohitaka* while the black cloth was described as *Kālaka. Patañjali* knew the cloth dyed with blue, yellow, green and brown red colours. The famous work *Gāthāsaptaśatī* refers to red cloth as *kusumbhi* and blue as *nila*. The dyer was known as *rajaka*. According to Jaina canons, colours were prepared from substances such as *chikura*, (Plant), *haritāla* (yellow orpiment), *sarisasava* (mustard), the flowers of *kiṁśuka, japākusuma, hiṅgula, kuṁkuma*, blue lotus, *sirisha* flowers, and collyrium etc. Indigo and other chemical dyes were also produced. According to *Pāṇinī* madder, indigo and orpiment were used as dyes and *Kātyāyana* has mentioned *haridrā* and *mahārājana* as dyestuff.[202] *Bāṇa*[203] refers to *kusumbha, mañjishṭha, kuṁkum, paṭala, haridrā*, and minerals in the list of materials used for dying purposes.

Place Names : The dyers in Orissa of our period have been represented by the place name Reṅgarḍāgrāma[204] in Khiñjalimaṇḍala mentioned in Antirigrāma grant of the Bhañja king Jayabhañja. The name may be Raṅgārpāḍā and has been identified with the place named Ranganipatan in Odgaon police station in Nayagarh taluka, Puri district. The dyers of the place may have used the colours prepared from substances obtained from different species of trees, indigo plants and other chemicals available here.

Oil Pressers and Gauḍaka: The agricultural products must have given rise to

the professions of Tailika and Gauḍaka mentioned in the Nagari pls.[205] of the king. But the only place name representing Tailika is Tilapadraka[206] and the profession of Gauḍaka is implied by the place named Usavāṭaka. The former is the place of the donee and has not been identified. Besides sesamum, oil may also have been extracted from the flowers of trees of Neem, Mahua, Karañja trees and castor oil seeds as well and it must have been used for burning of the lamps and for the lubrication of the wheels of carts.

The place Usavāṭaka denotes a place with sumptuous crop of Sugarcane. It has been identified with the place Ostapada in Ranpur taluka in Puri district.[207] Reference to these professionals in the township suggests that people following these professionals must be living in each village and town.

Animal Rearing : Along with the professions based on agriculture animal rearing which developed as the secondary occupation to cultivation of crops is also known from place names. The cowherds are mentioned in the grants of the Bhaumakara dynasty as Gokuṭa.[208] We have place names denoting the cowherds and cowsheds. In the first group there are place names such as Gollāvallīgrāma,[209] Goyilavishaya,[210] Goilokhaṇḍa[211] and Gopāraśṛiṅgavishaya.[212] While the first place is the habitation of cowherds and is mentioned in Parlakimedi grant of the king of Śrīrāma Kaśypa family all other are the names of the administrative divisions named after cowherds and have been mentioned in the grants of the Śulki dynasty. Place Gollāvallīgrāma has been identified with the place named Golwali near Kundakurti in Andhra Pradesh. While Puri pls. register the grant of village Pajārā situated in Goyilovishaya Dhenkanal charter of Jayastambha refer to the grant of the village Chandrapura in Koṅkulakhaṇḍa in Goyilovishaya and Dhenkanal grant of the king Kulastambha records the grant of the place Jhārabāda in Goyilovishaya in Kodālakamaṇḍala. All these three grants seem to refer to three divisions of the name Goyilovishaya. Of these, the Goyilovishaya of the Puri pls. seems identical with the region round the place Gailo[213] in Parajang police station in Kamakshya-nagar taluka in Dhenkanal district and the chief place of the Goyilovishaya containing Koṅkulakhaṇḍa seems identical with the place Gailo[214] in Motunga taluka in Dhenkanal district. Goyilovishaya in Kodālakamaṇḍala, as described in the grant, was extended upto the river Sankhajoti. The chief place of this vishaya has been identified with the place Gailo in Sundargarh district. The name Goilokhaṇḍa, mentioned in the Puri pls. denotes the region occupied by the cowherds but the chief place of the khaṇḍa could not be identified. Similarly, the chief place of the Gopāraśringavishaya remains unidentified.

Cow Sheds : Two curious names after the cowsheds are Vaṇiggotrā[215] and Gottaikelāgrāma.[216] Of these, the former place referred to in Dasapalla grant of the king Devānanda speaks of the place with the cowshed of the traders. The place

Gottaikelāgrāma mentioned in the Sonepur grant of the Somavaṁśin king points to the place with common sheds of cows belonging to different families. It has been equated with the place Gotarkela in Sonpur district. It seems that large portion of Dhenkanal, Sundargarh and Sonpur district was occupied by the people following the profession of cowherd and rearing of cows.

Cowstalls : There are place names such as Vasuvāṭaka and Govāṭaka[217]after the different type of cow stalls. These are mentioned in the Peddadugam grant of the king Śatrudamanadeva. Of these, the place Vasuvāṭaka has not been identified but the place Govāṭaka can be equated with the place Gonti. Besides, some persons in the society were milkmen by profession and they have been represented by the place named Duhāgrāma[218] in Peddadugam grant referred to above. It has been identified with the place name Duvapet in Srikakulam district.

Forest Resources

According to modern geographical works forests here are of three types viz., Tropical Semi evergreen not far away from the sea coast in Ganjam and Dhenkanal districts, Tropical moist deciduous forest extended from extreme southern portion of the region to the central portion of Mayurbhanja district and is also found in some portion of Ganjam and Dhenkanal districts and Tropical dry deciduous in central tract as well as in northern and western portion of Bolangir and Sambalpur district. Besides, there are some subsidiary types of forests grown in accordance to the local climatic and biotic factors and among these, Bamboo, Sal and teak forests are most important. Of these, bamboo forests are seen along the eastern tracts and in low lying areas and Sal forest occupies the areas from SW. to NE. in all districts which come in this tract. These forests provide products like timber, poles, and firewood, bamboo, tendu leaves, tussar cocoons, lac, myrobalans, cane, arrow roots, Mahua flowers, broom grass, sabai grass, gums, resins, khadira, sunari bark etc.[219] Against this background we shall now turn to place names revealing the floral wealth of the region yielding useful material for the economic progress of the region in ancient times.

Place Names : There are plenty of place names speaking about different species of trees prevalent here in ancient times. As we have already dealt in detail with those names in the chapter titled 'Flora of The Region' we will see here only those important species of trees which may have yielded material useful for different industries in ancient past. Available place names have been divided here into groups like general forest, forests with peculiar species of trees, forests of the trees of multiple uses, and places named after trees of different uses. Lastly, we have tried to trace the industries of ancient Orissa based on the forest produce.

General Forest : We have names such as Jhāḍakhaṇḍadeśa[220] denoting wide

region extending from south Bihar to Orissa covered with forest. This forest must have included different species of trees. The name has been mentioned in Polsara grant of Yugābda 4248, +1147-48, of the Gaṅga king Arikesari. But the reference to Dakshiṇa Jhāḍakhaṇḍa in the grant of the king Narasiṁhadeva II of the same dynasty implies that it was divided into two divisions viz., Uttarajhāḍakhaṇḍa and Dakshiṇa Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. Dr. Sircar wants to include the temple of Vaidyanātha at Deoghar near Santal Pargana, Monghyr and Bhagalpur district in the north Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. But it is very difficult to decide its southern boundary and locate the region of Dakshiṇa Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. Further, Rājā of Jaipur in Ganjam district is described as the Rājā of Jhāḍakhaṇḍa in the inscription of sixteenth century and Rājas of Baud also claimed the same title. It seems that the region extended from Santal pargana, Monghyr, and Bhagalpur district in Bihar to Ganjam district in Orissa was known as Jhāḍakhaṇḍa in sixteenth century A.D. There are also names of the grāmas like Burujuṇāgrāma-Purujvanagrāma[221] in Borudravakoṇa in Lohaśṛiṅgavishaya, Arhaṇṇagrāma[222] in Thoraṇavishaya, Komyāṇagrāma[223] in Boḍāvishaya, Tuṇḍurāvagrāma in Ramalavvavishaya,[224] Bontalāgrāma[225] in Siddhāmbāvishaya, Jhārabāḍa[226] in Goyillavishaya etc., denoting the habitations in the forests of different species of trees. All these must have provided different types of material useful in day to day life as well as for various local industries.

Peculiar Species of Trees : In addition to these names after big forest region and grāmas, we have the place names pointing to the forest of the peculiar species of trees e.g. the name Borudravakoṇa. The name may be Bukudravekoṇa. It is composed of the three words, Buku +dravka +oṇa. Buku is a kind of plant, dravaka=dropping or exuding juice and oṇa =is the wrong form of the word *vana*. Thus, the name indicates the forest of the trees exuding juice. The place has been identified with a place named Budurang in Nuagaon police station in Chikiti taluka in Ganjam district.

Fire Wood Forest : The name Laṅkākoṇa[227] may be Laṅkavana. Laṅka, according to Rajawade, is species of tree. It reminds us of the name Dāhaleṅkanāḍapattala[228] referred to in Barahi grant dated K.Y.826.The name is composed of three words, Dāha+Leṅka+Nāḍa. Dāha=burning, Leṅka is Lanka=species of tree, Nāḍa= tubular stalk. Taken together the name indicates the forest of Laṅka trees with tubular stalks used for fuel or the firewood forest. The name Laṅkakoṇa, taken here in the same sense, seems to denote firewood forest. The place may be equated with the place named Lenkakuli in Hinjali police station, Digpahandi taluka in Ganjam district.

Trees of Multiple Uses : In this group there are place names denoting the forest of the tree of the multiple uses and places named after the trees which provide material for different uses. The names Kamalvanavaṇikasthāna[229] mentioned in

Sonepur charter of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, Kamalamaṇḍala[230] known from the Narala grant of Ś. 1153 and Kamalapura[231] referred to in Kelga pls. of the 1st year of the Somavaṁśin king Someśvaradeva speak of the forest as well as the places with forest and plenty of Kamel trees, respectively, providing material for various purposes. Of these places, Kamalapur has been identified with a place of the same name situated near Kelga in Uttara-tira division in the former Sonepur state. According to H. Sukla, Kamalamaṇḍala seems to be the ancient name of the Kalahandi district of Orissa. Place named Kamalavanavaṇikasthāna, however remains unidentified.

These names beginning with the word Kamala are always taken as the names after the aquatic flower, Kamal-Lotus. But we want to take these names after Kamel trees. The tree is known in Oriya as Kamalagundi, as Kamel in Sanskrit and Senduri in Hindi and Marathi. It seems that there are two species of this plant viz., a small middle sized evergreen tree and a large shrub with many branches. Leaves of these species are of variety of shapes and have reddish glands on the lower side. Interestingly, it bears male and female flowers on separate plants. Its hairy fruits are with reddish brown and powdery cover. It is found throughout Tropical regions of India from Himalayas in the north to Kerala in the south. Every part of this tree has its own value. The red glandular and hairy substance separated from the fruits is used against tapeworms. Kamel is also used externally for skin diseases. Kamel dye used in colouring textile is prepared from Kamel tree. The oil extracted from its seeds is used in paints and varnishes and due to its excellent drying properties it is very much in demand for painting work. The seed cake is used as manure. The wood of the tree is used for preparing minor domestic articles and as fuel. Besides it is used for manufacturing matchboxes. The leaves are used as fodder. The bark of the tree contain tannin and is used for tanning leather. Ladies use the powder of red Kamel[232] as sendur.

The people of ancient Orissa were aware of, though not all but of some properties of this tree and this knowledge of various uses of the tree may have made merchants to have the headquarters of their organisation at the place Kamalavana. It is just possible that like the lease holders of the Mahua flower collection in modern Orissa all produce of the vana was collected by them and sold by them only. The traders of Kamlavana must have employed colour makers, oil pressers, paint and varnish makers, maker of cosmetic articles, carpenters for making different articles for domestic purposes and also the labourers for collecting material for various uses and to take it to the artisans and craftsman.

Khadira Trees : Available place names indicate that large area of the region was covered with Khadira species of trees. The names after the tree are Tamālakhaṇḍavishaya[233] in Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala mentioned in Baud charter of

the Bhaumakara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, Tamalakhaṇḍakshetra[234] in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya in northern Tosalī, referred to in Talcher pls. of the king Śivakara III, Khadirapāṭaka[235] in Guḍḍavishaya described in Buguda pls. of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja, Khairapāṭagrāma[236] in Varaḍākhaṇḍavishaya known from Ganjam pls. dated in the year 180, of the Bhaumakara queen Daṇḍimahādevī and Khadirapadra[237] referred to in Sonepur grant of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. These places have been identified, in the same sequence, with Tamluk headquarters of the subdivision of the same name in Midnapur district, Tamberi in Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district, Khairaputi in Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district, Khairaputty in Bhanjnagar police station of Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district and probably, Khairpur situated in Raigarh taluka and district. The word Tamāla in the first two names denotes Khadira trees with black bark and white blossom. Juice of its fruits is used for putting sectarian mark on the forehead. The tree also provides material for preparing catechu and its wood is also used for fire. The names thus, indicate that portions of Ganjam and Dhenkanal district possessed Khadira trees in abundance and must have given rise to some small industry based on the products of Khadira tree.

Karañja Trees : The tree is described as *Nityaparṇī*. i.e. evergreen. It grows in the wet soil on the banks of rivers, streams and on the sea shore. Its hard wood is used for the parts of buildings, wheels of the cart. Oil is produced from its flowers and oil cake is used as the food of the cattle.[238] Place names, such as, Koroṇḍiyavishaya in Uttarakhaṇḍa, Koraṇḍiyakshetra in Madhyamakhaṇḍa, and Karañjāḍuagrāma in Sāraḍḍāvishaya mentioned in Bamanghati grant of the year 188 of the king Raṇabhañjadeva of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa, Talcher grant of Śivakaradeva and Komanda pls. dated in R.Y.31 of the king Nettabhañja alias Kalyāṇakalaśa,[239] respectively represent this species of tree. Ragolu pls. of the king Nandaprabhañjanavarman state that Karañjataṭāka[240] was situated in one of the direction of donated agrahāras. The reference suggests that the specie can also be cultivated on the bank of the tank. The tree was also known, as the place name Altālaṅghapurakoṭṭa[241] referred to in Nivina pls. of the year nine of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja denotes, by the name Tālaṅgha as well. According to Monier Monier Williams, Tālaṅga means *cyprinus Rohita* and as mentioned in *Amarakośa*, Rohitaka is red Karañja.[242] The word Al in the first part of the name speaks of a place on this side. It shows that there were two places named after Tālaṅgha trees. Of the places referred to above the chief place of the vishaya can be identified with a place Karanjia, headquarters of the taluka of the same name in Mayurbhanj district and the vishaya seems to have included the region surrounding Karanjia. The chief place of Koroṇḍiyakshetra has been identified with the place Kolanda in

Dhenkanal district. The place Karañjādugrāma could not be identified but the place Tālaṅghapura has been equated with a place Longhara in Khallikote taluka, Ganjam district. Thus these names indicate that portions of Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal and Ganjam district had plenty of Karañja trees and these regions and places must have provided wood to carpenters manufacturing carts and cartwheels and different parts of buildings and material for oil pressing industry and thus imply the existence of the different professions related to the products of Karañja tree.

Tamarind : It is a large tree with compound leaves with small leaflets in 10-20 pairs, yellowish flowers with reddish streaks and fleshy long fruits with dark brown seeds. It is the most common tree in central and southern regions in India and is also planted on roadsides and in gardens. The pulp of the fruit is medicinal and has laxative properties. It is a refreshing drink. The timber of this tree is resistant to insect attacks and is used for agricultural implements, domestic articles, furniture etc. It is used for making charcoal, and also for gunpowder. The leaves are used for preparing yellow dye and fruit pulp is used for cleaning silver and brassware and other utensils. Seeds are used in jam and jelly, in sizing certain types of cloth and as wood cement.[243] Two names representing this tree from our source are Konatinthigrāma[244] and Vakratentalīgrāma.[245] These have been known from Baud grant of 54 R.Y. of Mahārāja Raṇabhañja and Vakratentali inscription of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of the Somavaṁśin dynasty, respectively. Of these, Konatinthigrāma in Khatiyavishaya has been identified with a place named Kontuani, two miles south of Baud in Phulbani district. The place Vakratentalīgrāma in Lupattarākhaṇḍa seems identical with a place named Bantentily, sixteen miles west of Sonepur in Sonepur district. Apart from these place names after tamarind trees there are references to the tamarind trees situated on the different boundaries of the donated villages e.g. Dharmalingeśvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman refers to tamarind trees, Chiñchāvṛiksha,[246] in two directions of the donated place Haḍubakagrāma in Pushyagiripañchālivishaya. Place Haḍubaka has been identified with a place Hadubaka in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. Dharmalingeśvara grant of G.E. 204 of king Anantavarman refers to Chiñchābāppi, Chiñchāpaṁkti, Chiñchābanarājī, Chiñchābālmika and Chiñchādruma[247]on different borders of the donated place Tālatthera in Koshtrukavarttini. The donated place has not been identified. Thus the place names and references to tamarind trees in the grants of the Gaṅga kings indicate the existence of large number of tamarind trees in Baud, Sonepur and Ganjam districts. These places must have provided wood for making agricultural implements while its leaves may have been used for preparing yellow dye; the pulp of its fruits must have been used on large scale in kitchen and for other domestic purposes.

Sandal Wood : According to the description of the tree in the work 'Medicinal

Plants,' it is middle sized evergreen tree with dark, rough bark with vertical cracks. Its mature wood is scented. Its flowers are small, dull, purplish, and bloom in small bunches. Its round shaped fruits are of purple black colour. The tree grows in abundance in Deccan peninsula, particularly in the southern region. The oil obtained from its heartwood is used to promote and facilitate urination, inflammation of the bladder, gonorrehoea, cough and tuberculosis of gallbladder. The paste of its wood, prepared by grinding it in water is applied on the forehead in fever, on local inflammation and in skin diseases. The oil extracted from seeds is useful in skin diseases. Its wood powder is used as perfume in the preparations of the toilet articles and also in insecticides.[248] There are only two places named after the sandalwood tree. Sumandala grant of G.Y.250, of the king Pṛithivīvigraha records the grant of the place Chandanavāṭaka[249] in Parakkhalamārgavishaya. It seems to have retained its identity in the place named Chandanapalli, to the east of Sumandala in Khallikote taluka in Ganjam district. The other name after this tree is Vakaveḍḍagrāma in Oṅgāṭaṭavishaya[249a] referred to in Patna pls. of sixth year of the Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. It has been identified with a place named Vankavira in former Sonepur state. These names denote the existence of the tree in Ganjam and Sonepur district. The local people must have used its powder for making perfume and toilet articles and other medicinal purposes. Besides, wealthy persons must have used it for making images and bedsteads for their use. *Varāhamihira*[250] recommends the use of Chandana wood for bedsteads and seats i.e. *āsana*.

Mahua : According to the Buguda charter of the king of Śailodbhava dynasty, donated place Puipiṇogrāma in Khadirapāṭaka was situated in Guḍḍa vishaya.[251] The word Guḍḍa seems to have come from the word Guḍa = Mahua tree. The division vishaya had obtained its name after plenty of Mahua tree and the chief place of the vishaya has been identified with place Buguda, the find spot of the grant in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. The other name after this tree is Madhuvāṭaka.[252] As mentioned in the Banpur grant, it was attached to Thoraṇavishaya and has been identified with place Madhupur in Khandapada taluka in Puri district.

In early literary works the tree is described by the name *Vanaprastha*. It shows that the tree grows in woodlands. It is a large deciduous tree and occurs in all plains and lower hills of India. At certain places it is a chief constituent of the forest. The bark, the leaves, the flowers and seeds of the tree are used as drug. Decoction of the bark is applied for curing itch, bleeding gums, ulcers and given internally in diabetes. Its leaves are astringent and the ash of the leaves is mixed with butter and applied on burns and scalds. Flowers are cool and nutritive and used in cough and bronchitis. A spirit prepared from flowers is taken as tonic and

nutritive. The flowers have some antibacterial properties as well. Seeds of its fruit are helpful in the formation and flow of the milk. Oil extracted from the seeds is used in skin diseases. Besides these medicinal uses, the flowers of the tree are eaten raw or cooked, to satisfy the hunger and are also used for preparing alcohol, vinegar, syrup, jams etc. Its oil is used in preparing soaps, in cooking etc. Mahua cake is used as manure and some times it is given to cattle too. Its timber is used for several miscellaneous purposes.[253] Thus the tree seems to be the most important tree of period and though the people might not have been aware of its all medicinal properties they must be knowing other uses of the tree. They must be using its different parts for different domestic purposes. The regions with plenty of Mahua trees must have provided material to liquor makers of the region and seed cakes as manure.

Suvarṇaka : We have very interesting place name from Banpur grant of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja. According to the grant, queen Kalyāṇadevī donated three *Ṭimpiras* of land from the place named Suvarṇaraloṇḍī.[254] The name denotes a habitation amidst two species of trees, Suvarṇāra and Loṇḍī. Suvarṇāra is the same tree known as Suvarṇaka in Sanskṛit, Amalatāsa in Hindi and Bahava in Marathi. The name Loṇḍi seems to have come from the word Lodhrā. The place has been identified with a place Sollundi in Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district.

Suvarṇaka is a small medium sized tree with large shining bark and green leaflets. It is dry deciduous tree and is found throughout India and most common in moist or evergreen forests. In modern times it is planted on roadside avenues and gardens. The tree seems most beautiful when in flowers and fruits and due to its flowers it can be spotted from long distance. It sheds its leaves in early summer and is in full bloom during this period. Though all the parts of the tree have been endowed with medicinal properties its fruits are most important. The pulp of the fruits is a well-known laxative and is known as *Cassia pulp*. Its bark is known as sunari and is rich in tannins. The timber of the tree is strong and tough and is suitable for house and bridge posts and agricultural implements.[255] Lodhra is also a medicinal plant and is also used in perfumes.

Pine Trees : Place name Ameraśṛṅga[256] in Jalaṁvoravishaya from the Bishamagiri grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king represents the place near the hill covered with Pine trees. The tree is found in the lower Himalayas and other hills in India. In Modern times it is commonly planted for decoration. The tree has multiple properties. Its resin is used for bangles. The bark of the tree has tannins and colouring properties. Its timber is used for house building, furniture, sports goods, musical instruments, match boxes etc. Oil of turpentine is obtained from this tree. The tree may have encouraged the bangle making, colour making, tanning and

wooden industry of the region and also provided the wood for the manufacture of musical instruments.

Ebony : The place name denoting the existence of the ebony trees is Olāśṛṅgavishaya.[257] The word Olā forming the first part of the name seems to be the form of the word Alu=kind of black ebony. The place has been identified with a place named Alusing in Hindol taluka in Dhenkanal district. The wood of the tree was used for the handles of the swords and daggers. The place name Ramaṇavavishaya[258] mentioned in Dasapalla grant of the Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja points to the region covered with the other species of ebony. It is commonly known as Tinduka tree. The name may be Ramaṇavanavishaya. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place named Rumnda in Udayagiri police station and taluka in Ganjam district. Wood of the tree may have been used for making boats and handles of weapons like sword, dagger etc.

Silky Cotton Plants : We have included in this group the place names such as Tullāśṛṅgavishaya[259] in Khiñjalimaṇḍala, Tullāsidgāvishaya[260] and Tuluvaraigrāma[261] in Iṭaṇḍāvishaya and Tulumvakhaṇḍa[262] in Kosaladeśa. The word Tulu forming the first part of these names speaks of the Malberry plants. It is to be noted here that silk cocoons are fed on the leaves of these plants. The capital of Tullaśṛṅgavishaya has been equated with the place Talasingi in Nuagaon police station in Digpahandi taluka, Ganjam district. The place Tuluvaraigrāma seems identical with the place Talgaon in Anandapur police station in taluka and district Keonjhar. The chief place of Tulumvakhaṇḍa has been identified with a place Turum on the bank of the river Mahanadi in Sambalpur district. These names thus indicate that the large portions of Sambalpur and Ganjam district and some portion of Keonjhar district were covered with plenty of Tulu trees providing material for Kosā industry of ancient Orissa.

In addition to the names after the trees providing material for various purposes there are place names like Sālagrāma denoting the places with plenty of Sal trees, Koñjari representing Kendu trees, Timiṇḍiragrāma (Sirisha), Sidhāmbāvishaya, Siṅgārā-mahallopigrāma, Hiṅgulakaṭaka, Amratakshakavāsaka, Dukagrāma, Vāriśāmāgrāma, Sandaṇāvishaya, Añjanigrāma, Vañjulvaka, Liñjirāgrāma, Leṇḍāgrāma, Ḍerindhagrāma, Kommāyira, Pṛthurābhukti and many such place names denoting the existence of different species of tree with different uses. Besides, some regions like Rālagranthavishaya were named after the trees useful for preparing perfumes.[263] In modern times it is prepared from Sal tree.

Aquatic Fruits : There is only one name denoting the aquatic fruit Siṅghāḍā. According to Cuttack pls. of the third year of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, the donee of the grant had come from Siṅgoāgrāma[264] in Devībhogavishaya. The place Singoāgrāma can be identified

either with the places named Singharvahi, Singharbhata in Kanker taluka or with Singarpur in Kondagaon taluka in Bastar district.

Apart from these names of the places, we have names of different species of trees referred to in grants of the period. There were gardens with different species of trees created by the kings. The place Arāma[265] from where some of the grants of the Somavaṁśin kings were issued points to the place with gardens. This place was situated not far from Sirpur in Mahasamund taluka in Raipur district. The Vakratentali grant of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya refers to the mango and Madhuka trees in Vakratentalīgrāma.[266] These trees have also been referred to in Patna pls. of the same king.[267] These were probably Mango and Madhuka groves.

Now it is the time to turn to the industries and professions based on the forest products known from the place names and other sources.

Carpentery : Of the different industries based of the forest produce carpentry must have been most important industry of ancient Orissa. The forests and different species of trees referred to above must have helped the rise of this industry of the period under study. Wood cutting is one of the professions related to carpentry and we have places denoting the profession of wood cutters.

Wood Cutters : The splitter of the wood has been referred to in Nagari pls. of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III as *Pāṭakāra.*[268] There are interesting place name denoting a villages named after the noise of cutting of wood and implying the occupation of woodcutters. These places may have been situated in the forest-cleared area. The places are Lavāgaṇḍāgrāma[269] mentioned in Terundia pls. of the Bhauma king Śubhakaradeva II and Lāvaḍāvishaya referred to in the Patna grant of the Somavaṁśin king. The words Lavā and Lāv forming first part of these place names may have been derived after the action of cutting and the word Gaṇḍā in the former name denotes the trunk of tree or knots of wood. The latter name be Lāva-vāṭa or vāḍa. While the first name points to the village, made habitable after cutting the trees the latter name denotes the large region full of vāṭakas in forest cleared areas or the vāṭakas of the wood cutters in forested areas. These names also suggest that some people of the region were woodcutters by profession and places must have worked as the storehouses of wood of different trees. Of these places, the former has not been identified. The chief place of Lāvaḍāvishaya is equated with the place Lebda, 48 miles south-west of Bolangir. It seems that the south-western portion of the Bolangir district was known as Lāvaḍāvishaya.

The carpenters working in the wood of the different trees were sometimes known after the name of the particular tree e.g. the place Āmratakshakavāsaka[270] mentioned in the Soro grant of year 15 of the king Somadatta denotes the settlement of the carpenters working in wood of the mango. Apart from providing sticks for the royal umbrellas, fly whisks and other miscellaneous objects of day to day use

the carpenters here must have manufactured conveyances like carts and palanquins, boats and varieties of furniture for the use of royal families as well as rich people in the society. Carts yoked with bullocks, palanquins and boats have been represented in the sculptures on the walls of Sun temple at Konark. Besides, he must have prepared bedsteads and the Asanas either with the wood of single tree or with the combination of wood of the different trees available here .*Varāhamihira* recommends the wood of the *añjana, sal, syandana, chandana* along with the wood of the trees of *asana, haridra, suradaru, tinduki, śāka,* and *śinśapā* for making bedsteads and seats.[271] We know some of these species of trees from place names referred to above and these places may have provided the required material for manufacturing the bedsteads and seats. Sometimes he, as described by *Varāhamihira,* may have created these objects with the combination of wood of different trees.

We can have the idea about the shape of bedsteads and the *āsanas* from the sculptural representations on the walls of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhuvanesvar. He must have also prepared pillars and doors required for the palaces and houses. A panel depicting a lady behind the half opened door seems to be the favourite motif for the depiction with the stone workers of the period. We can see such panels on the walls of Vaital temple, Mukteśvara temple and some other temples as well. The doors of this type must have been in use here in ancient times. In addition, he must have also prepared hala, the important implement required of the agricultural operations. The trees and forests known by the place names after different species of trees must have provided the required wood for the industry of carpentry of the period under the study.

Perfume Making : Perfume maker was known by the name *Gandhik.* It is one of the industries that flourished during the period. Long list of perfumes and the formulae for the preparation of the perfumes mentioned by *Varāhamihira,* gives us idea about the different herbal perfumes manufactured in ancient times. Like the perfume maker of *Varāmihira* he may have manufactured scents to be used in the water for bath, scented hair oil, mouth perfumes, bath powders, some all purpose perfumes[272] etc. Places like Ketakapadradeśa, referred to in Midnapur pls. of the year 8 of Śubhakirti, Champā in Gomuṇḍamaṇḍala, known from Madras museum pls. of Narendradhavala, Hemaṇḍakagrāma[273] mentioned in Baranga pls. of the year 6, of the king Umāvarman, Hembakamatamba referred to in Gautami pls. of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king etc., denoting different varieties of fragrant flowers available here, must have provided required material for preparing these articles used in our period. Of these places, Champā has been identified with the place named Barampha by Misra. Other places have not been identified.

Some inscriptions of our period refer to the grants given for the maintenance of the burning of incense in temple.[274] As mentioned in *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[275] it was

prepared from the substances acquired from different trees and herbs and other objects like clarified butter, honey etc. Incense was always used in religious rituals. Place name Rālagranthavishaya[276] mentioned in the Kapoteśvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima III denotes the region famous for the trees providing substance for preparing Rāla and also implies the profession of Rāla makers. Besides, places named Gandhaṭapāṭi mentioned in the Kumurakela grant of Rāṇaka Śatrubhañja and Gandharavāḍimaṇḍala[277] referred to in Baud pls. of Saloṇabhañja may be places famous either for the manufacture of some sort of perfumes or for the species of the fragrant trees. The chief place of the maṇḍala has been equated with the place named Gandharadi in Baud subdivision of Phulbani district. The perfume maker is referred to in the Nagari grant of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima III as *Gandhik*. All these names speak of the perfume making industry of the ancient times.

Painting : Painting on the palm leaf and on canvas is one of the arts and professions developed in ancient Orissa. The themes painted on palm leaf are religious and mythological. There are temples, chariots drawn by horses, figures of fighting heroes, Lovers and beloved, merchants sailing the sea, Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadra so on and so fore.[278] Some palm leaf manuscripts preserved in State museum at Bhuvanesvar give us idea about this art of painting developed in Orissa in ancient past. It seems that places like Tālattheragrāma[279] situated in Kroshtukavarttinī, mentioned in the Dharmelingeśvara grant of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman I may have supplied material to these painters. There are many place names beginning with the word Tāla denoting the Tal tree and ancient place seems identical with the place named Talmunda in Garbandha police station Paralakimedi taluka in Ganjam district.

Canvas painting : The painter on the canvas is known as paṭuas. The paintings are famously known as paṭachitras.[280] According to *Varāhmihira*[281] silk cloth known as paṭṭa was used for painting. It seems that the ancient artist used the silk cloth known as paṭṭa for their paintings. Places named Paṭaṇikhaṇḍavishaya denoting Paṭuparṇī trees referred to above may have provided material for the manufacturing of the paṭṭa silk required by these painters. Drawing on canvas is still prevalent in Orissa and Paṭachitras of the region are famous in India and also outside India.

Bark Collection: Collection of the barks used for different purposes may have been one of the professions of the people of ancient Orissa. According to Alberuni the bark of the Tuz tree was used for writing books. It was called *Bhurja*.[282] Place named Śāñcātaka[283] described in the Soro pls. of the year 15 of Somadatta, perhaps speaks of the place famous for the source of the bark of the Tuz tree used for writing. It is not identified.

Colour Makers : Some of the trees available here must have given rise to the

colour making industry and profession of colour makers. Trees such as tamarind, Kamel, Kurubaka, known from place names may have provided raw material for preparing yellow, black, red colour, respectively, to the colour makers of the region. We know of the manufacture of blue colour from the place names after indigo plants. The names are Dvolladāgrāma[284] mentioned in Dasapalla grant of the king Nettabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa and Gauḍsimiṇilligrāma referred to in the Cuttack charter of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha suggest the manufacturing of blue colour. Of these names, Dvolladāgrāma may be Dollavāḍa. Dolla seems to have written wrongly for the word Dola i.e. Indigo plant. The place has been identified with the place named Bulonda in Dasapalla taluka in Puri district. The name Gauḍasimiṇilligrāma[285] is composed of three words, Gauḍa+Simi+ṇilli+ grāma. The word ṇilli in the name denotes the indigo plant. These places must have given rise to the profession of colour makers and also the manufacture of blue colour. During the British period Jalesvara was indigo producing centre and large area of the region was under indigo plantations. The place Kamalavanavaṇikasthāna, Kamalamaṇḍala referred to above must have provided material for preparing black colour used for colouring the garments.

As mentioned in Jaina canons colours were made from the substances as *chikura, haritāla* (yellow orpiment), *sarisava* (mustard), the flowers of *kiṁśuka, japākusuma* and *hiṅgula, kuṁkum*, blue lotus etc., and indigo and other chemical dyes were also produced. According to *Pāṇinī*, madder, indigo and orpiment were used as dyes and *Kātyāyana* has mentioned *haridra* and *mahārājan* as dyestuffs.[286]

Place Names : These colour makers and dyers, as the name Reṅgarḍāgrāma[287] in Khiñjaligaḍavishaya, mentioned as donated place in Antirigrama grant of Bhañja king Jayabhañja denotes, had their own separate habitations. The name Reṅgarḍā may be Raṅgārpāḍā can be identified with Ranganipatana, Odgaon police station in Nayagarh taluka, Puri district. The rajaka mentioned in the Nagari pls. of the Gaṅga king may be colour maker.[288] *Varāhamihira*[289] refers to dyers as *rajaka, rāgajña, and rajikā.*

Grass and Reeds workers : Place names such as Vāmbivishaya, Ramalavvavishaya (Rambalamba), Hossaṇḍigrāma, Bhasaṇḍāgrāma etc. denote, some regions and places famous for the bamboo production in ancient Orissa. Similarly, some regions and some places were, as the names Iṭaṇḍāvishaya, Vaṇḍutungagrāma, Mahiṣipadraka, Noḍḍilogrāma, Śarapadrakagrāma, Guṇḍopāṭakagrāma, Guṇḍajagrāma etc. famous for varieties of grass and reeds which must have helped the rise of variety of arts and crafts like arrow and bow making, basket making, mat making etc. in ancient times

Arrow and Bow Makers : Different varieties of grass and reeds known from place names must have provided material for preparing arrows and strings of bows.

Kauṭilya[290] informs us that arrows were prepared from *veṇū* and *śara* grass and bows were prepared from *tāla, chāpa (venū)*, wood and horns. The string of the bow was made of the threads of *murvā, arka, śaṇa, veṇū* etc. The place named Sarephāhāravishaya[291] mentioned in Soro pls. of Śambhuyaśa and Somadatta, denoting the region with plenty of *śara* grass may have many arrow and bow manufacturing centres in ancient times. Place named Sarephāsaṅgagrāma[292] mentioned in Soro pls. of Śambhuyśa seems to be the settlement of the workers making ropes and noose required by the farmers and hunters. Besides, different types of grass, as the reference to the grant for the maintenance of the roof of grass of the footprints of the god in the Talcher pls. of the year 149, of the Kara king Śivakaradeva denotes, was used for the roofs of the houses.[293] In modern times some species of the grass are cultivated here with this specific purpose. Bamboo must have been used for building of the houses. These reed and grass workers were to work under the officer *Vetrakarmaṇimukhiya.*[294] He is known from the Jayarampur grant of Gopachandra. He was, probably appointed by the government. Baskets and winnowing fans, mats, ropes etc. used by the farmers and other people in general, were prepared from bamboo, reed and grass.

Liquor Making : It seems to be the most important industry based on forest produce. During the Maurya period preparing of wine was the government monopoly and the other people could manufacture it only with the prior permission of the government.[295] References to the right of donees to recover additional taxes from Śauṇḍhika in the grants of the kings of Bhaumakara[296] dynasty perhaps speak the same thing. They have also been known from the Nagari[297] pls. of the Gaṅga king. The available evidence suggests that brewery was the flourishing industry of ancient Orissa. As stated by *Kauṭilya* wine was prepared from rice, flour, barks of the areca trees, pulp of fruits such as wood apple, molasses, honey[298] etc. But the one prepared from the flowers of Mahua i.e. breadfruit trees was very much in demand in Orissa. It was an important source of income of the government and due to this reason the Mahua trees in the donated villages were regarded as the property of the state. The donee was to enjoy the right over these trees if it was specifically mentioned in the grant e.g. some of the grants issued by the Somavaṁśin kings refer to the grant of the village along with the rights over the mango and *madhuka*[299] trees.

Place Names : We don't have any references to the particular type of wine prepared by the distillers of ancient Orissa. But plenty of Mahua trees known from the place named Guḍḍavishaya referred to in the Buguda charter and place Madhuvāṭaka[300] mentioned in Banpur grant of the Śailodbhava kings suggest the existence of the use of spirituous drink prepared from the Mahua flowers. The region of Buguda district and some region of the Puri district must have provided

the principle material required for it. We also know of the liquor made from honey from the place named Mādhvāla[301] referred to as the place of the donee of the Patna pls. of 24th year of the Somavaṁśin king. The name Mādhvāla seems to have derived from the word *Mādhvaka* meaning spirituous liquor made from honey. It seems that the donee's place was famous for the liquor prepared from honey. The ancient distillers also knew the recipe of preparing alcoholic drink from molasses. The donated place Gauḍasimiṇilligrāma,[302] as recorded in the Cuttack charter of the Somavamśin king, was in Kosalasākhaṅgadyanhavishaya. The word Gauḍa forming the first part of the name denotes the place famous for making rum or spirit from the molasses. The place has been identified with the modern place Gaisima in Bargarh taluka, Sambalpur district. The rum maker was called Gauḍika.[303] Apart from liquor making industry toddy making industry was also prevalent in the region. Some persons, as the place named Pāsitalāgrāma mentioned in Patna pls. of the year six of the Somavaṁśin king denotes, were toddy drawers by profession. The people busy in extracting the juice from the Plamyra pam and date palm were known by the name Pāsi. Pāsi is the Drāvidian occupational caste of northern India. Taping of the Plamyra palm, date and other palm trees for their sap is the hereditary occupation of this tribe.[304] The place Pāsitalāgrama known from our sources seem to represent this caste. The place was situated in Potāvishaya. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place Pow in former Sonepur state, nineteen miles south of Binka and eight miles northeast of Renda in Bolangir district. The place Pāsitalā has been identified with the place Pointala, two miles east of Bolangir in Bolangir district.

Thus the different species of timber trees, fire wood, Kendu leaves, the trees yielding resins, flower trees and many other species of trees, bamboo, reed grass etc. must have encouraged the rise of different industries and occupations and government must be earning considerable amount of revenue from the floral sources of the region in ancient times.

Forests are the abodes of wild animals and the region must be obtaining animal products such as hides, sinews, bones, teeth horns, hoops, tails of animals like leopard, tiger, elephant, buffalo, yak, crocodile, tortoise and various birds. Place names mentioned in the grants give us idea about the various species of animals and birds known here in ancient times. Place names after fauna discussed in the chapter titled 'Fauna of the Region' point to the rich faunal resources of ancient Orissa. All these places must have been source of income for the government in ancient past. Here we will take into account the occupations related to the faunal wealth of the region.

Hunters, Catchers: The government and the donees in charge of donated grāmas must be obtaining the useful faunal products referred to above through

the hunters and catchers of the animals and birds. Hunting of wild animals is the common scene on the lintels of the temples in Orissa.[305] We can see a hunter with bow and arrow in the hunting scene depicted on Mukteśvara[306] temple and a horse rider hunting the boar with lance in the hunting scene at Konark.[307] These animals have been represented by the places named Potavishaya, Kuraṅgagrāma and Varāhavarttinī. While the first two names speak of the places famous for different species of deer the third one points to the region infested with boars. Majority of the residents of these places may be hunters of these animals. In the same way the places Leiśṛṅga, Maramenḍāgrāma, Vyāghrapurabhukti, Kroshṭukavarttinī, Śṛigālapadrikā, Śivāvivāsa, Hoṇḍalagrāma, Alāṇḍalāgrāma might be famous for the respective animals and for the hunters of these animals as well.

Trappers and Catchers : Trapping of the elephants was one of the favourite occupations of the people of Orissa. A frieze depicting the scene of the elephant catch on the lintel of Bharateśvar temple,[308] and the scene of the trapping of the animal with the help of tamed and trained elephants in the one of panels on the walls of the Lingaraja temple[309] speak of the profession of catching and trapping of elephants prevalent in ancient times. Rows of elephants created on the temples at Konark speaks of the availability and also the popularity of the elephants in Orissa in ancient times. The fact is supported by Hiuen-Tsang. According to his description, the country of Koṅgoda produced large black elephants that were suitable for long journey.[310] Some kings of Orissa were expert in art of trapping and taming the elephants. According to Banpur and Parikud[311] pls. of the king Mādhyamarāja I of the Śailodbhava dynasty, the king was expert in the art of dragging of the mighty elephants and carefully turning them into tamed creatures. The elephants were caught for their use in the army as well as for the transportation of goods as well as persons. We know of the war elephants[312] from the Puri pls. of the king Dharmarāja of the same dynasty referred to above. The elephants used in different works were given the training in accordance with the nature of the work they were to do. The Hudud-al-Alam[313] also refers to large and tall elephants of the Bhauma kingdom.

Ivory Products : Tusks of the elephants were much in demand in ancient world because of their use for embellishment of the wooden furniture and also for preparing different objects like bangles, bracelets etc. Ivory bangles, both plain and decorated, have been recovered at Nevasa in 1st cent. B.C.-2nd-3rd cent. A.D. levels and at Bhokardan in Sātavāhana levels as well as in the levels assigned to later period. Bangles have been adorned with designs like incised small circles in relief, row of circles, rayed sun, circles with a dot in the centre, slanting lines, two rows of incised lines etc. Decorated ivory bangles have also been recovered at Taxila.[314] Human figure carved out of ivory has been recovered in excavation at Bhokardan and similar specimen found in remains at Pompeii in Campania[315]

indicates the popularity of carved ivory objects in India and also in foreign countries. Periplus of the Erythraean sea mentions ivory in the list of objects exported from India.[316] *Kauṭilya* mentions some rules regarding the cutting of the tusks of the elephants from different regions. As stated by him, the tusks of the elephants from the banks of the rivers should be cut off once in two and half years but the tusk of the elephants from a mountainous region should be cut off once in five years.[317]

Place Names : Places named Hastipāda, Hastileṇḍāgrāma, Dantayavāgumadamba, Dantayavāgubhoga Śivarākhaṇḍa, etc., apart from speaking of the settlements in the forest with plenty of elephants point to favourite profession of the trapping, taming and training of the elephants of their occupants. Many of the residents of these places may have mastered the art of preparing plain and decorated luxury objects of ivory for the royal family and wealthy people. These places must also be providing the ivory to the government storehouses.

Reptile Catchers : While the people of these forest villages were trappers and catchers of the elephants some people of the places like Kaśaloḍāvishaya famous for the rodent animals, Chitragummī, and Ardhākamaṇḍuka known after the different species of snakes, may be catchers of the rodent animals and these reptiles.[318]

Bird Catcher : Like hunters of animals there were some places resided by the bird catchers. These people have been represented by the place names, Sakunakagrāma[319] in Varāhavarttīnivishaya and Teturagrāma.[320] Of these the former was situated, as described in the Madras museum pls. of the Anantaśaktivarman on the border of the villages Dirghavāla and Sindivāsi. It has not been identified. The latter place has been mentioned in Badakhimedi grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman. It was situated to the west of the donated land in Paḍalaśṛṅgagrāma. The name may be Taittiragrāma=a habitation of the catcher of the bird Patridge. It has been identified with the place Tintinipalli situated to the west of the place Patala or Padala in Badagaon police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Night Birds and Terrific Birds : We also know of the night bird and terrific species of birds from place names. While the night birds have been represented by place names such as Ullakheṭa and Vāghulakhaṇḍa[321] the only name denoting the presence of terrific birds in the region is Meruṇḍā.[322] Place Ullakheṭa, as described in the grant of Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta IV was the donee's place. Ulla=owl is the king of night birds and the place has been identified with a place named Ulakhera in Sarangarh taluka in Raigarh district. The name Vāghulakhaṇḍa, known from the grant of Bhañja king seems to have derived from the word Valgula that means a species of night bird. The place Meruṇḍā mentioned in Vakratentali grant of the Somavaṁśin king was donee's place. It may be Bheruṇḍa. The place

seems to have retained its identity in the place name Menda in Sonepur taluka and district.

Horse : Two place names after horse available to us are Aśvavanakaṭikāvishaya,[323] Turuvunnā[324] mentioned in grant of the Kara queen and the grant of Somavaṁśin king, respectively. Of these places, the former place points to the forest preserved for horses and the latter name denotes the place famous for swift horses. The name Aśvavanakaṭikā may have some relation with the reserved forest Asvavana in Kamakshyanagar taluka in Dhenkanal district and the place Turuvunnā has been identified with the place Turanga in Raigarh taluka and district, and there must be some person looking after this vana.

Hunters, elephant trappers and bird catchers from these places must be providing skins, bones, sinews, eyes, teeth, horns, tails and hoofs of the wild animals and also snakes for preparing poisons to the government or to the concerned authorities and also be preparing some articles of common use from these parts of the animals. *Kauṭilya*[325] asks his *Kupyādhyaksha* to store these objects in the royal storehouse. Sometimes skins of the different animals were used as garments and for seats as well. Cloth of the skin of udra, black deer, blue deer, yellow dear, tiger skin, panther's skin were looked upon as expensive one. *Kauṭilya* describes the qualities of the skins obtained from different regions.[326] According to *Varāhamihira*[327] skins of oxen, lions, tigers, and wild cats were used as seats, especially during the religious rituals. The skins obtained by the hunter must have been made usable by the tanning process. Some of the hunters of the region must have been tanners by profession and they must be collecting tanning material for their purpose from plenty of trees oozing resins useful for tanning. The tanners were known to *Varāhamihira* as *carmakāra* and *carmaśilpin*.[328]

Water Resources

Now we shall turn to the names after the water sources in ancient Orissa. There are names, such as Jārāvishaya, Jalaṁvoravishaya, Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala, Telātaṭavishaya, Oṅgātaṭavishaya, Oṅgādvishaya of divisions named after the water. While the place names Komasarā, Ambasara, Kanthasarānagarī, Ambasarīgrāma, Loisarāgrāma, Vāriśāmāgrāma, Talakajjagrāma and Śankhajotivalaya are named after the water streams and places like Taḍeśvaragrāma, Tarabhramaraka, Turullāgrāma, Tora, Taramaṇḍapa, Luputtarākhaṇḍa, Doṅgigrāma, Padārāgrāma, speak of the rivers. Besides, there were places like Talaigrāma with many tanks and Pāsitalāgrāma denoting tank in the habitation of Toddy drawer and a place with beautiful tank is represented by the name Vāmaitalla. There were, as the name Pettasarāgrāma indicates, lakes too. All these place names indicate that large portion of Orissa was covered with water.

Aquatic Animals and Birds : Rivers, streams and tanks are the resorts of the different species fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, and species of watery serpents, frogs, conch shells and also some birds. The place named Jalajaḍu[329] in Kosala, the place of the donee of the grant, must be a place famous after all the species of aquatic animals and birds. It has been identified with the place Jalajodo near Talagaja in Bolangir district. Besides some places, as the names Ataigrāma[330] in Vāsevakhaṇḍa in Khiñjalimaṇḍala and Konnayilāgrāma[331] in Ṭokkārāvishaya in Kosaladeśa referred to in the grant of Bhañja king and grant of the Somavaṁśin king, respectively, denotes, were famous after the water birds. The word Atai in the name Ataigrāma may have been written wrongly for the word Ati= an aquatic bird. The place has been identified with the place named Atraipalli in Tarasingi police station in Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district. Konnayilāgrāma, the other place denoting the species of water bird seems to have come from the words such as Konālaka, Konāli=acquatic birds. .

Fishes and Tortoises : Some grants refer to the tanks with fishes on one of the border of the donated land or village e.g. Puri grant of the Dharmarāja refers to the tank with the fishes as *Matsini.*[332] Many of the grants refer to uninterrupted right of the donee to water sources and some grants specifically refer to the right of donee to the fishes and tortoises of the donees e.g. Kelga pls. of the Somavaṁśin king Someśvaradeva refer to the rights of the donee over the fish and tortoises of the donated village.[333] Dasgoba grants and Kapoteśvara inscription of the Gaṅga kings also refer to the right of the donee over the fishes and tortoises (*Matsya, Kashypa*)[334] of the donated places. These references suggest that the government must be earning big amount of money from fish and tortoise catchers.

Now we come to the industries and professions related to water resources.

Fisherman : Fishermen are invariably mentioned in the literature from *Vedic* times to the period of our study. According to *Sāyana,*[335] hooks and nets were used by fisherman for catching fish. Jaina canons mention thirty-two ways of catching fish and hook, as one of the means used for the purpose.[336] While a fisherman catching the fish by netting the tank on either side was known as *Dhivara* fishermen using net for the purpose were known as *Baina, Kaivarta* and *Mainãla.* Net and Line (*Jãla Bãlisa*) were the important implements of the fisherman during the period of the Jātakas. Jaina canons refer to bow nets used by the fisherman for catching the fishes. *Pāṇinī* mentions two implements viz., net called *Jãla* and *Anaya* as the equipments of the fisherman.[337]

Ancient fishermen of Orissa, as the hooks found in excavation at Sisupalgarh indicates, were using hooks for fishing. The iron hooks recovered here in 200-350 A.D. levels are with sharp, tapering and curved ends.[338] The references to the *Kaivartas*[339] in some epigraphs of the period speak of the fishermen using net for catching fishes.

Boats : The fishermen sometimes used boats for fishing. It seems that boats like long fishing boat *Utpata* mentioned by *Pāṇinī*[340] were specifically prepared for the purpose. These were sometimes owned by the government and were provided to fishermen on rent. Kauṭilya asked his officer to recover one sixth portion of the fishes caught by the fisherman as the rent of the boat.[341]

Conch Shell and Pearl Collectors : Collecting conchshell and pearls seems to be the ancient profession of the people of Orissa as it is today. These people must be using boats for collecting conch-shells and pearls and *Kauṭilya* asked these people either to pay the rent for the boat or to use their own boats. Place names such as Kambukirikshilākagrāma in Uttamālokavishaya, mentioned in the Olasinga grant of *Mahāsāmanta* Śri. Bhānudatta, Śaṅkhapura in Madhyamakhaṇḍavishaya referred to in Talchera grant of the Kara king Śivakaradeva III, and Kāmaverālavishaya[342] mentioned in Russelkonda inscription of the king Nettabhañja were probably related to the job of conch gatherer and also workers in conch shell. Kamvu+kiri+kshilāka+grāma= Kambu=conch shell or bracelet of conch-shell, Kiri may be after the noise of cutting of shell and Kshilāka is Śilāka =a small hill. Thus the name speaks of the habitation of the conch shell workers on the small hill. Śaṅkhapura, as the name denotes was the settlement of the conch shell workers. Kamverālavishaya may be Kāmbvikāvishaya i.e. the region occupied by the dealers in shell, maker or vendor of shell ornament. Of these, only Śaṅkhapura has been identified. It seems identical with the place Sonkamur in Khamar police station in Pal-lahara taluka, Dhenkanal district. Hudnd-al-Alam[343] mentions white conch, which is blown like trumpet and called Shank in the list of products of this country.

Irrigation : There was a practice of using the water for irrigating the land by taking channels from streams, rivers, tanks and sometimes embankments were also raised on the rivers with the same purpose. Kumurang grant of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī refers to Sottrabandha and Samudrakarabandha[344] lying to the east of donated village Kāleśvara. Similarly, Raṇabhañjabandha[345] constructed by Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, mentioned in the Orissa Museum grant, may have been used for the same purpose. In the same way the channels from streams, rivers and tanks around the donated lands and villages referred to in some of the grants must have been used for the irrigating the lands. The farmers of the place using the water from streams, rivers, tanks etc. either with hand or with the channels were required to pay water tax.[346] *Kauṭilya* asked his *Sitādhyaksha* to recover one fifth of the produce from the persons who provided water from their own tank with their hands as tax. Some people must have good knowledge of selecting the place suitable for the construction of bunds.

Water Transportation : Many streams and rivers were used for the transportation of goods and passengers and the places situated near the fords must

be collecting large amount as custom and ferry charges from traders and passengers. These boats were known as *"Dongi"* and *"Tari"*. These were used for taking small animals, porters with goods, wood, grass, fruits, vegetables, and also passengers from one place to the other place. The time of travelling by the Tari was fixed. A man was to travel by the Tari at the fixed times and from the fixed places. The places or stations of the Tari and times of ferries were also fixed. The fare of the Tari was decided in accordance to the nature of the objects to be taken in the Tari.[347] Some people must be earning their livelihood by taking passengers and goods across the rivers.

Place Names : Available place names speak of the practice of crossing the streams and rivers by Dongi and Tari in ancient Orissa. The names are Doṅgigrāma, Tarabhramaraka, Taramaṇḍapa, Tarataloi, Padāragrāma, Torogrāma, Turullāgrāma etc. Of these, the Dongigrāma[348] has been mentioned in Puri grant of Dharmarāja. It was in Varttanīvishaya and has been identified by Behra with the place Donguri in Kodal taluka in Ganjam district. The place seems to have obtained its name after the small boat known as *ḍongi*. The place Tarabhramaraka[349] known from the Tersinga grant of the king Tushṭikara speaks of the place situated at the point from where the ferryboats were constantly moving. It has been identified with the place Talabhamara situated on the confluence of the river Utai and Tel. It is two miles to the south of Belkhandi in Kalahandi district. Place Taramaṇḍapa[350] mentioned in the Terundia pls. of the king Śivakara II of the Kara dynasty may have been situated at the important place on the bank of the river and must be a tax collecting centre. It has been identified with the place Terundia in Puri district. Name Tarataloi[351] from the grant of the Kara queen denotes a place named after navigable lake. It has been identified with the place Talatali in Angul taluka, Dhenkanal district. The place Turullāgrāma[352] is one more name after the fording place. As described in the grant of the Bhañja king, it was situated in the Tullaśṛṅgavishaya and is identified with the place Tholloudi in Tarsingi police station in Ghumsar taluka in Ganjam district. All these places must be rendering large amount of ferry charges known as *taradeya*[353] and *taḍaukara*[354] to the government or the concerned authorities.

While the terms *Taradeya* and *Taḍaukara* referred to in the Talcher grant of the Bhaumakara king and Pataleśvara temple inscription of the Gaṅga king, respectively denote ferry due the place Lupattarākhaṇḍa and Luputtarākhaṇḍa[355] mentioned in the grants of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya point to the region that has stopped paying *taradeya*. The name may be Luptatarākhaṇḍa-the region that has ceased paying revenue to government. The place has been identified with the place Lepta, six miles south-west of Bolangir in Bolangir district and the khaṇḍa was included portions of Sambalpur and Bolangir districts. The region is situated on the banks of rivers Tel and Mahanadi and it must be collecting large amount of ferry money. But due to some reasons it stopped the payment.

Boat making: Besides, we have two names viz., Torogrāma and Padāragrāma,[356] after boats. While the former was situated, as mentioned in grant of the Tuṅga king, in Veṇḍuṅgavishaya in Yamagarttāmaṇḍala, the later place, as the Puri pls. of king of Śulki dynasty informs us, was in Goyilokhaṇḍa. Both these places may be boat making centres and fording places as well. Torogrāma may be Taragrāma and has been identified with the place Thorkol in Pal-lahara taluka in Dhenkanal district. Padāragrāma is not identified. It may be a boat-making centre or may be meeting place of the boats coming from different directions and places.

The boats used for crossing the watercourses were known as *"nau"* and also as *"udakavāhana"* or *"udavāhana*. The ferryboat was known as Nāvya. Small dug out float, known as *Utsaṅga*, long fishing boat, known as *Utpata*, a basket like coracle made of weeds and rushes and covered with leather known as *Piṭaka*, and rafts of goat's skin known as *Bhastrā* were the different types of small boats used for crossing the rivers and streams known to *Pāṇinī*. He also informs us that the raft sewn of the skin of the goat was provided with one hole for inflation. It was tied to the platform made of sticks or the net of fisherman was spread on it and the passengers could travel at the rate of eight mile per hour on such raft.[357] People in ancient Orissa must have prepared some such types of small boats for crossing the rivers and streams and also big boats for transportation of the merchandise as described in *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*.[358]

The region of Orissa is riverine in character and many of its seaports are situated on the mouths of rivers. Besides, these rivers work like connecting links between different parts of the province and must have been used as water routes for transportation of goods and also the passengers. The riverine character of the region seems to have given rise to the boat building industry of the region. People in ancient Orissa were adept in the art of building boats for different purposes. As described in *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, big, strong and swift rowing boats in the Chilka lake were carrying thousand persons. Wooden body of these boats was covered with copper plates.[359] Apart from the people following the profession of carrying passengers and goods across the rivers and streams the state must have maintained large number of boats for carrying internal and overseas trade. The government must be earning good amount of revenue from the water sources and industries related to these sources.

Mineral Resources

According to the modern geographical works, Orissa state has rich mineral deposits. Some most important minerals found here are iron ore, coal, manganese, chromite, dolomite, fire clay, china clay, kaolin, bauxite, copper, lead, asbestos, mica etc. Most of these are available in the four inland districts of Keonjhar,

Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Sambalpur. As stated in the work, among the various states, Orissa stands fourth after Bihar, west Bengal and Madhya Pradesh in the reserves of minerals.[360] We have the glimpses of the mineral and metals available in ancient Orissa from following place names.

Stones : Names of the divisions such as Krishṇagirivishaya, Mahendrabhoga, Pushyagiripañchāli, Parvvatadvāra, Khiṇḍiṅgāhāravishya etc. mentioned in inscriptions point to the regions with mountains and hills and these must have deposits of some minerals or stones as well. Besides, places Sallyāmāyi, Prastaravāṭaka etc, also speak of the hilly and stony places which may have possessed some variety of stones used for different purposes.

While the name Loivishaya speaks of the region with great reserve of borax the name Tāmuravishaya, seems to point to the division with deposits of copper and the name Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra may be famous as the place of copper workers. In the same way while Lohaśṛṅgaravishaya seems to refer to the large region well-known for iron ore the place Lohaśṛṅgara, probably, speaks of the grāma of ironsmiths. Now we shall turn to the different industries and professions based on these sources.

Let us now have a survey of the industries and professions related to minerals and metals.

Stone Workers : The large number of temples and sculptures dateable to our period suggest the existence of large-scale stone industry. Reference to the right of the donees over the Pāshāṇa[361] in Degaon charter of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya probably denotes the right to lease stone quarries. The places Prastaravāṭaka and Sallyāmāyi[362] mentioned in Tersinga charter of the king Tushṭikara and the undated Kesari grant of the Bhañja king respectively, imply the existence of the stone workers. Of these, the former place seems to have acquired the name Patharala in Kalahandi district and the latter village seems to have given its place to the locality known as Saloi situated in Tiringi police station, Rairangpur taluka in Mayurbhanj district. As a matter of fact, the region is so much hilly that there must be stone workers in many of the villages situated amidst the hills and near the hills and in the donated places they must be working for the donees and in the region under the direct rule of the king they must have been working for the government. Besides, the temples constructed with blocks of stones during the regimes of the different dynasties as well as the sculptures adorning these monuments and the Buddhist sculptures at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri speak volume of the skill and the mastery of the stone cutting and carving technique of the stone workers and sculptors of the period under consideration.

Technique of Breaking Hard Stones : *Varāhamihira* prescribes four chemical

preparations for breaking the hard rocks (1) wood of *palāśa, tinduka* trees along with lime water, (2) mixtures of the ashes of the *mokshaka* tree, reeds and water, (3) mixture of ash of bark and leaves of the *neem* tree, stalks of sesamum, *apāmārga, tinduka, guḍuchi* and bovine urine (4) mixture of butter milk, Kañji, jujube fruits, liquor, and horsegram.[363] The stone workers of ancient Orissa must also have been aware of some such chemical preparations for breaking hard rocks. The builders and sculptors here were well-acquainted with the nature of the different types of stones available here and selected proper stones for building purposes and for the sculptures.

Sculptors : Sculptors here had also mastered the technique of preparing images from single block of the stone as well as from different blocks of the stones and had good knowledge of carving the decorative motifs and human and animal figures in low and high relief and also the art of giving three dimensional effect to the carved figures. The decorative motifs and sculptures adorning the monuments and also independent images are the clear proof of the superb workmanship of the sculptors.[364] The reference to *śilpins*[365] in the Nagari inscription of the Gaṅga king point to the group of sculptors living in the donated township.

Metal Industries : Among the metal industries we have place names denoting iron and copper industries. The raw material required by these industries, as stated by B.S. Das, was obtained from the copper and iron mines situated on the Bihar–Orissa areas near Mayurbhanj.[366] According to the modern geographical work, the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, and Sundargarh are famous for iron ore deposits and they also occur in Jajpur, Dhenkanal and Nowrangapur districts.[367] There are iron mines in Mayurbhanj district[368] and metal workers during the regime of Bhañja dynasty ruling over this area may be aware of these mines and have some knowledge obviously of the technique of obtaining metal from these deposits. Metal objects are prepared by beating the metal with hammer and bending the metal. But the metal has to be heated first and special furnaces are used for heating. Remains of furnaces of early coppersmith and blacksmith's have been revealed in excavations at Mathura and Ujjain. The one recovered at the latter place show a furnace of semicircular shape and it is provided with groove for putting the end of bellows with the purpose of maintaining the flow of air to keep the furnace burning. Portable furnace of metal workers found at Sirkap is of course red clay and has four holes either for putting an air or for cross bars for charcoal. Remains of furnace of megalithic period revealed at Naikund in Maharashtra show a furnace of circular clay bricks and it has a hole in the bottom for fixing the blowpipe. Remains of blowpipe found at Sisupalgarh[369]suggest that the metal workers here were using some sort of furnace for their work.

Iron Implements : The agricultural iron implements such as sickles, axes,

chisels, and household objects like door hinges, kitchen knives, elephant goads etc. recovered in the excavations as Viratgarh along with the Kushan coins[370] denote the existence of iron industry in Mayurbhanj district during the regime of Bhañjas of Khijjingakotta. Besides these implements and other objects the ironsmiths here must have manufactured different types of weapons as well. But in the absence of iron weapons found in excavations we have to depend for the study of the different types of weapons prepared and used here in ancient times on the sculptural representations.

Arrows : Different types of weapons depicted on the walls of the temples at Bhuvanesvar, Konark and Puri[371] point to the flourishing iron industry in the period of our study. Among the weapons presented here, arrows, spears and daggers are prominently depicted. These were used by foot soldiers as well as by cavalry. Arrowheads depicted at Konark are of different shapes. We cannot say anything of the material used for preparing these arrows. But some of these must have made of iron. As described by *Kauṭilya,*[372] three types of arrows viz., made of Śara grass and wood, made with the combination of wood and iron and made of complete iron were in use in ancient times. Those with the combination of wood and iron were known as Daṇḍāsana, and those of complete iron were called Nārācha. Besides, points of arrows were made of iron, bone and wood, in accordance with the purpose.

Iron arrowheads recovered in excavation at Sisupalgarh in A.D. 200-300 levels are of tanged and socketed variety. While the tanged arrow points are fixed in the shaft of reed the socketed points are provided with the solid shaft. The specimens of the tanged variety found here are of the shape of leaf.[373]

Spears : Spear was the popular weapon of cavalry. It consisted of long shaft of bamboo or wood and a pointed blade of iron. It was used for thrusting and was useful in the fight with elephants as well. When made entirely of iron it was known as *Tomara* or lance. Warriors and hunters used the lance and sometimes horseman carried two lances in his hands.[374] The specimens recovered in 100-200 A.D. levels at Sisupalgarh are leaf shaped.[375]

Caltrops : Apart from arrowheads and spears, excavation at Sisupalgarh brought to light a curious weapon known as caltrop which was used in ancient times to create hurdles in the way of enemy. Two intact specimens obtained here in century 200 A.D. levels are with four spikes. These have been arranged in such way that whichever way the object may be thrown one of the spikes always projects upwards. Caltrop with four radiating spikes has also been recovered at Nasik in 400-300 B.C. levels. The weapon called Hāṭaka with three tips, described by Kauṭilya may be like the caltrop recovered in excavations. The weapon has also been mentioned by Bhāsa and in Tamil literature.[376]

Daggers : Dagger is yet another weapon depicted in sculptures at Konark.[377] It is a short and handy weapon. And is carried by both the soldiers and civilians. Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the Somavaṁśin king state that the king Svabhāvatuṅga killed the king of Orissa with a sharp pointed dagger.[378]

Swords : Swords depicted in the sculptures give us some idea about the shape of this weapon e.g. the sword depicted in the Gauri temple shows a double bladed straight sword.[379] Some military scenes at Konark represent women with swords moving with the army. Armed women are also seen here as the attendants of the king. The sculptural representations on temple at Konark[380] show three types of this weapon viz., swords with pointed tips, swords with round tips and swords with tips of the shape of lotus petals. Different types of swords have also been described by Kauṭilya and Varāhamihira.[381] Use of swords in ancient Orissa is also known from the references in grants issued by the Śailodbhava dynasty. Ganjam charter of G.S. 230 of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja informs us that the king killed his enemy with the sword.[382] Kaliṅga was famous for the manufacture of the swords in ancient times. The famous work *Yuktikalpataru* mentions Kaliṅga along with Banaras, Magadha, Nepal, Saurāshṭra as the important centre for the manufacturing of swords.[383]

People here also prepared the weapon known as Bhusuṇḍi. The place named Bhusuṇḍāgrāma[384] in Aṇḍadāśruṅgavishaya referred to in Badakhemedi grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman seems to have obtained its name after the manufacture of the weapon Bhuśuṇḍi=kind of weapon. It may be of iron. The place has been identified with the place Bhusunda in Patpara police station in Asika taluka in Ganjam district.

Weapons were, probably worshipped with certain mantra to achieve success. It seems that inhabitants of some regions were famous for the knowledge of this type of mantras. We know of such people from the name Sutantarakumbha-vishaya.[385] As mentioned in the Terundia grant of the Kara king Śivakaradeva III, it was situated in south Tosalī. The name is composed of two words-Sutantara, may be Sutantra and Kumbha. Sutantra means well versed in the technique of commanding good troops and Kumbha is the name of mantra pronounced over the weapons. The name thus suggests that the inhabitants of the region were well-versed in the doctrine of the worship of weapons with Kumbha mantra and had command over good troops.

Place Names : The ironsmiths were called *Karmakāra*. We have two types of place names denoting iron industry. (1) Names after the source of iron and (2) names denoting the objects of iron. In the first group there are names such as Loivishaya, Lohaśṛṅgāravishaya and Siṅghalagrāma. In the second group the names we can take are Lovākaraḍā, Lohaśṛṅgāra and Bhusuṇḍāgrāma. Of these,

the place Loivishaya[386] known from the Deogam pls. of the Bhañja dynasty speaks of the place with plenty of iron deposits and can be identified with the place Lunahar in Sainkul police station in Anandapur taluka in Keonjhar district. The division Lohaśṛṅgāravishaya[387] mentioned in Pherava grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman denotes the region that was dominated by the hills with coppery red top. It can be identified either with the place Luhasingi in Seranga police station in Udayagiri taluka or Luhasing in Udayagiri police station in Udayagiri taluka in Ganjam district. The place Siṅghalagrāma[388] known from the Baranga grant of the king Nandaprabhañjanavarman may be the place known for rusted iron objects. The name may have been derived from the word Siṇhāṇa= rust of iron. It has not been identified. Now we come to the names of the second group. Place Lovākarḍā[389] referred to in Baripada inscription of the king of Nanda dynasty may be originally Lohakarapāḍā or Vāḍā and speaks of the habitation of the ironworkers. It has been identified with the place Karada in Khandapada taluka in Puri district. Of the places Lohaśṛṅgara and Bhusuṇḍāgrāma,[390] the former is mentioned as the place which included Borudravakoṇa. It seems to have retained its identity in a place named Lausinga situated in Seranga police station, Parlakemedi taluka of Ganjam district. The name points to the habitation of the ironworkers manufacturing iron chains, for tying the cruel elephants. *Kauṭilya*[391] mentions two chains in the list of the tools required for tying the cruel elephants. The place, Bhusuṇḍāgrāma speaks of the some kind of iron weapon. Karmakāra[392] or blacksmith has been referred to in Badakhemedi grant of the Gaṅga king.

Apart from these place names denoting ironworkers and iron objects, the places named after the iron may also be preparing certain iron objects required by the farmers and other people in the society. It seems that blacksmiths of the period had good knowledge of the process of smelting and chemical tests of the metals.

Copper Smiths: Ancient Indians had mastered the technique of preparing copper objects. We know of the copper workers of Orissa from the copper pls. used for recording the grants, objects of copper and place names. For creating copper objects of different shapes the metal is heated first in the fire. It is the major process in the work of coppersmiths and some people may be copper heaters by the profession. People described as earning their livelihood by fire, by Varāhamihira,[393] probably implies professional copper heaters. Chaurasi[394] pls. of the Kara king refer to the heater of the copper pls. as *taptakāra*. Large number of copper pls. charters available to us from the region speak of the profession of the copper heaters in ancient Orissa. The orders of the king regarding the donations were engraved on these pls. and engraving was also a skillful job. The engravers of the grants must have also obtained, along with the skill of engraving, good knowledge of technique of the working in the copper. The copper workers were

known by the name *Stambaka* during the regime of the Bhaumakaras. The engraver of Ganjam pls. of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī was *Stambaka.*[395] The name may be Tambaka who became famous as Tāmabaṭa in later period.

Place Names : We know of the coppersmiths from two place names viz., Tāmuravishaya and Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra mentioned in Santigrama charter of the Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī and Baud pls. of the Bhañja king Nettabhañja, respectively. According to the former record the donated place Santigrāma was situated in Paschimakhaṇḍa in Tāmuravishaya[396] in Dakshiṇa Tosali. The vishaya seems to have obtained its name after the copper available here in abundance and also the copper workers. We have identified the chief place of the vishaya with the place Tamberi in Buguda police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district. The suffix vishaya associated with the name Tāmura i.e. tāmra, points the large region producing copper and copper objects. Similarly, the name Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra[397] denotes the place named after the copper workers. Stambakāra may be Tambakāra. It was in Olāśṛṅgavishaya. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with a place Aluśingi in Hindol subdivision of Dhenkanal district. The Stambakārakhaṇḍakshetra that included donated village Loṇḍaka must be the region dominated by the copper workers. The Tambakāras were, as the term Khaṇḍakshetra associated with the name denotes, were probably paying some amount as agricultural tax or professional tax to the government. The practice of recovering some tax from the professionals such *Śauṇḍhika, Tantuvāya, Gokuṭa* etc, was prevalent in the kingdom of the Bhaumakara dynasty and the Bhañjadynasty which was feudatory of the Bhaumakaras followed the same practice. The capital place of this khaṇḍa seems identical with the place Tāmrakaṭa in Jarapada police station in Angul taluka of Dhenkanal district. The copper workers must be obtaining the raw material required by them from the copper ore deposits available in the tract lying between Adash and Butapali in Sambalpur district.[398]

Copper objects made from copper rod recovered at Chalcolithic site of Sankerjang in Jarapada police station in Angul taluka of Dhenkanal district and copper objects assignable to the prehistoric[399] period recovered in excavations in Phulbani district take back the copper industry of the region to period much before the time of our study.

Bronzesmiths: Bronzesmiths of the region of the ancient period are known from the references to them in the grants of the different dynasties. Puri pls. of the year 12, of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja inform us that donated land was extended up to the house of the Kāṁsakāra[400] at the end of the road. Some of the grants of the kings of Śvetaka Gaṅga dynasty were engraved by Kāṁsakāras.[401] These Kāṁsakāras are referred to as the engravers of the records and they were always given a certain landed property in return of their royal service. It is to be noted

here that every copper pls. grant was to be properly marked by the royal seal without which the record was not treated as a legal document. These Kāṁsakāras knew the technique of preparing objects like royal seals of the alloyed metals that cannot be easily moulded but the broken parts of the seal are easily joined.[402] According to Das the bronze workers of the period had mastered the technique of metal casting. They manufactured bronze statues by casting technique and other objects by heating and hammering method. The origin of the practice of preparing metal images by casting technique, prevalent in Orissa in modern times goes back to the ancient period. The bronze images recovered at Achutarājapuram in Banpur area in Puri district are the best examples of the bronze casting of the ancient times.[403] The division Ṭokkārāvishaya[404] mentioned in Kalibhana grant of the Somavaṁśin king also tells us some thing about bell metal industry of the period. The chief place of the vishaya has been identified with the place Tukra situated about fourteen miles to the east of Bargarh. The place is famous in modern times for its brass and bell metal industry. It may be the centre of this industry in ancient times as well. These bronze smiths may have obtained the base metal required by them from the base metal ores from Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur districts.[405]

The ancient bronze and bell metal workers may be the fore-runners of the modern folk metal artisans Ghantra concentrated in the Ganjam, Koraput and Mayurbhanj district and Kansari found in Puri district and coastal areas of Orissa. Of these, the Ghantras are famous for the manufacture of brass ornaments, utensils and other objects by cire-perdue technique and Kansara are known as the makers and sellers of copper, bronze and bell metal wares by the technique of hammering. Both these castes have their workshops in their houses and all family members work here after the principle of division labour under the leadership of the head of the family.[406] Some ancient bell metal workers may be of this type.

Goldsmiths and Jewellers : By the time of our study the art of goldsmiths and jewellers had made good progress and we get references to professional goldsmiths in the grants of the kings of different dynasties. Goldsmiths have been mentioned as Arkasālika[407] in Banpur grant of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja and in some grants of the Bhañja dynasty. He was also known as Suvarṇakāra during the regime of the Bhañja dynasty. The goldsmiths referred to in these grants are engravers of the copper pls. charters. Majority of the grants of the Bhañja dynasty[408] was engraved by the Suvarṇakaras. It seems that these goldsmiths were appointed in the royal service and apart from preparing ornaments and other objects they were also to do the job of the engravers. Kauṭilya asked his Suvarṇādhyaksha to appoint faithful goldsmiths for working for the government. He was expected to get the objects of gold properly prepared from the craftsmen.[409] The Vaṇikasuvarṇakāra mentioned as engraver of the pls. in some of the grants of

Bhañja dynasty was, perhaps looking after the purchase and sale of the gold and the gold objects for the government.

The sculptures representing male and female figures wearing ornaments from toe to the head are quite eloquent of the flourishing industry of goldsmiths during the regimes of different dynasties. But they have not been represented by the place names. Alluvial deposits of gold found mostly in river valleys and gullies[410] may have provided gold to these goldsmiths of the ancient past.

Precious and Semiprecious stones : Goldsmiths here must have prepared ornaments of precious stones as well as gold ornaments studded with stones. Beads of stones, shell and steatite recovered at Chalcolithic site of Sankerjang in Dhenkanal district[411] and beads of semiprecious stones recovered at Panasi in Mayurbhanj district speak of the existence of bead making industry in ancient past. Beads recovered at the former site are finely finished and are of flat and round shape with white, brown and multi-coloured shades. Hirakud Island in Sambalpur district is famous for diamonds and according to the description in geographical works, Orissa also produces emerald, ruby, sapphire, aquamarine[412] etc. But in view of the insufficient evidence it is not possible to say much about the sources of material required by the metal workers and jewellers of the period and also about these industries.

Salt Makers : Salt making is one of the ancient industries of Orissa. We know of salt makers from place names such as Salavaṇikāgrāma, Saloṇapura and Loṇḍaka[413]. Of these Salavaṇikāgrāma seems to be a place with salty soil. It can be identified with a place named Salabana in Kodal police station in Kodal taluka of Ganjam district. The name Saloṇapura may be Salavaṇapura. It is identified with the place Salonapura in Balasore district. The name Loṇḍaka is wrongly written for Lavaṇodaka i.e. the place with salty water. It has been identified with the place Ramudi. These places may be salt manufacturing centres of the period. The reference to the construction of the Samudrakarabandha in Kumurang grant of Daṇḍimahādevī of Bhañja dynasty probably denotes an embankment built along the sea shore for storing water for manufacturing salt. The salt industry in Balasore district was most flourishing industry during the British rule.

During the Maurya period manufacturers of the salt were required to pay some fixed share of the prepared salt, as rent, manufacturing tax and examination fee to the government. They were allowed to sale the prepared salt only after paying all these taxes to govt. Similarly, manufacturing of the salt was undertaken only with the permission of the government. The persons preparing it without the prior permission of government were fined. But the ascetics, learned *Brāhmaṇas*, and labourers preparing salt for their own use were exception to this rule.[414] Similar rules must also have been prevalent in Orissa in ancient past.

Thus along with landed wealth the floral, faunal, aquatic and mineral wealth of the region must have given rise to various industries in the period of our study. The places named after the different industries speak of the localised nature of these industries. The workers here must have been working under the leadership of Jyeshṭhaka i.e. the senior craftsman like *Vetrakarmaṇi mukhiya* (leader of reed workers) and Kāṁsakāra śreshṭhin (leader of bronze smiths) referred to in the Jayarampur grant of the year 1 of Gopachandra, and in grants of the kings of the Śvetaka Gaṅga dynasty, respectively, of the particular place. The epigraphic records of the region are silent about the guilds of the artisans and craftsmen. But increasing demands for the different commodities might have helped the localisation of these industries and also gave incentive to the other professions like hunters, trappers, fishermen, tanners etc. Apart from the place names after the different localised industries the habitations of weavers, herdsmen, distillers[415] and others as the grants of Bhaumakara dynasty suggest, had come into existence in the villages prior to the time of Bhaumakara dynasty. Similarly, reference to *vaṇija, gandhika, śaṅkhika, pāṭakāra, suvarṇakāra, kāṁsyka, tāṁvulika, mālika, gauḍika, gopāla, tantuvāya, tailika, kumbhakāra, kaivartta, nāpita, śilpi, rajaka* in the Nagari grant of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III denotes that separate quarters of these artisans and craftsmen had come in to existence in township[416] by the time of the rule of Gaṅga dynasty.

Thus the available evidence referred to above indicates that different industries and professions related to agricultural, forest products, water resources and mineral resources were well-established in Orissa during the period under consideration.

Trade and Traders

Surplus produce of these industries was taken to the customers through the traders who were commonly known as vaṇika and have been mentioned in the grants of Bhañja[417] and Somavaṁśin dynasty.[418] Traders dealing with gold were called as Vaṇika suvarṇakāra. They were some times appointed in the royal court for the sale and purchase of the gold and gold objects for royal treasury. Some times they also worked as engraver of the copper pls. grants. Engraver of the Phulbani grant of the king Raṇabhañjadeva was Vaṇika suvarṇakāra.[419] The traders in the markets were known as Vipaṇi vaṇika.[420] Besides, *Vyavaharins*[421] mentioned in the Sumandala pls, Khandipada Nuapali pls., Nivina pls., Puri pls. etc. among the people addressed by the king were probably traders. Apart from the traders community looking after the trade activities in cities and big villages the leaders of the villages like *pradhanas* of Aśunapadraka, Yogipadraka and Śvetavālikāvīthī[422] mentioned in Jayarampur grant of Gopachandra may also be looking after the trade of the small villages like padrakas.

Place Names : There are two place names viz., Vaṇiggotra and Vāṇivaḍāgrāma,

representing trader's community of the period of our study. Of these, the place Vaṇiggotrā[423] has been mentioned in Dasapalla grant of the Nanda king Devānanda as the place of donee. The name composed of two words, Vaṇig+gotrā, appears to be very interesting. While the word Vaṇiga forming the first part of the name denotes trader i.e.Vaṇika the word Gotrā seems to have come from the word *gotrāi* meaning shelter for cows. In Vedic period the term *gotrai* was used for common shed for cows belonging to different families. We can take here the term gotrā forming the second part of the place name after the cowshed. It seems that the place was famously known after the shelter of the cows owned by the traders. It has not been identified. The place Vāṇivaḍāgrāma in Aḍagrāmavishaya[424] referred to, as donated place in the grant of the king Raṇabhañja may be Vāṇi+vāḍa+grama. The name denotes the settlement of the merchants amidst the cultivated plots.

Markets : Markets were known by the terms like *haṭṭa, vipaṇi, vīthī*. Hanseśvara temple inscription of the time of the king Śubhakara I speaks of the *haṭṭa* set up near the temple of Mādhaveśvara.[425] According to the Baud pls. of the Bhañja king, the place Navāṅgulakapattana was famous for the traders coming from different market places (*Vividha Paṇyai*) and for the trader's (*Vipaṇi Vaṇija*) market.[426] Vipaṇijana mentioned in the grants of the kings of the Somavaṁśin dynasty must be traders only. Kalibhana charter refers to the rich *vipaṇijana* in city of Mūrasimapattana.[427] As mentioned in Jayarampur grant of Gopachandra the king informed the royal officers and residents of the Śvetavālikāvīthi about the donation of the village Śvetavālikāgrāma. The *vīthi* here appears to be the big market place and the officers addressed by the king may be looking after the trade activities of the vīthi. It was the trade centre and the traders from adjoining places, as the references to the *pradhānas* of the places Aśunapadraka, Yogipadraka, officers of the Bhārolāṅgolāvīthi suggest, came here for purchasing varieties of articles. Pradhāna Sāhu referred to here was perhaps the chief trader of the *vīthi*.[428] It is the only place name we have after the market. But the big cities like puras, especially capital places, mentioned in the records of the different dynasties must have good markets where the traders were bringing goods from different places for sale.

Trader's Organisations : Traders and trader's organisations are the main institutions taking the goods from place to place. Organisations of the traders were known by the terms such as Śreṇi, Nigama, Nagara etc. and some of the nagaras such as Sunagara[429] and Virajanagara[430] mentioned as the place of the issue of the grants in Baranga charter of the king Umāvarman of Pitṛibhakta dynasty and Parlakimedi grant of the king Pṛithivīmahārāja of Śrirāmakaśyapa family must have been busy centres of the traders activities. Besides, the name Kamalavaṇavaṇikasthāna[431] referred to in the Sonepur grant of the year seventeen of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya speaks of the organisation

of traders of Kamalavana. The place seems to have been famous after the organisation of the traders from Kamalavana. It may be a chief place of the merchant's guild. Guilds of the traders were to take the goods from one place to other within the state and also outside state under the common leader called Sātthavāha and Paṇḍita *sārthārthi* coming from the different markets[432] to Navāṅgulakapattana referred to in the Baud pls. of the king Nettabhañja, may be Sārthavāha.

Inland trade was carried on both by land and water routes. Bullock carts, oxen, asses, horses and sometimes, as stated by Hiuen Tsang, elephants were used for carrying merchandise by land routes.[433] The traders were required to pay, as the term *gulmadeya* mentioned in many of the charters denotes, fees at the outposts. They had to pay some toll at the posts established at mountain passes. The fine recovered for the violation of the rules regarding this toll by merchants was known as Vartma-daṇḍa.[434] We know of this fine from Kelga pls. of the king Someśvaradeva, dated in first year.

Rivers in Orissa were navigable and were connected with trade centres and trade ports within the territory. In ancient times Orissa was connected with other states by water routes. Hiuen Tsang refers to the land and water route connecting Dhanakaṭaka in Andhra Pradesh with Karṇasuvarṇa going through Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Oḍra territories of Orissa. According to his description, one had to cross the rivers like Godavari, Vansadhara, Rishikulya, Mahanadi, Brahmani, Vaitarani, Suvarnarekha and others lying between Dhanakaṭaka and Karṇasuvarṇa.[435]

Place Names: Riverine routes were most popular for inland trade and places with the names Tarataloi,[436] Turullāgrāma,[437] mentioned in grants of the Bhaumakara and Bhañja dynasty, respectively, point to the places situated near the fording places or at the starting point of the *tara* i.e. boat with goods and passengers. The place Tarataloi has been identified with the place Talatali in Angul taluka of Dhenkanal district and the village known as Thollundi in Tarasingi police station in Ghumsur taluka in Ganjam district seem to have taken the place of the ancient village Turullāgrāma. Some places situated on the bank of river were developed as important and busy trade centre. A place named Tarabhramaraka[438] seems to represent such a place. The name suggests that boats were constantly moving to and fro from this place. It has been referred to in Tersinga charter of the king Tushṭikara and has been equated with the modern village Talabhamra on the bank of the river Utai, a tributary of the river Tel and two miles to the south of Belkhandi Rajpadar in Kalahandi district. Hiuen Tsang refers to traders going with their goods from place to place and paying light duties at ferries and other barrier stations.[439]

Octroi and Taxes : Merchants taking goods by the river were required to pay tax known as *taḍaukara*. Pataleśvar temple inscription of the Gaṅga king records the grant of two vāṭis of land from the *gochara* in Utpalligrāma as *taḍaukara*[440] to *Chakri, Hali* and *Subhadra*. Place named Taramaṇḍapa[441] mentioned in Tirundia pls. of the Bhaumakara king as the place of donee Brāhmaṇa, points to the place famous for collecting the ferry dues and octroi duties from the traders and other people crossing the river in the *tara*. While these names speak of the places paying ferry dues there is one place which stopped paying ferry dues. The place is Luputtarākhaṇḍa mentioned in Vakratentali grant of the third and Sonepur grant of the seventh year of the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. The name may be Luptatarākhaṇḍa i.e. the region which stopped paying *taradeya* and also plying of the boats may be due to the deposits of soil in the river bed causing the change in the course of river which is most common phenomena with the navigable rivers in Orissa. Due to erosion of soil in the catchment area many of the rivers in Orissa carried continuous load of heavy soil and deposits of this load in one branch of the river caused the water to flow through the other branch. This bifurcation of the flow reduced the speed of the flow of the river and increased deposits of the soil ultimately resulted in drying up of the former branch of the river. Many great rivers of Orissa stopped working as water route due to this reason e.g. Prachi, one of the great rivers of Orissa vanished from the land surface of Orissa by changing its course and drying up. The fate of Chandrabhaga, yet another river is not very much different from that of the river Prachi. Famous sun temple at Konark was built on the bank of this river. It was navigable in the interior and it is said that the builders of the Konark temple carried huge pieces of stones on massive raft of logs floating on this river. A thriving port was situated on its mouth. This river also died out due to the change in the course. All these rivers disappeared from the land surface. Similar is the case with many other navigable rivers in Orissa e.g. the river Mahanadi. It is one of the big rivers of Orissa and the rivers Banga, the Tel, the Sapua and the Saluki are its important tributaries while the rivers Kathjhori, the Kuakhai, the Birupa and the Paika are distributors of its water. It was the best navigable rivers in whole of India The places Jobra, Kantilo and Sonepur situated on its bank were one time flourishing trade marts. But due to the upliftment of coastal belts in that region and rise of dry beds on its surface ended its navigability and put stop to the river borne trade through this river. Similar is the case with the river Bolanga in Balasore district.[442] The place Luputtarākhaṇḍa mentioned in our records might have faced the similar situation and stopped fetching heavy amount of Taradeya or Taḍaukara. The place has been identified with the place named Lepta situated in the region on the banks of the rivers Tel and Mahanadi in Bolangir district.

As referred to above *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* prescribes the rates of *tara deya* to be realised on the traffic by ferries[443].

Pattanas : Apart from these places indicating the riverine traffic and the places situated on the fords of the river there are some places which worked as important riverine trade centres. These places are Navāṅgulakapattana, Mūrsimpattana and Pattana Suvarṇapura. Of these the first one is known from the Baud grant, Saṁvat 60-70, of the king Nettabhañja and the following two are mentioned in grants issued by the kings of the Somavaṁśin dynasty. According to the description in the grant, Navāṅgulakapattana[444] was the most busy trade centre. It seems identical with the place named Angul in Dhenkanal district. Place Mūrasimapattana, as described in Kalibhana grant of the year 6, of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, was the rich city and was famous for its scholars, poets, different types of buildings, rich traders, stepped wells, tanks[445] etc. It was the favourite place of the king and he issued some of his grants from this place. It seems to have retained its identity in the place named Moorsima situated on the bank of the river Onga. The place Pattana Suvarṇapura,[446] as described in Jatesing Dungari charter of the king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, was situated on the confluence of the rivers Tela and Mahānadi and was adorned with different types of temples, *vihāra-ārāmas* and *udyānās*. The goddess Pañcāmabari-Bhadrāmbikā was its presiding deity. The place has been identified with the place named Sonepur now the headquarters of the district of Sonepur. All these places must have earned their commercial prosperity on account of their being the riverine trade centres.

Maritime Trade : We don't have place names denoting the maritime activities of Orissa in ancient times and evidences from other sources are neither adequate nor satisfactory from the historical point of view. But on the basis of some scattered references scholars have tried to trace the maritime activities of ancient Orissa. They are of opinion that the geographical position of Orissa coast helped the overseas expansion of Indian religion, philosophy, art and architecture to various countries of south and south-east Asia from very early times. Orissa had contacts with south and south-east Asia in ancient past. According to R.D. Banerjee Kaliṅgas were the pioneers of Indian colonisation in further India and Indian archipelago. People of Kaliṅga had commercial relations with the islands of Bali, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Malaya and others, collectively known as Suvarṇadvipa or Malayasia[447].

Ports : In ancient times Orissa had many major and prosperous seaports. Beginning from Tāmralipti in the north to the Kaliṅganagara in the south, there were ports such as Palur, Dantapura, Charitra, Konark, Dhamra etc. All these places were famous as pilgrimage centres as well.

Tāmralipti : It has been identified with present Tamluk in Midnapur district in Bengal. Because of its geographical position at the meeting place of land and

water routes it had developed into the trade emporium of vast trade from Eastern India across the sea by the time of the visit of Hiuen Tsang and had become port of call for the traders coming from China, Indonesia and Ceylon to Eastern India and going back.[448] As mentioned in *Daśakumāracharita* by Daṇḍin all the islands from Bay of Bengal were connected with Tāmralipti by waterways. According to Kathāsaritsāgara it was the main port of Chinese trade and commerce of the period.[449]

It was also famous for interior trade. Many hundreds of merchants carried on interior trade from this port. According to I-tsing, he traveled from Tāmralipti to Bodh-Gayā in the company of many hundreds of merchants. Inscription dated in eighth century A.D. recorded the journey of the merchants from Ayodhyā to Tāmralipti. Description in Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracharita denotes that the people of Gaṅgā delta had major share in the trade from Tāmralipti.[450]

Palur : The other important port on eastern coast was situated at the mouth of Rishikulya in Ganjam district. It was most important port as far as the voyages to Malyasia were concerned since the days of Ptolemy to fifteen-century A.D. [451]

Dantapura was one of the important cities in ancient Kaliṅga. But it has not yet been satisfactorily identified. While describing the cities in ancient Kaliṅga D.K. Ganguli states that Paloura-Dantapura was a port and market town.[452] Ptolemy[453] refers to the famous port of Paloura on the eastern seacoast of India. Sylvian Levi opines that the name belongs to Drāviḍian language. The names ending in *oura, our* have long had been recognised as Drāviḍian word 'ur' a city. According to J. Przyluski the word Pal in Paloura can be treated either as Drāviḍian word for a tooth or as an Austro-Asiatic term denoting elephant's tusk.[454] On the basis of similarity of the meaning of the Drāviḍian word 'Pal' and Tamil term a Pallu (tooth) Sylvian Levi wants to take the Paloura city mentioned by Ptolemy as the city of Dantapura, capital of Kaliṅga known from Pali texts. B.C. Sen takes the names Paloura and Dantapura as identical and states that some of the towns of Kaliṅga were known as Dantapura or Paloura. According to Sylvian Levi, when Ptolemy visited the country Drāviḍian language was facing the influence of Aryan Dialect and even today Chicacole, Kaliṅgapatanam and Palkonda are in Telugu region.[455]

According to Buddhist tradition, Dantapura was the capital of Kaliṅga. *Pāli Dāṭhā Vaṁśa* records the story of giving of the tooth of Buddha to Brahmadatta, the king of Kaliṅga and construction of Stupa over it by the king at Dantapura.[456] Dantapura has been described in *Mahā Govinda Sutta*[457] as one of the six cities of contemporary India. *Jātakas* such as *Kurudharma, ChullaKaliṅga*[458] refer to the place Dantapura in Kaliṅga. Jaina *Sutrālaṅkāra*[459] speaks of the capital city of Kaliṅga and its king Dantavaktra. Famous epic *Mahābhārata* refers to Dantakura and it seems to be the same as Dantapura. *Bhagvat Purāṇa* refers to the Chedi king and his capital

at Dantavaktra. Pliny mentions it as Daṇḍagula and places it at the distance of 625,000 steps i.e. 3, 645 stadia from the mouth of the Ganges. On the basis of this description Sylvian Levi tried to place the city of Kaliṅga somewhere near Chicacole and Kalingapatanam and G. Ramadas wants to identify it with the place Dantavaktra on the way from Chicacole to Siddhantam.[460] Many of the grants of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty have been issued from Dantapura.[461]

It is to be noted here that the place names Paloura and Dantapura are composed of two words, Danta and pura and Pal and oura. The terms pura and oura have the same meaning and the words Danta and Pal are synonymous as well. The word oura seems to denote ura or pura, the city. There are many place names constituted with these two words. On the basis of the analogy scholars have taken the port Paloura situated on the seacoast as synonym of the ancient Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga.

Being the capital of Kaliṅga it may be trading centre. But when there are many places beginning with the word Danta, some of these quite ancient, it will not be proper to identify it with the port Paloura referred to by Ptolemy.

The place Dantapura enjoyed important status, as the references to it in many of the grants of the kings of Gaṅga dynasty indicate, upto considerably late period and place names mentioned in the grants of the kings who ruled the region before the Gaṅga dynasty provide us some clue as to the identification of the place Dantapura of the ancient literature and also of Ptolemy and Pliny as well.

The Bṛihatproshṭhā and Temburu grants of the king Umāvarman of Pitṛbhakta dynasty are important from this point of view. Of these, the former record refers to the grant of the place named Bṛhatproshṭhāgrāma in Dantayavāgubhoga[462] and the latter grant records the grant of the village named Honareṅgegrāma in Dantayavāgumadaṁba.[463] Both these grants have been recovered in the talukas in Srikakulam district and both these places were headquarters of the administrative divisions. While the first component, *danta* in these names mean the elephant and also the tusk of elephant its second constituent speaks of some gruel prepared from barley or rice for elephants. It is important to note here that some Purāṇas recommend the rice gruel prepared with sugarcane as a best medicine for all types of stomach pains of elephants and both these places may have been famous either for the manufacture of this medicinal gruel or for the use of medicinal rice gruel prepared here. The Kaliṅga region was famous for its black elephants in ancient times and the names of the chief places of Datayavāgubhoga and madaṁba appear most significant from this point of view. These names also imply the existence of the places well-known for the elephants and their tusks. The chief place of bhoga and madaṁba seems identical with the place Dantavarapukota about forty Kms. to the north of Srikakulam on the left bank of the river Vansadhārā and about

twenty Kms. to the south of Kadagandi forest in Srikakulam district. The donated Honareṅgegrāma in Dantayavāgumadaṁba seems to have given its place to the village Honjarama situated to the west of the place Dantavarapukota in Srikakulam district. The division thus seems to have included the portions of Palkonda and Patpatam talukas of Srikakulam district. The term madaṁba denotes the group of eleven villages and all villages were, probably occupied by the persons following one and the same profession i.e. preparing the medicinal gruel for elephants and looking after the elephants. This Dantvarapukota may be Dantapura, referred to in the grants of the Gaṅga dynasty. In the beginning it was Dantaura and after some time it became Dantapura. As it was the capital of the bhoga and also of madamba it was protected with fortification wall. It may be riverine port.

Konark : The port mentioned as Konagara by Ptolemy may be the same as Konark situated in the mouth of river Prāchī.[464]

Chelitalo : As described by Hiuen Tsang it was the thoroughfare and resting place for sea going traders and strangers coming from long distance. It was situated to the southeast of 'Wu-Cha' i.e. the Oḍravishaya. Cunningham has identified the place with the present town of Puri and N.K. Sahu accepts this.[465]

It is said that inter-oceanic trade developed by the third decade of sixth century A.D. connected ports of Orissa with the trade centres of Persia, Arabia and Adule, the Ethiopia kingdom and also with South-East Asian countries. The trade route coming from China through Indonesia and East Coast of India was carried to Ceylon and extended further to Persia, Homarite country and Adule. Cosmos tells us that the merchandise from China, Indonesia and India were taken to Ceylon and exported to the countries mentioned above. Chinese travelers from Fa-Hian onwards[466] knew this sea route.

Land Routes : Apart from sea route number of land routes connected India with China and other nations. An itinerary of Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang informs us about the routes connecting China with India. (1) The most famous route of the period was the great North-western route running by way of central Asia and Bacteria to the passes of Sulaiman range and then onward to the interior of India, (2) The other route connecting China with India known during the period was going directly across the Karakoram range and Kashmir (3) In north-east there was a route coming from Tonkin and going through Kāmarupa across Puṇḍravardhana (north Bengal) to Magadha and the regions lying beyond.

India also had trade relations with the western world and seaports in Orissa mentioned above must be exporting some objects to the countries in western world.

Trade Articles : The literary sources supply us the following list of objects exported from this country to outside world. Samudraloṇa, Diamonds, Gems,

Tamba, Elephants, Pearls, Touchstones, Dukula, Karpas, Oyster, Tamalapatra, Nard of Spikenard, Perfumes, Conchshells, ornaments, Sugar, Potteries, fish as well as foodgrains.[467] The merchants generally preferred to carry commodities of great value but little in weight and not bulky goods. Kartikeya Patra supplies a list of article exported to Roman Empire, Ceylon and China and also articles imported from these countries. According to him, Orissa exported spices, diamonds and other precious stones to the Roman Empire. Kaliṅga was famous for good breed of elephants and Ceylon imported elephants from Kaliṅga. China imported precious stones, ivory, pepper, betel nuts, drugs, and fine textiles from Kaliṅga. In return Orissa imported China silk from China, Pearls and silver from Ceylon[468].

Boats : We know some thing about the size of the boats that might have been used for the sea voyage by the merchants of Orissa in by gone days from the description of the different types of boats mentioned in *Yuktikalpataru*. As mentioned in the work there were two main types of boats viz., Sāmānya and Viśesha. Of these, Sāmānya boats were of ten types. These boats vary in length from 24'to 180'in length, 4'to 90'in breadth and from 4'to 90' in height. On the other hand the Viśesha type of boat used for sea voyage were of two types, Dirgha and Unnata. Boats in the first category vary in length from 42'-176; 5ṁ'to22' in breadth and 4ṁ'to 17.3/5in height. Unnata category of boats included five types of boats and these vary in length from 32'to 96', in breadth 16 to 48; and in height from 16 to 48'.These were provided with 3,2 or one mast. The ships were provided with the mouths of different animals and were recognised after that animal. Thus there were ships known as Singh mukha, Mahisha mukha, Nāga mukha, Hati mukha, Bagh mukha, Pakshi mukha, Bheka (frog) mukha and Manisha muka (Man's face).

In the absence of the mariner's compass the sailors had to depend for the direction upon the movement of sun, moon and stars. In the event of shipwrecks they used rudimentary floats like planks, rafts etc.[469]

We can have an idea about the boats used in the past from sculptures presented on the walls of some of the temples in Orissa. A sculptural frieze found near Brahmeśvar temple and preserved in Orissa State Museum at Bhuvanesvara presents a boat carrying elephants. Another sculpture recovered from the premises of the same temple has a boat below the pedastal goddess Mahishāsuramardini. Curiously enough, in the temple at Konark Mārtaṇḍa Bhairavas are dancing on the boat. A sculpture collected from the premises of the temple at Konark and kept in Indian Museum at Calcutta represents a boat carrying royal personage and elephant and is being rowed by four persons. A boat in chlorite stone depicted on the Bhogamaṇḍapa of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri appears to be the most faithful representation of the vessel used for sea voyage in the ancient times.[470]

Thus the available evidence suggests that Orissa had good amount of maritime trade contacts with the other nations. We don't have correct knowledge as to how and when it declined. Silting of the rivers at their mouth caused by the off shore long currents, changing course of rivers, damages caused by the floods and cyclones and also by shifting cultivation, as described by Kartikesvar Patra, may be some of the reasons for its decline.[471]

The memories of Maritime activities of Orissa of the ancient past have been preserved in folklore and some festivals and customs observed in the land. Numerous stories informing us about the merchants who went on sea voyages with their flotilla and returned home with wealth are prevalent in Orissa and some stories are recited on the occasion of some festivals e.g. in the month of *Bhadrava* a festival known as Khudrukuni is performed throughout Orissa and people observe fast during the festival. It comes to an end with the recitation of the story of the seven brothers and their one and only sister who went on sea voyage with their flotilla. Besides, some customs like placing miniature boats prepared of the bark of plantain tree or paper with burning lamp put inside on the full moon-day of Kārttika by men and women while taking bath in rivers and tanks seem to have some relation with the sea voyages undertaken in by gone days.[472]

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7. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 67, *l.* 18.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 54, *l.* 21.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 198, *l.* 20.
10. *DCHB* Dhenkanal district, p. 237, No. 89.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 85, No. 4.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 215, Nos. 123, 239.
13. *PBDSI*, p. 100.
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45. *IO*, vol. I, p. 177, *l.* 24.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 151, *l.* 8; *IOTSPS*, p. 247, *l.* 26.
47. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 31, *l.* 16; *SED*, p. 613, Col. 3 Pāṅsurā=dusty; *IOTSPS*, p. 344, *l.* 15; *SED*, p. 445, Col. 2.
48. *TBKO*, p. 86, *EI*, XV, p. 3, *l.* 8; *IO*, vol. II, p. 293, *l.* 10; *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *ll.* 22-23.
49. *IO*, vol. I, p. 118, *l.* 5; p. 119, *ll.* 15-20
50. *IO*, vol. II, p. 254, *l.* 14.
51. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 152, *l.* 22.
52. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 54, *l.* 21.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 228, *l.* 22.
54. *IOTSPS*, p. 220, *l.* 17.
55. *KA*, pp. 65-70.
56. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 204, *l.* 24.
57. *IOTSPS*, p. 297, *l.* 11.
58. *AI*, No. 5, Figs. 9-11; *DMCI*, p. 189.
59. *DMCI*, p. 188.
60. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1, 2, p. 136.
61. *Ibid.*
62. VI, II, p. 231, VI, I, p. 181; *PBI*, p. 186, 198; *LAIJC*, p. 89-90; *IKP*, p. 199; *KA*, p. 87; McCrindles *Anc. Ind*, p. 160; *GS*, p. 298, G. 328, 696, 789, 165; *IUK*, p. 113; *TEHYA*, p. 196.

63. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2, p. 136.
64. *SI*, pp. 219-220.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *IO*, vol. I, p. 119, *ll.* 19-23.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250, *ll.* 42-46.
68. *OUBK*, p. 20, *ll.* 33-34.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 44, *ll.* 22-25, p. 51.
70. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 242-245, *ll.* 12-19.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 313, *ll.* 14-15.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 71, *l.* 15, p. 88, *l.* 24, p. 254, *ll.* 15, 17.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294, *ll.* 10, 18, 22.
74. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 119-120, *ll.* 22-23. , *IO*, vol. II. Kama Nalinakshapur charter, p. 319, *ll.* 12-16. Dharmalingeśvar grant, p. 88, *l.* 24 Ali.
75. *OUBK*, pp. 64, *ll.* 44-47, 67, *ll.* 44-47.
76. *IO*, vol. VI, p. XX.
77. *IO*, vol. II, p. 25, *l.* 17.
78. *TOHRJ*, XXXII, Nos. 1&2, pp. 137-138.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
81. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2, p. 134.
82. *IRG*, pp. 764-765.
83. *OUBK*, p. 15, *l.* 23.
84. *IO*, vol. II, p. 164, *l.* 16 (Kshetradhānya Śatekanyāsa Kṣitvā), Chicacole pls.
85. *IO*, vol. I, p. 110. *l.* 5.
86. *CHOO*, p. 126.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, p. 130.
89. *IO*, vol. I, p. 156, *l.* 3.
90. *IOTSPS*, p. 319, *l.* 9.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 296, *l.* 1.
92. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 167, *l.* 13; *SED*, p. 1056, Col. 2, 3.
93. *IRG*, p. 155.
94. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. , 1, 2, p. 134.
95. *GO*, p. 108-109; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 127, and No. 110.
96. *IO*, vol. I, p. 199, *l.* 3.
97. *EI*, XXIII, p. 201.
98. *IO*, vol. I, p. 110, *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 847, Col. 1.
99. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, p. 257, *ll.* 147-148.
100. *HCKK*, p. 103.
101. *IRG*, p. 766.
102. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2, p. 132.
103. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 16, *l.* 19.
104. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2, p. 131.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
106. *KA*, p. 115, 2. 12. 1.
107. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2, p. 131.
108. *IO*, vol. I, p. 197, *l.* 1.
109. *IOTSPS*, pp. 168, *ll.* 9-10, p. 168, *l.* 8.
110. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2. p. 135.
111. *IO*. vol. I, p. 216, *l.* 31; Amarakośa, Dvitiya Kāṇḍa, p. 34, 4. 27.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 255, No. 44b.
113. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 3, *l.* 9; *DCHB* Mayurbhanj district, p. 72, No. 103.
114. *IOTSPS*, p. 185, *ll.* 13, 20, p. 187, fn. 35.
115. *EI*, VI, p. 142, *l.* 27.
116. *IO*, vol. II, p. 319, *ll.* 12. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 213, No. 103.
117. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 107, *l.* 16; *SED*, p. 446, Col. 3, Tintika = Tamarind.
118. *IOTSPS*, p. 167, *l.* 170, fn. 25.
119. *IO*, vol. I, p. 101, *l.* 4; *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 93, 4. 169.
120. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2, p. 134.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 132
123. *IO*, vol. I, p. 188, *l.* 8; *SED*, p. 432, Col. 2.
124. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 9.
125. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXXII, Nos. 1&2, p. 134.
126. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 244, *l.* 48. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 593, No. 38.
127. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 255, *l.* 44; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 147, No. 50.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 87, *l.* 20, p. 88, *l.* 21.
129. *MP*, pp. 50-51.
130. *KA*, pp. 164-165.
131. *IO*, vol. I, p. 92, *ll.* 5-8.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 118, *l.* 5.
133. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-249. *ll.* 43-46.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 261, *ll.* 50-51.
135. *OUBK*, p. 16, *ll.* 33-34, p. 20, *ll.* 33-34.
136. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46, Vv. 39-46.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
138. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 113, *l.* 13.
139. *SED*, Pañcaśasya p. 1061, Sārataru, p. 1208, Col. 2, Kāraṇḍa p. 275, Col. 3.
140. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 234, *ll.* 20-24.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253, *ll.* 8-13.
142. *IO*, vol. II, p. 71, *ll.* 13-18, p. 75, *ll.* 12-18 translation.
143. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88, *ll.* 14-28.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 199,
145. *Ibid.*, p. 319, *ll.* 12-16.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 313, *ll.* 13-15.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 244-245, *ll.* 12-19.

148. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-255, *ll.* 12-18.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 265, *ll.* 16-19.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 288, *ll.* 12-24, p. 290, *ll.* 12-24 (translation).
151. *Ibid.*, p. 294, *ll.* 19-24, pp. 295-296, *ll.* 14-24 (translation).
152. *SI*, p. 358, *l.* 19, fn. 7; *IE*, p. 137.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 375-376, *ll.* 15-16; *IE*, p. 137, fn. 3, 4
154. *Ibid.*, p. 138, fn. 1.
155. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 59-60.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 201, *l.* 9, V. 8, Midnapore pls. year 9, of Somadatta.
157. *Ibid.*, Cuttack Museum Pls. , p. 229, *ll.* 9-11, Parikud Pls. , p. 244, *ll.* 48-49; Nivina grant p. 249, *ll.* 39-40, and Puri pls. , pp. 260-261, *ll.* 51-53.
158. *IO*, vol. II, p. 319, *ll.* 12-19, Kamanalinakshapura grant of Sāmantavarman, of Saṁvat 173.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 255, *l.* 23.
160. *IO*, vol. I, Part I, pp. 111, *ll.* 4-10.
161. *OUBK*, p. 44, *ll.* 23-24.
162. *TOHRJ*, vol. XLIII, Nos. I-4, pp. 53-54.
163. *IOTSPS*, pp. 278-279, *ll.* 20-25, pp. 283-284 Abstracts.
164. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-288, *ll.* 39-42, p. 292 Abstracts.
165. *Ibid.*, 312, *ll.* 37-40. p. 316, Abstracts.
166. *Ibid.*, pp. 319-320, *ll.* 15-20, p. 323 Abstracts.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 338, *ll.* 4-7.
168. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 1
169. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *l.* 22.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 54, *l.* 21.
171. *IOTSPS*, p. 220, *l.* 17.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 39, *l.* 4, p. 278, *ll.* 18-19. Also see place names after rice, referred to above; *SED*, p. 452, Col. 1.
173. *GO*, p. 212.
174. *TBTT*, p. 162.
175. *GHCB*, p. 201.
176. *EHOAT*, p. 41.
177. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 140, *l.* 9; *IOTSPS*, p. 358, *ll.* 11-12;
178. *Amarakośa*, Dvitīya Kāṇḍam, p. 41, 4-42. p. 273, 9-106.
179. *HOO*, Appendix III, p. 92.
180. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 94, *l.* 22, p. 271, *l.* 24.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 114. *l.* 17.
182. *IOTSPS*, p. 21, *ll.* 3-4. fn. 57.
183. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 261, *l.* 24.
184. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 74. *ll.* 7-8.
185. *IOTSPS*, p. 211, Abstracrts, fn. 54, 55.
186. *HCKK*, p. 105.
187. *IO*, vol. II, p. 281, *l.* 9.

188. *ISBV*, p. 225.
189. *IO*, vol. II, p. 239, *l.* 10.
190. *Ibid.*, p. 293, *l.* 10.
191. *SED*, p. 483, Col. 3. Kind of plant and a cloth made from inner bark of this plant.
192. *IO*, vol. I, p. 261, *l.* 48.
193. *KA*, 2. 11. 100, p. 114.
194. *ISBV*, p. 224.
195. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
196. *IO*, vol. II, p. 71, *l.* 16.
197. *IO*, vol. I, p. 131, *l.* 7.
198. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 204, *l.* 24. *IO*, vol. V, Part I, pp. 46-51.
199. *OUBK*, p. 15, *l.* 18, Tantravāya.
200. *GO*, p. 117.
201. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214
202. *DMCI*, pp. 122-123.
203. *SELNI*, p. 304.
204. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 210, *l.* 11. Also see forest production.
205. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 131-134.
206. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 16, *l.* 19.
207. *IO*, vol. I, p. 244, *l.* 48.
208. *OUBK*, p. 44, *l.* 24, p. 63, *l.* 31.
209. *IO*, vol. I, p. 137, *l.* 7.
210. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 2.
211. *EI*, XXIX, p. 169, *l.* 29.
212. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 113, *l.* 13.
213. *DCHB*, Dhenkanal District. p. 398, No. 15.
214. *Ibid.*, p. 301, No. 77.
215. *EI*, XXIX, p. 188, *l.* 30.
216. *IOTSPS*, p. 195, *l.* 13. Also see chapter 'Fauna of the Region' pp. 1&2.
217. *IO*, vol. I, p. 131, *l.* 1, 2, 7.
218. *Ibid.*, p. 131, *l.* 4.
219. *IRG*, pp. 758-759.
220. *EI*, XXVIII, 66, *l.* 18.
221. *IO*, Vo. II, p. 124, *l.* 21.
222. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 219, *l.* 19.
223. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 204, *l.* 19.
224. *Ibid.*, p. 140, *l.* 19.
225. *Ibid.*, p. 8, *l.* 22.
226. *DMO*, p. 28, No. 5.
227. *IO*, vol. II, p. 168, *l.* 11.
228. *EI*, XXXIX, p. 60, *l.* 27. for details see Madhya Pradesh, *CHGFPNI*. p. 337.
229. *IOTSPS*, p. 196, *l.* 19.
230. *PBDSI*, p. 102.

231. *IOTSPS*, p. 320, *l.* 21, p. 322, fn. 61.
232. *MP*, pp. 118-119.
233. *EI*, XXIX, p. 219, Ll. 25, 27; *SED*, p. 281, Col. 3, p. 438, Col. 1.
234. *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 14.
235. *IO*, vol. I, p. 216, *l.* 36; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 42, No. 97.
236. *EI*, VI, p. 140, *l.* 43, *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 68, No. 32.
237. *IOTSPS*, p. 195, *l.* 18.
238. *MRUS*, p. 61.
239. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 2, *ll.* 16-17, p. 168, *l.* 17; *OUBK*, p. 51.
240. *IO*, vol. I, pl. 119, *l.* 13.
241. *IO*, vol. I, p. 249, *ll.* 34-35.
242. *SED*, p. 445, Col. 1; *Amarakośa*, II. p. 44, 4. 49.
243. *MP*, pp. 171-173.
244. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 107, *l.* 16, p. 167, *l.* 13, p. 168, *l.* 17.
245. *IOTSPS*, p. 167, *l.* 5, p. 170, fn. 25
246. *IO*, vol. II, p. 71, *ll.* 14, 17.
247. *Ibid.*, p. 867, *l.* 19, p. 88, *l.* 21, 22, 24, 25, 26.
248. *MP*, pp. 151-152.
249. *IO*, vol. I, p. 140, *l.* 11.
249a. *IOTSPS*, p. 173, *l.* 4.
250. *ISBV*, p. 250
251. *IO*, vol. I, p. 216, *l.* 31.
252. *Ibid.*, p. 255, *l.* 44; *DCHB* Puri district, p. 147, No. 50.
253. *MP*, pp. 115-117.
254. *IO*, vol. I, p. 255, *l.* 4.
255. *MP*, p. 43-45.
256. *IO*, vol. II, p. 288, *ll.* 8, 13.
257. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *ll.* 16-17.
258. *Ibid.*, p. 187, *l.* 13; *SED*, p. 868, Col. 1
259. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 94, *l.* 22, Baud pls. of Bhañja king.
260. *Ibid.*, p. 271, *l.* 24.
261. *Ibid.*, p. 261, *l.* 24.
262. *IOTSPS*, p. 211 Abstracts. Chaudwar pls. of Somavaṁśin king.
263. *See* chapter 'Flora of the Region'.
264. *IOTSPS*, p. 259, *l.* 39, fn. 51.
265. *Ibid.*, p. 195, *l.* 9, p. 200, *l.* 56, p. 207, *l.* 1.
266. *Ibid.*, p. 168, *ll.* 9-10.
267. *Ibid.*, p. 173, *l.* 10.
268. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 131-134.
269. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 216, *l.* 16; *IOTSPS*, p. 248, *l.* 35.
270. *IO*, vol. I, p. 197, *l.* 1.
271. *ISBV*, pp. 250-251.
272. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-249.

273. *IO*, vol. I, p. 203, *l.* 10, p. 252, *l.* 8, p. 104, *l.* 3. Names Hembakamatamba and Hemaṇḍakagrāma denotes the fragrant species of yellow Champa flower. It is available in large quantity in Orissa in modern times as well. But the places have not been identified. Village Champā has given its place to Barampha, Misra, *DMO*, p. 47, No. 12.
274. *OUBK*, Talcher pls. year 149, of the king Śivakaradeva, p. 45, *ll.* 27-29.
275. *ISBV*, pp. 241-243.
276. *IO*, vol. V, p. 47, *l.* 123.
277. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 2, p. 234,
278. *FLO*, p. 105.
279. *IO*, vol. II, p. 87, *l.* 8.
280. *FLO*, p. 104.
281. *ISBV*, p. 225.
282. *HAI*, p. 476.
283. *IO*, vol. I, p. 199, *l.* 1. The name is composed of two words Sañca+Ataka=Sañca=perhaps a collection of leaves, meaning of aṭaka in not clear. *SED*, p. 1131, col. 2.
284. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 152, *l.* 22; *SED*, p. 498, col. 2; *DCHB* Puri district.
285. *IOTSPS*, p. 259, *l.* 32; *SED*, p. 567, Col. 1.
286. *DMCI*, p. 123.
287. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 210, *l.* 11.
288. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *l.* 134.
289. *ISBV*, p. 311.
290. *KA*, p. 146, 2-18-7.
291. *IO*, vol. I, pp. 182, *l.* 9, 197, *ll.* 3-4.
292. *Ibid.*, p. 183, *l.* 11.
293. *OUBK*, p. 45, *l.* 27.
294. *IO*, vol. I, p. 176, *ll.* 27.
295. *KA*, p. 173, Nos. 35-39.
296. *OUBK*, Hindol pls. p. 15. *l.* 18.
297. Nagari pls. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 131-134.
298. *KA*, p. 173, Nos. 35-39.
299. *IO*, vol. IV, Patna pls. p. 113, l. 10, Kalibhana pls. p. 153, *ll.* 10-11, Narasimhapur pls. p. 228, *l.* 39. Kudopoli pls. p. 238, *l.* 11, Jatesing Dungari pls. p. 220, *ll.* 23-24 etc.
300. *IO*, vol. I, p. 216, *l.* 31, p. 255, *l.* 44b; Amarakośa Dvitīya Kāṇḍam p. 34, 4. 27.
301. *IOTSPS*, p. 277, *l.* 9; *SED*, p. 808, Col. 3.
302. *Ibid.*, p. 259, *l.* 32.
303. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *l.* 132.
304. *Ibid.*, p. 179, *l.* 5, pp. 380-381.
305. *HTAO*, p. 851.
306. *CHOO*, p. 130.
307. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4, pp. 10-11.
308. *RFSD*, p. 188.
309. *CHOO*, p. 130.
310. *RFSD*, p. 188.

311. *Ibid.*, p. 126, p. 188; *IO*, vol. I, p. 233, V. 13, p. 236, V. 11, *ll.* 21-22.
312. *IO*, vol. I, p. 260, Vv. 18-19; *RFSD*, p. 126.
313. *TBTT*, p. 184.
314. *FHPN*, p. 465; *BKD*, p. 186, Fig, 40, 20, 21, p. 187, fig. 40, 22, 23; Taxila, p. 653, *Pl.* 199, 2.
315. *BKD*, pp. 188-189.
316. *ISBV*, pp. 304-306.
317. *KA*, p. 199, 2-32-2, No. 22.
318. Please see chapter "Fauna of the Region".
319. *IO*, vol. I, p. 198, *l.* 4.
320. *IO*, vol. II, p. 254, *l.* 18. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 131, No. 168.
321. *IOTSPS*, p. 297, *l.* 11; *SED*, p. 218, Col. 3; *IO*, vol. VI, p. 241, *l.* 24; *SED*, p. 928, Col. 3.
322. *Ibid.*, p. 168, *l.* 12; *SED*, p. 766, Col. 3. Meruṇḍā=Bheruṇḍa.
323. *TBKO*, p. 88, No. 19, p. 146, No. 33.
324. *IOTSPS*, p. 208, *l.* 11; *SED*, p. 451, Col. 1. Turana=swift, one of the moon's horses.
325. *KA*, p. 143, No. 13, 2-17-15.
326. *LAIJC*, pp. 128-129; *KA*, pp. 80-81(Shāmaśāstri)
327. *ISBV*, p. 306.
328. *Ibid.*,
329. *IOTSPS*, p. 227, *l.* 10.
330. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 221, *l.* 8; *SED*, p. 134, Col, 3; *DCHB* Ganjam district p. 56, No. 98.
331. *IOTSPS*, p. 213, *l.* 5; *SED*, p. 313, Col. 1.
332. *IO*, vol. I, p. 261, *ll.* 49-50.
333. *IOTSPS*, p. 319, *l.* 15.
334. *IO*, vol. I, Part I, p. 7, *ll.* 125-145, p. 47, *ll.* 115-120.
335. *VI*, II, p. 172.
336. *LAIJC*, p. 96.
337. *VI.* II, p. 172; *PBI*, p. 192; *LAIJC*, p. 96; *IKP*, p. 161.
338. *AI*, No. 5, p. 93, Figs. 9-11, Nos. 10, 11.
339. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *l.* 134.
340. *IKP*, p. 156.
341. *KA*, p. 179, No. 3, 2. 28. 6.
342. *IO*, vol. I, p. 190, *ll.* 7-8; *TBKO*, p. 92, No. 20; *IO*, vol. VI, p. 146, *l.* 18.
343. *HOO*, p. 92.
344. *OUBK*, p. 64, *ll.* 44-45.
345. *IO*, vol. VI, p. XX.
346. *KA*, pp. 167-168, 2. 28. 13, 15; 2. 28. 18, 21.
347. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-182. 15, 18, 21. 2. 28.
348. *IO*, vol. I, p. 261, *ll.* 48-49.
349. *Ibid.*, p. 154, *l.* 1.
350. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 216, *l.* 21.
351. *TBKO*, p. 94, No. 37.
352. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 114. *l.* 8.

353. *OUBK*, p. 44, *l.* 24.
354. *IO*, vol. I, Part I, p. 112, *ll.* 1-5.
355. *IOTSPS*, p. 167, *l.* 5, p. 195, *l.* 13.
356. *HOFETBP*, p. 199; *EI*, XXIX, p. 169, *l.* 29, Padāra=boat, *SED*, p. 584, Col. I.
357. *IKP*, pp. 155-156, also see *DMCI*, pp. 264-265 for the references to boats and ships referred to in different literary works.
358. *TPO*, pp. 1-4.
359. *Ibid.*
360. *GO*, pp. 224-252.
361. *IOTSPS*, p. 350, *l.* 26.
362. *IO*, vol. I, p. 154, *l.* 2; vol. VI, p. 27, *l.* 15.
363. *ISBV*, p. 310.
364. *HOO*, pp. 364-409; *ARAB*, pp. 103-123.
365. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 131-134.
366. *EHOO*, p. 41.
367. *GO*, p. 228.
368. *HCKK*, p. 106.
369. *DMCI*, pp. 191-192; *AI*, No. 5.
370. *HCKK*, p. 129.
371. *TOHRJ*, XXVII, pp. 3-5, 11-12.
372. *KA*, p. 146, 2. 18. 7, 8.
373. *AI*, No. 5, p. 93, Nos. 9-11 and no. 21.
374. *TOHRJ*, XXVII, Nos, 1-4, p. 5.
375. *AI*, No. 5. p. 95, Figs. 10-11, No. 25.
376. *Ibid.*, p. 95, Figs. 10, 32; *RENJ, EXC*, p. 112, Nos. 15, 18, Pl. XVIII, 15; *KA*, p. 146; *BS*, p. 415; *TEHYA*, p. 137, *DMCI*, p. 202, Fig. XVIII, No. 15.
377. *TOHRJ*, XXVII, pp. 9-10
378. *IOTSPOS*, p. 304, *l.* 3.
379. *TBTT*, p. 18.
380. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4, p. 9.
381. *KA*, p. 146, 2-18-7; *ISBV*, p. 475; *DMCI*, pp. 206-207.
382. *IO*, vol. I, p. 209, *l.* 11.
383. *TOHRJ*, XXVII, Nos. 1-4, p. 9.
384. *IO*. vol. II, p. 251, *l.* 21. *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 171, No. 26.
385. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 216, *l.* 15; *SED*, p. 1223, Col. 3, p. 293, Col. 1.
386. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 261, *l.* 23.
387. *IO*, vol. II, p. 313, *l.* 7.
388. *IO*, vol. I, p. 116, *l.* 3; *SED*, p. 1213, Col. 3.
389. *EI*, XXVI, p. 79. *l.* 24.
390. *IO*, vol. II, p. 123, *l.* 14, p. 251, *l.* 21; *DCHB* Ganjam District, p. 313, No. 56.
391. *KA*, p. 198, 2. 32. 8.
392. *IO*, vol. II, p. 254, *l.* 16.
393. *ISBV*, p. 307.

394. *OUBK*, p. 8.
395. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
396. *EI*, XXIX, p. 88, *l.* 28.
397. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 228, *l.* 22.
398. *GO*, p. 236.
399. *TOHRJ*, vol. XLII, pp. 156-161; vol. XXXII, pp. 99-119.
400. *IO*, vol. I, p. 261, *l.* 51.
401. *IO*, vol. II, p. 266, *l.* 35, p. 284, *l.* 35, p. 289, *l.* 35, p. 300, *l.* 35.
402. *RFSD*, p. 142.
403. *AOSM*, vol. I, pp. 22-27.
404. *IOTSPS*, p. 45, *ll.* 4-5.
405. *GO* p. 236. Base metal includes copper ore and lead ore.
406. *TOHRJ*, vol. XXIX, No. I. pp. 17-33; vol. XXXII, Nos. 1-4. pp. 58-61.
407. *IO*, vol. I, p. 256, *l.* 3; *IO*, vol. VI, p. 206, *ll.* 40-42, p. 217, *ll.* 16-17.
408. *IO*, vol. VI, pp. 69, *ll.* 44-45, p. 62, *l.* 1, p. 90, *l.* 3, p. 108, *l.* 58 etc.
409. *KA*, p. 121ff, 2. 13. 2.
410. *GO*, p. 237.
411. *TOHRJ*, XXXII, Nos. 1-4, p. 120.
412. *GO*, p. 250.
413. *IO*, vol. II, p. 293, *l.* 10; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 563, No. 116; *TBKO*, p. 86; *EI*, XV, p. 3, *ll.* 5-8; *IO*, vol. I, p. 228, *ll.* 22-23.
414. *KA*, p. 120, 28, 2. 12. 26.
415. *OUBK*, p. 44, *ll.* 22-25.
416. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, p. 256, *ll.* 131-134.
417. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 123, *l.* 40, p. 158, *l.* 24, p. 213, *ll.* 52-53, p. 218, *l.* 34, p. 227, *l.* 10.
418. *IOTSPS*, p. 196, *l.* 16.
419. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 274, *ll.* 58-59.
420. *Ibid.*, p. 227, *l.* 11.
421. *IO*, vol. I, p. 139, *l.* 18, p. 143, *l.* 17, p. 249, *l.* 37, p. 261, *l.* 47; *SED*, p. 1037, Col. 3.
422. *Ibid.*, p. 176, *ll.* 24-27.
423. *EI*, XXIX, p. 188, *l.* 30; *IKP*, p. 223; *SED*, p. 364, Col. 3.
424. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 12, *l.* 20.
425. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, p. 182, V. 6.
426. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 227, *ll.* 10-11.
427. *IOTSPS*, p. 184, *l.* 4
428. *IO*, vol. I, p. 176, *ll.* 25-28.
429. *Ibid.*, p. 104, *l.* 1.
430. *Ibid.*, p. 137, *l.* 1.
431. *IOTSPS*, p. 196, *l.* 16.
432. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 227, *l.* 10.
433. *TBTT*, pp. 188-189.
434. *TOHRJ*, vol. XLIII No. 1-4, p. 73; *IOTSPS*, p. 319, *l.* 17.
435. *TOHRJ*, vol. XLIII No, 1-4, p. 75.

436. *TBKO*, p. 94, No. 37.
437. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 114, *l.* 18.
438. *IO*, vol. I, p. 154, *l.* 1.
439. *TOHRJ*, vol. XLIII, No. 1-4, p. 73.
440. *IO*, vol. I, Part I, p. 112, *ll.* 1-5.
441. *EI*, XXVII, p. 216, *l.* 21.
442. *TPO*, pp. 204-205.
443. *KA*, p. 83.
444. *IO*, vol. VI. p. 227, *ll.* 11-12
445. *IOTSPS*, p. 184, *ll.* 1-6.
446. *Ibid.*, p. 277, *ll.* 10-11.
447. *HO*, p. 103; *AIU*, pp. 651-657.
448. *CA*, pp. 597, 598.
449. *TPO*, p. 12.
450. *CA*, p. 597.
451. *TPO*, pp. 11–16.
452. *HGDHO*, p. 25.
453. *Ibid.*
454. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
455. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
456. *IO*, vol. II, p. 338.
457. Siddhārtha Jātaka Khaṇḍa, (Marathi) 3, Parts 9-12, Appendix, No. 424.
458. *Ibid.*, Khaṇḍa, 2. Part 8, p. 387; Khaṇḍa, 3 Parts 9-12, p. 311.
459. *HGDHO*, p. 26.
460. *Ibid.*
461. *IO*, vol. II, Nos. 12, 38, 39, 41, 46, 47.
462. *IO*, vol. I, p. 110, *l.* 5.
463. *Ibid.*, p. 112, *ll.* 6-7.
464. *TPO*, p. 14.
465. *HOFET*, p. 142.
466. *CA*, p. 598-599.
467. *EHOAT*, p. 48.
468. *TPO*, p. 11.
469. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17, 18.
470. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
471. *Ibid.*, pp. 200ff.
472. *HOO*, pp. 465-467.

Chapter IX

Religious Conditions

Now we come to the religious conditions prevalent here during the period of our study. It was the period of religious toleration and all the principle religions, Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivisim and Vaishṇavism existed here side by side. It seems that before the regime of Maurya king Aśoka the region witnessed the ascendancy of the Jaina religion. K.C. Panigrahi opines that prior to the rise of Buddhism the region followed the Jaina religion.

Jainism: Traditional evidence suggests that Mahāvīra, twenty-third Tīrthaṅkaṛa visited the country. According to the traditions recorded in Jaina work "*Jaina Haribhadriya Vṛitti,*" Mahāvīra visited the country of Kaliṅga because his father was the friend of the king of Kaliṅga but "*Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*", the other Jaina work states that he preached his religion in Kalinga.[1] Though we are not sure about the intention of Mahāvīra in visiting the country we can say that the Jaina religion was prevalent here at the time of his visit and it continued to exist till the invasion of Orissa by the Nanda king of Magadha. It probably suffered some sort of set back when the Nanda king of Magadha invaded and conquered Kaliṅga and carried away the image of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Unfortunately we do not have recorded account of the Nanda invasion of Kaliṅga.

The Hathigumpha inscription of the king Khāravela informs us that the king invaded Magadha twice, in his eighth and twelfth regnal year and brought back the Jina image which was carried away by the Nanda king.[2] This Nanda king, according to scholars, may be the king Mahāpadma Nanda. According to Purāṇas, king Mahāpadma Nanda conquered most of the parts of India and became *Ekarāṭa* i.e. the sole emperor.[3] If we accept this identification we have to place the invasion of Kaliṅga kingdom by the Nanda emperor prior to the invasion of Aśoka in 261 B.C. At the end of the war the conqueror Nanda king must have acquired large booty including the most precious Jina image, an object of worship of the Kaliṅga people and getting it back must be of great importance for the people of Kaliṅga.

Hence, the event has been specifically mentioned in the inscription of Khāravela. The reference suggests that the region of Kaliṅga was associated with the Jaina religion before the rise of the Nanda dynasty in Magadha. According to Dharmanarayan Das, the Jina image referred to in the inscription may be of Śitalanātha, tenth Tīrthaṅakra born at Bhadalpur identified with Bhadrāchalam or Bhadrapuram (in Madras presidency) included in Kaliṅga.[4] The religion which was established here before 4th century B.C. must have been prevalent in the period prior to the Kaliṅga war and continued as one of the principle religions even after the famous Kaliṅga war in 261 B.C. It reached to its peak during the regime of the Chedi king Khāravela and must have retained its hold upon people's mind in the following centuries as well.

King Khāravela was the great patron of Jaina religion. Hathigumpha inscription informs us that in thirteenth year of his regime he excavated 117 caves in *Kumāri Parvata* or modern Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills for Jaina ascetics and also distributed white garments among them. The white colour of the garment suggests that he may be the follower of Śvetāmbara sect. He created the caves, as mentioned in the inscription, for the saints coming from all directions.[5] These caves, except a few specious one, are very small in size and could accommodate only one or two persons. On the walls and over the doorways of the caves there are a variety of bas-reliefs depicting the worship of the Jaina sacred symbols and many stories related to the by gone days.

We don't have any information regarding the progress of the Jaina religion after the rule of the Khāravela dynasty till we come to the period of the Śailodbhava dynasty. Banpur inscription of the king Dharmarāja Mānabhita records the grant of some *Ṭimpiras* of land in the place Suvarṇaraloṇḍī in Thoraṇavishaya and in Madhuvāṭakagrāma attached to Rāṇḍasimā to Ekaśāṭa *Prabuddhachandra*, a disciple of the *arhatāchārya*[6] *Nāsichandra* by the queen Kalyāṇadevī. The grant was made for the maintenance of religious institution with *bali*, *charu* and *sattra*.

Hiuen Tsang visiting the region in about seventh century A.D. refers to *Nirgranthas*, Buddhist *Saṅghārāmas* and temples of Hindu in Kaliṅga. These *Nirgranthas* referred to here seem to be Jaina ascetics.[7] The same traveller further tells us that there were no Buddhists in Kung-Yu-t'o (Koṅgoda) but there were more than 1000 *Tirthikas*. These *Tirthikas* seem to have been related with the Jaina religion and this led Debala Mitra to think that the region was the stronghold of Jainism when Hiuen Tsang visited the region.[8]

Six bronze images of Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* recovered at Achutarajpura in Puri district also denote the existence of Jaina religion in Puri district. Of these six, two images are of Chandraprabha and one each is of Ṛishabhanātha and Vasupujya and two have not been identified. Though all these images are finely made three

images in this group display fine artistic qualities. Curiously, the disciplined physical frame of these icons is infused with beautiful form. Surprisingly, these images have not been associated with *divya* tree (*divya taru* or *Aśoka Vṛiksha*), showers of celestial flowers (*Sura Pushpa*), heavenly music (*divya dhvani*), drum (*dundubhi*) and *Śrīvatsa* mark which are always associated with the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. But no two images are alike. Hence we have to say that these images may have been donated by the devotees coming from different places and were, probably prepared during the period when the iconography of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkars was not well-settled. Images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have also been recovered at Narasimhapura and Hatadiha in Cuttack district, Charampa and Ayodhya in Balasore district, Baripada in Mayurbhanj district and at many sites in Keonjhar and Koraput districts.[9]

Jaina Goddesses: Of the Jaina goddesses we know only of Ambikā. There are four images of goddess Ambikā in the group of images found at Achyutarajapuram. She is usually depicted with child in her lap but here she is seen with a grown up child by her side. Similarly, bunch of mangos is not, as is usual, in her right hand. Instead, there is a branch of tree laden with mango fruits above her head or by her side. These images do not seem to have been far removed in date from each other but appear to belong to early period. Goddess Ambikā is worshipped as the goddess of fertility.[10]

All these images point to the prevalence of the Jaina faith in different parts of ancient Orissa. It seems that, probably due to its non-antagonist attitude towards other religions it must have co-existed here along with other religions at least up to the close of Somavaṁśin dynasty.

The Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills are the most famous Jaina sites in Orissa and the inscriptions denoting the renovation during the regime of the Somavaṁśin dynasty mentioned in Lalatendu Kesari cave, the Navamuni cave, Barabhuji cave etc. point to the fact that these caves retained their important position for pretty long period and kings of the Somavaṁśin dynasty made efforts for the maintenance of these caves e.g. Lalatendu cave inscription, year 5, of the king Mahābhavagupta I Uddyotakesarin refers to the repairs of the step well, temples and installation of the images of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras on Kumārī Parvata. Further, Navamuni cave inscription of the same king records some pious act of certain Śubhachandra, disciple of Kulachandra, *Achārya* of the *Deśigaṇa* coming from *Gṛihakula* attached to the *Āryasaṁgha*.[11] It seems that the religion enjoyed royal patronage during the regime of Somavaṁśin dynasty.

Though it is very difficult to trace the existence of the Jaina religion after the regime of the Somavaṁśin dynasty the images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras recovered at several places in Cuttack, Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Koraput districts

and those preserved in Orissa state Museum at Bhuvanesvar imply its continued existence in Orissa till the modern times.[12]

The absence of the place names denoting the Jaina religion or any of its Tīrthaṅkara probably speak of the fact that despite the long duration it could never became the dominating religion.

Buddhism: We do not have any definite evidence suggesting the time of the entry and existence of the Buddhist religion in Orissa prior to Kaliṅga war of Aśoka, the Maurya king. According to the traditions recorded in Pali literature, two merchants Tapassu and Bhallika from Ukkala, while on their way to Madhyadeśa with their carts full of merchandise paid there respects to Buddha just after his enlightenment. These merchants were the first recipients of the first sermon of Buddha at Sārnātha. It is said that these two merchants after receiving the sermons from Buddha went back to their land and propagated the Buddhist religion in their land. Identification of the place Ukkala, however is a matter of controversy among the scholars. While some scholars want to identify it with Ukkala in north-west India mentioned in the famous work *Lalitavistara* and Yuan Chwang's account some scholars have taken it as the name of Orissa. Further, the story of tooth relic in the Ceylonese work, *Daṭhā Vaṁsa* seem to suggest that Buddhism prevailed in Orissa before the king Aśoka and people were worshipper of the tooth relic of Buddha.[13]

If we accept this argument then we have to say that Buddhism that was already prevalent here received royal patronage and status of the state religion after 261 B.C. when King Aśoka issued edicts and erected pillars at several places for the spread of Buddhism in Orissa. According to some scholars, he must have also erected two stupas on the two ridges of Dhauli hill facing each other.[14] Aśoka's edicts preaching the non-violence of Buddhism inscribed on the rock at Dhauli made the place popular sacred place for the Buddhist monks and large number of caves were excavated in Dhauli hills for their residence. The series of five caves dug on the south side of the hill came to be known, probably after their number, as Pañcha Pāṇḍava Gumphā and during the regime of Aśoka Dhauli was the chief centre of Hinayāna Buddhism in Kaliṅga.[15]

Nagarjunikonda inscription of the Ikshvāku king Virapurisadatta informs us that Tosalī, Palur and Pushpagiri were the chief centres of Mahāsāṅghika of Hinayāna sect in third century A.D.The grant further states that Upāsikā Bodhisri erected buildings at different places including Pushpagiri for the well being of the followers of the Hinayāna sect.[16]

From the regime of Kanishka onwards Hinayāna and Mahāyāna sects of Buddhism played prominent role in the religious life of Indian people and Orissa

was not an exception to it. In Gupta period both the sects developed here side by side. There was no hostility between these sects and monks following these different sects were living together in many of the monasteries. Fa-hien visiting India in fifth century A.D. speaks of the monks of both the sects and Hiuen Tsang coming two centuries after Fa-hien refers to monks of both the sects living together in number of monasteries.[17]

But Mahāyānism took long strides and became more popular with the people. Many places enjoyed the status of the centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the period ranging between fourth century A.D. to seventh century A.D. Gaṇḍavyuha informs us that in early part of the fourth century A.D. Tosalī was the centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The monastery developed at Bhoraśaila, as stated by T. Watters, the place of Dignāga who propagated mystic philosophy of Mahāyāna, flourished as famous Buddhist centre in fourth century A.D. The place may have been situated near Delang[18] on the Daya river in Pipli taluka of Puri district. The centres of this faith also came up at Baruni hill and Argada hill near Khurda and near Khurda road junction, respectively and Naraja hill at the place where the river Mahanadi bifurcates from its tributary river Kathajholi. Of these centres, the cave at Baruni contains fourteen small epigraphs that can be described as pilgrim records. These have been engraved in the characters of the Gupta period. While the caves in Argada hill are very much similar to the caves at Khandagiri and Udayagiri the caves in Naraja hills are situated on the highway from north to south and have been connected with Tosalī by the water ways through the river Bhargavi and its branch Daya.[19] Besides, the place Tāmralipti, as the description of libraries and sanctuaries of the place in the account of Fa-hien indicates, was the important centre of this sect in fifth century A.D. There were twenty-four monasteries and even at the time of I-tsing's visit the place was enjoying same important status. In later part of fifth century A.D. Ratnagiri became the famous centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to Taranatha, the *vihāra* on the top of the mountain at Ratnagiri in Oḍivisā was created during the regime of Buddhapaksha who has been identified with the king Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and *Mahāyāna* scriptures were stored here. It may have been built in later part of the fifth century or in early part of the sixth century A.D. The remains of large Buddhist establishment dating from Gupta king Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya revealed here in excavations and large number of Buddhist sculptures recovered at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri, indicate that these caves worked as an important centres of Mahāyāna Buddhist religion from this time onwards.[20]

There was a great Mahāyāna Buddhist centre, as Jayarampur copper plate inscription of the king Gopachandra informs us, near Jayarampur in Balasore district in sixth century A.D. The grant records the donation of the village made in favour

of *Āryasaṁgha* to build a *Vihāra* at *Mahāvihāra* of Bodhipadraka where the image of *Avalokiteśvara* was installed. The place has been identified with the locality named Jagati situated near Jayarampur in Balasore district.[21] A vast area in and around Jayaramapur is famous for huge archaeological remains. The colossal mound situated in the centre of the village yielded a chlorite image of Tārā, and a bronze image of Buddha and Buddhist antiquities are still found in and around this site. All this evidence points to the existence of the Buddhist *Vihāra* at this site. According to the charter, Mahārāja Achyuta gave grants for the maintenance of the rites of *bali, charu gandha, pushpa,* and *pradipa* for the worship of *Avalokiteśvara* in the *Mahāvihāra* at the place.[22] The evidence thus suggests that the *Mahāvihāra* was in existence here before the regime of Mahārāja Achyuta. The place name Bodhipadraka also indicates that there was a small Buddhist settlement at this place long before the time of the respective grant. But we cannot decide the date of the appearance of *Mahāvihāra* at this place.

By seventh century A.D. the Mahāyāna sect had made much progress and as recorded in the account of Yuan Chwang visiting in the middle of the 7th century A.D. majority of the people of Oḍra country were Buddhist. There were nearly hundred monasteries and about ten thousand monks who were the followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The name Oḍra here can be taken as denoting north Orissa consisting of portion of modern Midnapur district of Bengal and Balasore and Cuttack districts of Orissa. Hiuen Tsang further informs us about the place Che-li-ta-lo, situated to the south-east of the Wu-Cha country. There were five monasteries with number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images[23] outside the town. According to Cunningham, it seems identical with the town of Puri.[24]

It is to be noted here that Hinayāna Buddhism still had its influence upon the minds of the people in Orissa and Pushpagiri monastery was the most important centre of this sect in seventh century A.D. According to the description of Hiuen Tsang, Pu-sie-p'ok'i-li monastery was in a mountain situated on the south-western frontier of Wu-Cha country.[25] There were two Stupas in the monastery. Curiously, the pilgrim describes the miraculous power of the stupas at this place but he is silent about the sculptures or images in this monastery which makes us to take it as the centre of Hinayāna Buddhism.

The name Pu-sie-p'ok'li has been restored by the scholars as Pushpagiri the hill of flowers. While R.P. Chanda wants to identify it with Ratnagiri near Jajpur in Cuttack district[26] Cunningham takes it as identical with Udayagiri near Bhuvanesvar in Puri district.[27] But identifications made by both these scholars are not convincing. Ratnagiri cannot be taken as Pushpagiri for simple reason that it is not on the south-western frontier of Wu-Cha country as described by the pilgrim. Besides, the seals bearing the inscription 'Ratnagirivihāra' found in the excavation here

clearly indicates that the hill was known as Ratnagiri and not as Pushpagiri in early medieval times. As regards the identification of the place with hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri situated to the south of Cuttack and west of the group of temples at Bhuvanesvara made by Cunningham we have to remind the scholars that these hills have been mentioned as Kumāra and Kumāri hills respectively in the inscriptions found here.[28]

N.K. Sahu wants to take the place Pushpagiri as the same as the Pushpagiri mentioned as Pushpagiripañchālivishaya in Dharmalingeśvar temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman and wants to place it somewhere in Phulbani-Ghumsur area.[29] We also want to take it as the same as Pushpagiri dominating the Pañchālivishaya[30] containing the donated place Haḍubakagrāma mentioned in Dharmalingeśvar inscription referred to above. As the donated place can be identified with the place Hadubangi in Parlakimedi taluka of Ganjam district which comes on the south-western boundary of Wu-Cha (Oḍra) country as described by the traveller, we want to trace Pushpagiri in southern portion of Ganjam district. Our identification is supported by one more grant found in Parlakimedi taluka. The grant also helps us in tracing the southern boundary of Oḍra country. The Upalada grant of the Rāṇaka Rāmadeva of the Tailapa dynasty records the grant of the place Upalavāḍa and describes the peak of Nāsundā parvata as the crest jewel of Oḍradeśa.[31] The granted place has been identified with the place Upaladā, the find spot of the grant in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district. According to Rajguru, the Nasunda parvata of the inscription can be taken as identical with the hill situated near Nandava forest in the modern Parlakimedi estate situated very near the boundary between it and Tekali. The Nandava hills are full of natural beauties and seem to agree very well with the description of the hill as crest jewel of Oḍradeśa in the respective grant. These hills are connected with Mahendragiri by the hills known as Durgā and Lāvaṇyagaḍa.[32] The Pushpagiri dominating the Pañchālivishaya of our grant may be the name of some range of Nandava hills and seems identical with Pushpagiri mentioned in Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above. According to the record, upāsikā *Bodhīsrī* donated *maṇḍapa* at Pushpagiri and it was the centre of Hinayāna Buddhism.Thus, both the sects, Mahāyāna and Hinayāna were prevalent in Orissa prior to the appearance of the Bhaumakara dynasty.

Bhaumakara Dynasty: The Mahāyāna sect received further impetus during the regime of the Bhaumakara dynasty. The rise of Bhaumakaras, therefore, is looked upon as the important event in the history of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The first three Bhaumakara kings, Kshemaṅkara, Śivakara I and Śubhakara I, respectively, as recorded in Neulpur grant, had the titles *Paramopāsaka*, *Paramatathāgata* and *Paramasaugata*.[33] Terundia pls. of the king Śubhakara II describes

the king Śubhakara I as *Paramopāsaka*, *Śivakaradeva* II as *Sugatāśraya*, and Śubhakara II as *Sugata*.[34] These epithets indicate that these kings were devout worshipper of Buddha and due to the royal patronage the Mahāyāna Buddhism reached to the pinnacle of glory during the regime of this dynasty.

The kings of the dynasty took various steps for the progress of the religion. According to Dhenkanal grant of the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī I the kings of the dynasty constructed maṭhas, monasteries and sanctuaries[35] in order to enlighten their country. Two Baud pls. of Pṛithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī refers to the construction of the *vihāras* and monasteries by the king Śubhakaradeva I.[36] Dhauli cave inscription of the year 93, of the time of the king Śāntikaradeva refers to the construction of the monastery named Arghyakā-Varātikā by both Loyāmaka and Bhimaṭa who were grandson and son respectively of Nannaṭa and were residents of the place Virajā.[37]

Available evidence indicates that many of the monasteries were occupied both by monks and nuns. Gaṇeśa Gumphā inscription of the king Śāntikaradeva suggests that the sages occupied every chamber of Khandagiri. The description of Jayāśramavihāra in the Talchera pls. of the king Śivakaradeva III indicates that monks and nuns were living in this *Vihāra*. According to the grant, a part of the revenue of the granted village Kallāṇīgrāma was allotted for the repairs of the *Vihāra* as well as for supplying *chīvara*, *piṇḍapātra*, *śayanāsana* and medicine to the ten attendants of the female mendicants.[38] According to Kahadipada inscription of the time of Śubhakaradeva of the Bhauma dynasty, the place was famous for the establishment of the monastic institution by *Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Paramaguru Rāhula Ruchi*.[39]

As mentioned by Chinese pilgrim I-tsing in his account, a monastery of Bhā-rā-ha in Tāmralipti, identified with modern Tamluk in Midnapore district was inhabited both by monks and nuns who led the life of perfect discipline. It was run by monks and monastic rules and rites were strictly observed[40] by the inmates.

As revealed in archaeological excavations, there was a monastery and stupa at Ratnagiri and there were Buddhist temples at Udayagiri and Lalitagiri. We also know of the Buddhist temple enshrining the idol of Buddha Bhaṭṭaraka, Mahāyāna deity, from Talcher inscription of the king Śivakara III. It was built by certain Amubhaṭṭaraka.[41]

Education Centres: Many of the *vihāras* worked as educational institution during the period. The work *Gaṇḍavyuha* dated in third century A.D. states that great Mahāyāna teacher *Āchārya Sarvagāmī* was living in a *Vihāra* at the city of Tosalī or Amita Tosalī and *Achlasthira* deputed the young recluse *Sudhana* to have instructions in *Yoga* from *Āchārya Sarvagāmī*.[42] The description suggests that Tosalī was a great centre for learning *Yoga* in third century A.D. As mentioned in Gaṇeśa

Gumphā inscription of the king Śāntikara the physician Bhimaṭa practised asceticism in the assembly of the sages living in the monastery at Khandagiri hills.[43] The reference indicates that Khandagiri monastery was famous as a school of *yoga* during the regime of the king Śāntikara. Mahāyāna scholar *Prajñā*, who came from the north-western India and spent eighteen years in learning in different Buddhist institutions in India studied *Yoga* in Ratnagiri *mahāvihāra*. Tibetan work 'Pag Sam Jon Zang' informs us that *Bodhīśrī* practiced *Yoga* at Ratnagiri in Orissa.[44] I-tsing refers to the practice of delivering daily lectures by learned monks in the monastery at Tāmralipti i.e. Tamluk in Midnapore district. He himself learnt Sanskṛit and Philology in this monastery. The junior monks here had to live under strict surveillance and the inmates of the monastery were expelled for the violation of the rules framed by assembly of monks.[45]

The remains of magnificent stupas, *mahāvihāras*, fairly large number of votive stupas of stone and bricks and also Buddhist images brought to light in archaeological excavations at Ratnagiri denotes that it was important Mahāyāna Buddhist establishment. Images recovered here show affiliation to Mahāyāna creed and many miniature stupas found around the main stupa and images recovered here bear the Buddhist formula *"ye dharma hetu prabhava"* in characters of ninth century A.D. Scholars, on the basis of epigraphical evidence have assigned the establishment at Ratnagiri[46] to Bhaumakara period. Buddhist images, some with the inscription *"ye dharma hetu prabhva"* have also been found at Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Khadipada, Salonapura and Kupari as well. Among these, the images of *Gautama Buddha* in *Bhumisparśamudrā* seem to be the most popular type with the sculptors and have been recovered at many sites. The image in *Dharmachakrapravarttanamudrā* from Khadipada is most remarkable. Besides there are various types of *Bodhisattva* images recovered at Ratnagiri and other places. Of these the images of *Avalokiteśvara* have been recovered at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Khadipada. But the image of *Amitābh* recovered at Ratnagiri and images of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya known from Udayagiri and Lalitagiri respectively are of different types. We also have images of Heruka, famous god of *Vajrāyana* faith and goddesses, *Tārā, Kurukullā, Vajravārāhi, Aparājitā, Prajñāpāramitā* etc. found at different sites.[47] The images of *Dhyāni Buddhas, Bodhisattvas* and other deities related to Buddhist Mahāyāna sect recovered at the sites of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Khadipada etc., assigned by the scholars to ninth century A.D., suggest that Mahāyāna Buddhism had gradually transformed into *tantrika* Buddhism during the regime of Bhaumakara dynasty.

We know something regarding the spread of Buddhism out side India during the Bhaumakara regime from the work "History of Buddhism in India" by Lāmā Tārānātha. The author states that Emperor Te-tsong of China received an

autographed copy of the *Gaṇḍavyuha*, the last section of *Buddhāyataṁsakasūtra* from the king of Oḍra or Orissa. Sylvian Levi, the great Sinologist, translated the Chinese name of the king of Orissa as "one who does what is pure, the lion". The name can be interpreted as Śivakara Unmattasiṁha.[48] The value of the reference lies in the fact that the Bhaumakara king had relations with China and he send *Bhikshu* Prajñā to China along with the manuscript of the Buddhist work Gaṇḍavyuha. Prajñā was born in Kapiśa on the western boundary and did his studies in northern India. He passed eighteen years in learning at different places and finally settled in the monastery of Wu-Cha or Oḍra for the study of *Yoga*. Later on he was sent to China and there he translated the text for the king of China.[49]

Thus, early rulers of Bhaumakara dynasty were responsible for the ascendancy of the Mahāyāna Buddhist religion within India and for its spread outside India. Their regime also witnessed, as the deities related to *tāntrika* religion found at different sites denote, the rise of *tāntrika* Buddhism. The monastery at Ratnagiri had become famous centre of Buddhist religion, learning, *Tantras* and *Yoga* during their period.

Somavaṁśins: Now we come to the position of the Buddhist religion during the period of Somavaṁśin dynasty. We don't have any recorded evidence throwing light on the position of the Buddhism during the period. The kings of the dynasty were devotees of Śiva but they were tolerant towards the other religions and two grants, Banpur and Ratnagiri, of the dynasty denote that they helped the devotees of the Buddhist religion as well. According to the former grant, the king Indraratha granted the village named Laghukumbhi in Saghṛtakhallākhaṇḍa in Thoraṇa-vishaya in the Koṅgodamaṇḍala for the maintenance of the *bali, charu, naivedya* and *dola* rituals of the goddess Khadirāvaṇī-bhaṭṭārikā.[50] It is the Buddhist goddess *Tārā* of *Dhyānibuddha Amoghsiddhi*.[51]

Debala Mitra has identified one stone image in Tikri temple at Banpur as the image of *Khadirāvaṇītārā*. It is carved in *Lalitāsana* on a well-desígned lotus pedestal. Her right foot is also placed on the lotus. She is with two hands and holds lotus stalk in her right hand while her left hand is in *Varadamudrā*. Of the two attendants flanking her, the one on right side is seated in *Lalitāsana* on the lotus with lotus in her right hand and her left hand is in *Varadamudrā*. Pot bellied and dwarfish lady on her left side is described as *Ekajaṭā*. She is seated in *Mahārājalilā* pose and has fierce mane with hairs rising upwards like a flame. She holds *kartari* in her right hand and a skull cup in left hand. The image of Tārā is seated below the *toraṇa* arch with *makara* head on either side of the horizontal bar and trefoil arch at the top. The arch has inner, central and outer facets decorated with different motifs like diamonds, discs, beads, lines etc. and around the outer facet there are toungs of flames. Gandharvas and Kinnaras dancing to the tunes of the various musical

instruments attend her. Similarly, garland bearing *Apsaras* flying through clouds, seen on the top corner of the slab, are coming for her worship. Above the arch there is a row of five *Dhyānī Buddhas* seated in *Vajraparyaṅkāsana* on individual lotus petals. Debala Mitra has assigned these images to tenth century A.D.[52] According to the description of N.P. Joshi, lotus is the emblem of Khadirāvaṇī Tārā and it is always shown on her both sides. She is associated with the deities named Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā.[53] The attendant on the right side of the goddess referred to above may be taken as Aśokakāntā while the one on the left side has been described as Ekajaṭā.

The name Saghṛitakhallākhaṇḍa known from our record may also be after some form of the goddess of Kurukullā, the goddess of *Dhyānibuddha Amitābha* that was worshipped in peaceful form as well as in fierce form.[54] At Udayagiri there is a relief figure of the deity Kurukullā with four hands. She is holding lotus and bow in two left hands and club in one of her right hands while her other right hand is in *Varadamudrā*.[55] Hoard of bronze images recovered at Achutarajapura also contains one image of goddess Kurukullā. It is wearing decorated costume and ornaments and a garland of human skulls. Her hair tied with a string rises above the head like flames. Her visible teeth, angry expression on the face, three eyes, four arms with *aṅkuśa* and arrow in lower and upper right hand, respectively and bow in upper left hand and lotus stalk in lower left hand, dancing posture in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* on a human corpse lying on lotus pedestal, all denotes her fierce form[56]. N.P. Joshi has also stated that she is worshipped in fierce form in Orissa and the practice of worshipping it in this form, as the available evidence suggests, goes back at least to the Bhaumakara period. The chief place of the Saghṛtakhallakhaṇḍa has been identified with the place Ghaikhalla in Banpur taluka in Puri district. The donated village seems to have obtained its name after the Kumbhi tree bearing fruits with the seeds that are used in medicine. The place has not been identified. The chief place of the vishaya seems identical with the place Thorab in Puri district and the Koṅgodamaṇḍala included the region extended from Mahendragiri in the south to little beyond the river Mahanadi in Cuttack district in the north. Thus it seems that though the kings of the Somavaṁśin dynasty were the devotees of Śiva they helped the other religion to flourish and Mahāyāna Buddhism was prevalent in some parts of Puri and Cuttack districts under their rule.

Tāntrik Cult: During the regime of the Bhaumakara dynasty the Buddhist religion seems to have transformed into *tantrism*. Large number of Buddhist images bearing Buddhist formula found at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, in Cuttack district, Khadipada, in Bhadraka subdivision of Balasore district and large number of images of Buddha in different postures, Bodhisattvas, Trees etc., at many sites

suggests the rise of Vajrāyana Buddhism in Orissa. There were some sages who were proficient in Maṇḍalas and the sage Raghula[57]mentioned in Kahdipada image inscription seems to be the one of such sages. We don't have any information about the other sages of the period from the epigraphs available to us from the region.

Its existence is also evident form Ratnagiri grant of the year 6 of the king Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa of Somavaṁśin dynasty. According to the grant, the king granted the village Koṇāgrāma in Brahmeaṭṭhāvisakhaṇḍa of Uttara Tosalī to Rāṇi Karpuraśrī who hailed from Mahāvihāra at Saloṇapura.[58] The place has been identified with Salonapur on the bank of the river Vaitarani in Dhamnagar taluka in Balasore district. It seems to be the same as one referred to in Neulpur grant of the king Śubhakaradeva of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Rāṇī Karpuraśrī may be from the family of the professional dancers and the Saloṇapura Mahāvihāra may be a centre of *tantrika* Buddhism[59] flourished during the regime of Bhaumakaras. Karpuraśrī probably spent her retired life in Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra either as a lay devotee or as a *bhikshuṇi* and the village was donated to her to defray her expenses at Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra.

Gaṅga Dynasty : Coming to the Gaṅga period we don't have any evidence denoting the position of Buddhism. On the contrary, the kings of Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara, Śvetaka and also of the Imperial Gaṅga were all devotees of Śiva and Gokarṇeśvara on the mountain Mahendragiri was their family deity. The kings of the dynasty gave grants of the villages and lands to *Brāhmaṇas* and temples of Śiva and some kings of the dynasty, e.g. the king Anaṅgabhīmadeva, as recorded in *Chaitanya Bhagavata* by Isvara Das, killed thirty-two Buddhists when they could not gave satisfactory answers to some of his queries.[60]

Śaivism : Now we come to position of other religions. Śaivism is one of the ancient and most popular religions prevalent in this part of India. The evidence available to us suggests that it existed here even prior to the invasion of the Gupta king. The god Śiva was worshipped here in the form of Liṅga. According to K.C. Panigrahi, natural rock shelters at Dengiposhi and Sitābhiñji in Keonjhar district were occupied by Śaiva ascetics and their disciples and the line of tempera paintings, rock inscription and Mukhaliṅga revealed here denote that they worshipped the god in the form of Liṅga.[61]

The Śaivism played most important role in the religious history of the region in the post Gupta period. It is also attested to by the adherence to the Śaiva religion of large number of royal families that flourished here after Samudragupta's invasion of *Dakshiṇāpatha*. We shall take into account here the position of the Śaiva religion in south and south-east, south-west and west and north Orissa prior to the rise of Śailodbhava dynasty. It is to be noted here that in the post Gupta period the epithet

Parama Māheśvara became very much popular with the kings of the south and south-east, south-west and also with north Orissa. Majority of the kings ruling here had the epithet *Parama Māheśvara* and many grants begin with the prayers offered to the god Śiva in different forms with different names. While the epithets associated with the names of the kings denote the deity worshipped by the person the description of the deity in the prayers speaks of the progress of the iconography of the god Śiva and names of Śiva point to the knowledge of the sculptors of the different aspects of the god Śiva.

Of the kings of the Māṭhara dynasty which came forward after the invasion of *Dakshiṇāpatha* by Samudragupta, king Ananatavarman, as mentioned in his Siripuram and Śrungavarapukota grants, bore the epithet *Parama Māheśvara*.[62] King Śatrudamanadeva of the miscellaneous royal family ruling in south and south-eastern Orissa declares himself in his Pedda-Dugam grant as the devotee of Bhagvat.[63] The king Nettabhañja referred to in Russelkonda inscription has the epithet *Parama Māheśvara*. Kesaribeda pls. of the year 7 of the Nala king Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka mention that the king had dedicated his kingdom to god Maheśvara and Mahāsena.[64] Mahārāja Gopachandra of the Jayarampur pls. was *Parama Māheśvara*.[65] Śivarāja of the Patiakela grant was also *Parama Māheśvara*.[66]

We also know of the different names of Śiva prevalent during the period. Khandipada Nuapali grant of Sri. Charamparāja offers prayer to god Trilochana Lokeśvara. The Russelkonda inscription of the year sixth of the king Nettabhañja opens with the invocation offered to often auspicious god Śaṅkara.[67] As mentioned in Pandiapathar inscription the king Bhīmasena of the Nala dynasty, the king was the devotee of Yamaliṅgeśvara Śiva who is praised as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe.[68] The god Maṇināga Bhaṭṭāraka[69] referred to in the Olasinga grant of the king Bhānudatta denotes a unique name of god Śiva prevalent in north Orissa prior to the regime of Śailodbhava dynasty. Thus, the god, apart from his popular name Māheśvara, was known by the other names such as Trilochana Lokeśvara, Yamaliṅgeśvara and most interesting name Maṇināga Bhaṭṭāraka i.e. Lord of the great serpents bearing most precious jewels.

From the prayers offered to the god in the beginning of some of the grants of the period speak of the iconography of different forms of god Śiva developed by this time. According to the Khandipada Nuapali grant, Charmparāja was the devotee of Trilochana Lokeśvara Śiva whose head is adorned with the flowers like Kamala or Kumuda. His matted hair is decorated with the shining gems of the serpents tied around it. These gems appear like sun and the moon. His cheeks are warmed by great flame arising from eyes of Girijā and cooled by the dripping water of Gaṅgā and by his dance the wind blows so swiftly that the whole world shakes as if deluge in world ocean by the fall of earth below.[70] The description

clearly denotes god *Naṭarāja Śiva* who is responsible for the creative, preserving and destructive activities in the universe. God Śiva invoked in Russelkonda grant of the king Nettabhañja is with matted hair adorned with crescent moon. He is wearing garland of human skulls, snake bracelets, and his body is smeared with ash.[71] It obviously speaks of destructive activities of Śiva but he has not been referred here by any such name.

Śailodbhava Dynasty: Most of the rulers of the Śailodbhava dynasty were the devotees of Śiva and had the epithet *Parama Māheśvara*. They worshipped the god as the cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. In Ganjam pls. of Mādhavarāja the god is with matted hair adorned with crescent moon and his hands are placed on the hump of the bull i.e. his vehicle *Nandi*, as on pillow of the couch.[72] He is the cause of the existence, creation and destruction and the lord of the three worlds. It seems to be the *Vṛishvāhana* form of Śiva. But here the god is not praised at the beginning of the record instead; he has been referred to in the description of the achievements of the king. The god, however, seems to have obtained the honour of receiving the prayer at the opening of the grants from the time of Buguda pls. of Mādhavavarman onwards. Now the god Śambhu prayed in the grants is with matted hair, adorned with the moon, tied with the great serpents bearing sparkling gems on their hoods, and ashes on his hair are washed away by the over flowing water of Gaṅga on his head and he is also accompanied with Pārvati[73] but Nandi is not here. This prayer almost invariably appears in the opening of the almost all the charters of the dynasty from this time onwards.

Bhaumakara Dynasty: Early rulers of the Bhaumakara dynasty that followed Śailodbhava dynasty were devotees of the lord Buddha. But the religion of these rulers because of the spirit of toleration prevalent during the period did not affect the progress of Śaiva religion and some members of the royal family, as the epithet *Parama Māheśvara* associated with their names denote, were devotees of Śiva. King Śubhakara IV, and Śivakara III of the dynasty had the epithet *Parama Māheśvara*.[74] Queen Daṇḍi Mahādevī was also devotee of Śiva and bore the epithet *Parama Māheśvarī*.[75] Similarly, Queen Bakula Mahādevī also bore the epithet *Parama Māheśvarī*. It is worth mentioning here that later Bhaumakara kings were devotees of Śiva who was the resident of the cave. Their charters begin with the description of their capital Guheśvarapāṭaka, obviously named after the god Śiva worshipped in the cave. Here he is also called Dhanada e.g. Talcher pls. of the year 141, of king Śubhakaradeva was issued from Guheśvarapāṭaka that was famous as the magnificent abode of the god Dhanada.[76]

Temples : Some rulers of the dynasty constructed temples of Śiva and some gave grants to the temple of Śiva. Hanseśvara temple inscription refer to the construction of the temple of god Mādhaveśvara[77] by the queen Mādhavīdevī, wife

of king Śubhakara I. Hindol charter of king Śubhakara III registers the grant of the village to the god Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭāraka[78] enshrined in the temple of Pulindeśvara built by Pulindarāja. As the names of the temples end with the word Iśvara these must be the temples of Śiva named after the builder of the temples. As mentioned in *Virajā Mahātmya*, some temples at Virajā i.e. Jajapur bear the names like Laliteśvara, Kusumeśvara and Daṇḍiśvara. These temples seem to have obtained their names after the Bhaumakara kings Lalitahara, Kusumahara and queen Daṇḍimahādevī respectively.[79] These kings are probably identical with the kings Lalitahara mentioned in Dhenkanal grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī and Kusumahara referred to in Ganjam pls. of Daṇḍi Mahādevī[80] and Daṇḍiśvara denotes the temple named after the queen.

Place Names: We have some place names after the god Śiva. Kumurng pls. of the queen Daṇḍi Mahādevī records the grant of the village named Kāleśvara[81] to *Brāhmaṇas*. According to Hindol pls. of the Śulki chief Kulasthamba, a feudatory of the Bhaumakara dynasty, certain devotee of the goddess Stambeśvari constructed a number of temples in Sadāśivapuramārga. The Sadāśivapura may have been famous for the image of Śiva with five faces and ten hands. According to N.P. Joshi, kings of Sena dynasty were devotees of Sadāśiva and hence, the images of Sadāśiva are famous in the Bengal province.[82] But the place Sadāśivapura has not been identified. We are not sure whether the name denotes the place with five faced image of Śiva or a sacred and auspicious place (Sadā+Śiva).

Tuṅga Rulers: King Vinitatuṅga of the Tuṅga family, another feudatory of the Bhaumakara dynasty, also professed Śaivism and had the epithet Parama Māheśvara. Kings Vinitatuṅga and Gayāḍatuṅga had crescent and bull symbols on their seals. King Devānanda II, other feudatory of the Bhaumkara family was also devout worshipper of Śiva.[83]

Bhañja Dynasty : Similarly, Adibhañjas were Śaivities and their grants open with prayer offered to God Bhava, the lord of Bhavānī, a sovereign of the universe, destroyer of the worldly fears, who knows several forms of meditation and who is all powerful to bring the prosperity. The seals of the grants also bear Śaiva symbols such as crescent moon, a bull, trident and generally a legend of the king.[84]

Other Bhañja Dynasties: It seems that the members of the Dhṛtipura branch of Bhañja family of Khiñjalimaṇḍala were devotees of some form of dancing Śiva. All their copper pls. grants issued from Dhṛtipura, open with the prayer offered to, as Tripathi has stated, Naṭarāja Śiva.[85] We, however feel that the form of Śiva prayed here appear to be Andhakāsurasaṁhāra Śiva. According to the description of this form of Śiva in *Purānas*, god Śiva killed the demon Andhakāsura and in order to prevent the rising of asuras from the drops of blood falling from the corpse of the demon on the ground Śiva created mother Yogeśvari from his eyes for licking

these blood drops and he went on dancing with the body of the demon lifted on the end of the Śula for nearly two miles. Though this form of Śiva can be described as one of the forms of dancing Śiva we cannot take it as that of Naṭarāja Śiva.[86] We can see the sculpture of Andhakavadhamurti in Brahmeśvara temple at Bhuvanesvar. Śiva here is in the pose of archer and is wearing garland of skulls and holding in upper right hand a *Kharpara*. The upturned body of the demon fixed on the prongs of long trident is seen in his left hand raised upward.[87] The invocatory verses in the praise of Śiva given in the grants of the Bhañja dynasty ruling from Vañjulvaka[88] are of different types.

It is curious to note here that in the region ruled by Bhañjas, as also in the kingdom of Bhaumakaras, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism developed side by side. In some grants the king is associated with epithet *Parama Vaishaṇava* and the invocatory verses are in the praise of both Vishṇu and Śiva.[89] Some times the king is described as *Parama Vaishṇava* and the grant begins with the verse in the praise of Śaṁhāra Śiva[90] e.g. Patna museum pls. of the king Raṇabhañja, year 22, describe the king as *Parama Vaishṇava* but the opening verse of the grant is in the praise of *Andhakāsurasaṁhāra Śiva*. Moreover even though the king is devotee of Vishṇu his queen Vijjayā Mahādevī was, as her epithet *Parama Māheśvarī* denotes, the devotee of Śiva.

Temples : Queen Vijayāmahādevī, wife of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, was *Parama Māheśvarī* and made grant to the temple of Śiva named Vijayeśvara[91] obviously after the name of the queen and probably built by her. We have one place name denoting the temple from the Bhañja grant. According to Orissa Museum pls. of the year 2, of Śilabhañja alias Tribhuvanakalaśa of Vañjulavaka, king donated a place named Deuladḍagrāma[92] in Śulvaḍḍavishaya to *Brāhmaṇa* Lumbādeva. The name of the grāma may be Deulavāḍagrāma. Initially it may be a cultivated plot recognised after the temple in the centre but when it was developed it obtained the suffix grāma with its name.

Somavaṁśins : Five kings viz., Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha and Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin of the Somavaṁśin dynasty were devotees of Śiva and had the epithet *Parama Māheśvara*.[93] Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya was also worshipper of Śiva.[94] Different names of the god known from the opening verses of their grants are Nilkaṇṭha, Maheśvara and Dhurjaṭi. Opening verse in Banpur grant of the king Indraratha offers prayer to Śiva with crescent moon on his matted lock, third eye resembling the flame of fire on his forehead, and poison in the neck. The reference to the poison in the neck implies his form known as Nilakaṇṭha. Maheśvara referred to in the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of the king Mahābhavagupta

Uddyotakesarin is one of the participants in churning of the ocean by the gods and demons. Balijhari and Sankhameri charters of the same king refer to the head of Śiva as the home of the streams of nectar and residing place of moon.

Temples : We do not have any reference to the Śiva temple, except the temple of Brahmeśvara, constructed by the kings of Somavaṁśin dynasty. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription, of the year 8, of the king Uddyotakesarin records the construction of the temple of god Brahmeśvara. According to the description it was the temple with four small shrines (*catur-amara-kuli*) including Nāṭyaśālā at the place called Siddhatīrtha at Ekāmra. The god described here as the destroyer of the sins of the one who offer him prayers and giver of salvation to those who worship Sthāṇukalpa at the place[95] is Śiva but not *Naṭarāja*.

Gaṅga Dynasty: The kings of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara, Śvetaka and Imperial dynasty were *Parama Māheśvara* and god Gokarṇeśvara on the top of the mountain Mahendragiri was their family deity. They also installed Śiva Liṅgas in the temples and celebrated the occasions by making grants to *Brāhmaṇas e.g.* Badakhimedi grant of Śvetaka Gaṅga king Jayavarman records the donation of the village Bhusuṇḍā in Aṇḍdāśruṅgavishaya on the occasion of the installation of Guṇeśvara.[96] Chateśvara inscription of the time of Choḍagaṅga informs us about the construction of the temple of Śiva by his minister Vishṇu.[97] It is to be noted here that we don't have evidence attributing the construction of the temple of Śiva to the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty but they gave grants for the maintenance of the rituals in the temples. As mentioned in Lingaraja temple inscription dated in Śaka year 1036=A.D.1114 of the time of king Choḍagaṅga, grant was made for burning of the perpetual lamp in Kirttivāsa.[98] Kedāreśvara temple inscription of Rājā Pramāḍideva, younger brother of king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva records the grant of some village for the perpetual lamp for the god Kedāreśvara.[99] Many Lingaraja temple charters of the period of Gaṅga dynasty register the endowments for the maintenance of the perpetual lamp and other rituals either in the temple Kṛittivāsa or Lingarāja.[100] Later Gaṅga kings turned towards Vaishṇavism and made liberal grants to the temple of Jagannātha at Puri.

Temple rituals: Practice of giving grants for rituals in the temples is known from the records of the other dynasties as well. Kanas pls. of year 280 of Lokavigraha register the grant of Urdhvaśṛṅgagrāma in Uṭidavishaya to the monastery of Maṇināgeśvara Bhaṭṭaraka at Ekāmbaka for the maintenance of *bali, chru* and *sattra* at the *Maṭha* as well as *Brāhmaṇas* living in the *Maṭha*.[101] According to Hindol grant dated in the year 103, of the Bhaumakara king Śubhakaradeva, the donation was made for offering ablution, sandal paste, flowers, incense, lamp, *bali, charu*, and oblation to the god[102] Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka enshrined in the temple of Pulindeśvara built by Pulindarāja. Many Lingarāja temple inscriptions of the

Imperial Gaṅga kings, referred to above, record the grants made over to the temple for the maintenance of the temple rituals.[103]

Ascetics: Sometimes the grant given for the maintenance of the ritual was also to cover the expenses incurred for Śaiva ascetics living in the *Maṭha*. Hindol pls. referred to above state that the *Śaiva āchāryas* living in the *Maṭha* were to get free meal, garments and medicines against malady from the grant.[104] Dharmalingeśvar temple charter of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Devendravarman records the grant made over to Pataṅga Śivāchārya on the occasion of the Dikshā ceremony of the king.[105].In the inscription found at Rani Jharial in Titalagarh subdivision of Bolangir district there is reference to ascetic Gaganaśiva, probably of *Mattamayura* sect.[106]

Different Sects: According to scholars, *Pāśupata* and *Mattamayura* sect played most important role in the history of the Śaiva religion in Orissa and Bhuvanesvar was the principle centre of both of these sects. According to S.C. Behara, kings of Śailodbhava dynasty were followers of the Mattamayura sect and Bisvrupa Das states that some of the kings of the Bhaumakara dynasty were the followers of the Pāśupata sect.[107] But we don't have any direct reference to any of these sects in the available inscriptions issued by these dynasties.

Achārya Haribhadra in his *Ṣaḍdarśana Samuchchaya* informs us that in the images of god Śiva worshipped by the Lākuliśa Pāśupatas there is no celestial river, moon, cobras, garland of sculls, Parvati, matted hair, ashes nor anything else.[108] This description implies the existence of all these objects in the image worshipped by the devotees of other sects. Lākuliśa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect and 28th incarnation of god Śiva had four disciples named Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Karusha.[109] The names of some of the temples at Bhubanesvara indicate that Lākuliśa and some of his disciples were well-known here in ancient times. K.C. Panigrahi informs us that in the side panels in Pañcha Pāṇḍava caves there is an image of Lākuliśa associated with his four disciples. He assigns this image to the period prior to the fifth century A.D[110] and opines that the Pāśupata sect existed here even before this time.

Types of Lākuliśa Images: Lākuliśa images presented on different temples at Bhuvanesvar have been divided by the scholars into two broad groups viz., Lākuliśa seated crossed legs, and Lākuliśa with crossed legs tied round with Yogapaṭṭa. The knees in these images are depicted wide apart. Lakuṭa held between two arms is his main emblem. He is either alone or in the company of his disciples, two, four or six and only occasionally, as his figures on the free standing doorway of Marichikuṇḍa near Mukteśvara and on the doorway of Jagamohana of Rajarani temple show, in the company of other Pāśupata teachers.

Of these two forms, the images of the former type are to be found on the

temples of the Bharateśvara, Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaital, Śiśireśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Mukteśvara at Bhubanesvar. K.C. Panigrahi assigns these temples to the earliest phase of the temple building activities to about 10th century A.D. According to him, the second type of images began to appear here along with first type of images about the same time. The disciples of Lakuliśa are now with beard.

In the later period some new attributes were introduced in the image of Lakuliśa e.g. Lakuliśa image in the niche of Bhairava temple near Bhuvanesvar is with four hands. His main pair of hands is in *Dharmachakrapravartanamudrā*. There is *lakuṭa* in between two arms, third eye on the forehead, and *Jaṭāmukuṭa* surmounted by a snake with raised hood.[111] The snake is tied around *Jaṭāmukuṭa* and third eye on the forehead suggest the identity of Lakuliśa with the god Śiva while his hands in *Dharmachakrapravartanamudrā* show the resemblance with the image of the Buddha.

Traditions: Naming of the shrine after the teacher and founding a liṅga in the memory of the teacher are the two most important traditions observed by the Pāśupatas in the honour of their departed teachers. The temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, originally Parāsareśvara, Kapileśvara, and Mitreśvara are the examples of this tradition. While the temple of Parāsareśvara was after the Pāśupata teacher Parāśara Kapileśvara got the name after Kapila, the disciple of Kuśika, one of the followers of Lakuliśa and founder of the Pāśupata sect at Mathura. He also may be the author of Kapila Saṁhitā that deals with the history of Bhuvanesvar. In the same way Mitreśvara temple seems to represent the teacher Maitreya, one of the disciples of Lākuliśa.[112]

Apart from these temples, we know of some more teachers from 26th chapter named *Svarṇṇādrimahodaya* in *Ekāmra Purāṇa*. It refers to the temples of Nakuliśvara, Nakuleśvara, and Iśāneśvara. Of these, Iśāneśvara was the sixth commentator of the *Pāśupata Sutras*. In *Skanda Purāṇa*, according to Narasimha Bajpeyi, there is a reference to the temple of Gargeśvara and it may be the temple named after Garga, one of the followers of Lākuliśa.[113]

Now we come to the practice of founding the Liṅga in the memory of the departed teacher followed by the Pāśupatas. The reference to the founding of two Liṅgas in the name of Upamita and Kapila by Uditāchārya in Mathura pillar inscription of the time Chandṛagupta speaks of the prevalence of the practice in pre-Gupta period. In Orissa it was followed in *Bhārati Maṭha*, the oldest religious institution of Bhuvanesvara. As recorded in *Ekāmra Purāṇa* it was founded by a person named *Yama* and was granted to a *Pāśupatāchārya* who was living near the ancient temple of Yameśvara. Number of small miniature temples of sand stone and laterite stones with Liṅgas in the *Gurvāyatana of Maṭha* seem to have been set upset up in the memory of the dead teachers. In the same way, number of Liṅgas

in the open courtyard and in the niches in the temple walls here seem to represent the generations of teachers.

The sect remained popular in the region, as Paraśurāmeśvara temple inscription of one Pramdāchārya suggests, up to eleven century A.D. According to the inscription, one Pramdāchārya was to give two *Aḍhakas* first to *Pārāsareśvara Bhaṭṭaka* and then to distribute among other ascetics.[114] The grant has been assigned to eleventh century A.D. The available evidence thus indicates the existence of the *Pāśupata* sect here prior to the construction of Paraśurāmeśvara temple, (assigned approximately to 650 A.D.) to at least 12th–13th century A.D.

Let us now turn to the *Mattamayura* sect prevalent in Orissa in ancient times. From the Chandrehe inscription of the year 724, of *Prabodhaśiva* of *Mattamayura* sect, we know that *Chaṇḍipati Naṭarāja Śiva* clad in elephant's skin, with coiled matted hair tied with serpents, moon and the river *Gaṅgā* on head, wreath of human skulls around the head, third eye on the forehead, blue neck and dancing in accordance to the sound of Ḍamaru was the main deity worshipped by the followers of *Mattamayura* sect. By the movements of his feet he makes the earth revolve and the revolutions of his staff like arms cause sudden movements in the universe.[115]

Ascetics: We know of the two ascetics, *Patańgaśiva* and *Gaganaśiva* of *Mattamayura* sect, from Dharmalingeśvar temple inscription of the period of Gaṅga dynasty of Śvetaka, and Rani Jharial temple inscription of the time of Somavaṁśin dynasty respectively. According to the former inscription, Patańga Śivāchārya who was well-versed in *Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa* and *Purāṇas* was the royal preceptor of the king. The charter records the gift given to *Patańga Śivāchārya* as *Gurudakshiṇā* on the occasion of taking *Mantradikshā* by the king.[116] Scholars are of opinion that this *Achārya* may be identical with *Patańgaśambhu*, disciple of *Vyomaśiva* of *Mattamayura* sect. As mentioned in the latter inscription *Gaganaśiva* constructed a temple at Rani Jharial in Titalagarh subdivision of Bolangir district that was under the rule of Somavaṁśin dynasty.[117] According to scholars, this *Gaganaśiva* must be a teacher of the *Mattamayura* sect. The evidence suggests that there were centres of *Mattamayura* sect in Ganjam district and at Rani Jharial that was known as Soma-tīrtha in Bolangir district.

It will be interesting to have a look at the form of Śiva prayed in the opening verses of epigraphs of different dynasties in this context. The opening verse of the charters of the Śailodbhava dynasty informs us that the Śiva worshipped by the dynasty is with matted hair, tied with great serpents, adorned with crescent moon and river Ganges.[118] It is not *Naṭarāja Śiva*. Kings of the different branches of the Bhañja dynasty worshipped Śiva in different forms.[119] While the Adibhañjas offer prayers to Bhava the Bhañjas of Dhṛitipura offer prayer to some form of dancing Śiva.[120] Similarly, the opening verse in some of the grants of Somavaṁśin dynasty

seem to offer prayer to the benevolent form of Śiva and not Naṭarāja Śiva, the deity worshipped by the *Mattamayura* sect. Thus it seems that in ancient Orissa Śiva was worshipped in different forms.

It is to be noted here that Bhuvanesvar, famous Śaiva centre of ancient times, dose not have any temple dedicated to *Naṭarāja Śiva*. An image of this god has been a favourite motif with the artist of the region from the earliest period of the temple building activities. All these images are depicted on some parts of the temple and there is no specific temples dedicated to *Naṭarāja Śiva*. The image of *Naṭarāja Śiva* from Asanapata in Keonjhar district has been taken by the scholars as the earliest representation of *Naṭarāja Śiva* in Orissa. On the basis of paleography of the inscription on the pedestal of the image and the comparative study of the iconographical peculiarities of this image and such images depicted on the Śatrughneśvara group of temples at Bhuvanesvar this image has been placed between the close of the fifth and beginning of sixth century A.D.[121]

Let us now turn to the images of dancing Śiva occupying different parts of the temples and also to the iconography of the deity. An image that served as a grill in Siddheśvara temple is with ten hands. Of these, two upper hands are holding a snake with its hood turned towards the god over the head, right hand of the normal pair of hands is swinging horizontally across the body and the left is in Kaṭaka pose. Other two hands are holding fluttering scarf on two sides and in remaining hands we can see his attributes such as, trident, *akshamālā*, long Viṇā and lotus bud. The god is probably wearing an elephant skin, a sacred thread, a belt round belly and waist chain with lotus flowers touching the right foot slightly raised in the movement of dance. On its right side there is a figure of Gaṇeśa holding radish in right hand and his trunk is placed on the sweets held in the left hand. On the left side of the deity there is seated female figure ready to strike the drum, placed in her front, with her hand. According to Panigrahi, the features and attributes of this image are very much similar to those of the image of *Naṭarāja* carved in cave no.1 at Badamī which on the basis of inscription can be dated to Śaka 500 and the image of *Naṭarāja* may not be much later than the close of the sixth century A.D. Hence, we can assign this image of *Naṭarāja* at Bhubanesvar to the same period. Images of the same type, with little change in the attributes have also been represented on the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara.

The third group of images in similar poses and with the same characteristic features can be seen in the medallions and facades of some temples. The image in the medallion on the Vaital and Śiśiresvara temples is holding skull in one of his left hands while with his another left hand is touching the chin of the female figure presented on his left. In addition, his vehicle Nandi with head raised upwards is standing between his legs. While the images on the facade of the temples of

Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple resemble those on the temple of Śiśireśvara those presented on the facades of Mukteśvara temple show some new features. Here the god is depicted with eight hands. His upper two hands are holding a snake over his head, one of his hands is in dancing pose, one is in *abhaya mudra*, one is with skull and others are with trident, club etc. His mount Nandi is depicted behind him. Same type of images are seen on the temples of Lingaraja and Brahmeśvara group of temples.

Naṭarāja Śiva carved on the temples of Megheśvara and Rajarani temples show some new features. Here the god is dancing with two dancing attendants playing on the musical instruments in their hands.[122] The description of the features and attributes of the images speak of the knowledge of iconography of the craftsmen and also of the progress of the art of the sculptors. Curiously, on the wall of the sanctum of Mārkaṇḍeśvara Śiva temple standing on tank near the temple of Jagannātha at Puri there is a painted figure of ten armed *Naṭarāja Śiva* dancing on bull.[123] The survey of the images of Natarāja at Bhuvanesvar denotes the influence of Mattamayura sect of Śaivisim.

Kāpālika and Kālamukhas: Some temples at Bhuvanesvar speak of the influence of the *Kāpālikas* and *Kālamukhas* in ancient Orissa. According to *Rāmānuja*, *Kāpālikas* believe that one who bears the six marks viz., a necklace, an ornament, an ear ornament, a crest jewel, ashes and sacred thread on the body is free from transmigration. As stated by him the *Kālamukhas* eat food in a skull, besmear the body with the ashes of a dead person, eat ashes, hold a club, and worship the god in wine pot for the attainment of desires in this world and the next.[124] Followers of the sect are described as *Mahāvratadhara*. Curiously, the commentator of the act *Malatimādhava* also describes the *Kāpālikavrata* as *Mahāvrata*. Nasik inscription of the Chālukya king Nāgavardhana registers the grant for the worship of the god *Kapāleśvara* and for the maintenance of the *Mahāvratins* living in the temple.[125] Now here the god, as its name suggests, is the lord of the wearers of the skulls and Mahāvratins living here must be *Kāpālikas*.

Some of the *vratas* followed by the Kāpālikas are very much similar to those observed by the Kālamukhas, *Śaṁkaradigvijaya* states that *Kāpālika*, preceptor of the sect who met Śaṁkara at Ujjayini had his body besmeared with ashes taken from a burning ground and had skull and an iron lance in his hands. He was the worshipper of god *Kapālin* in his Bhairava form. As described in the book *Kāpālikas* by Anandagiri, *Kāpālikas* at Ujjayini looked to Bhairava, the great god, as the creator and also as destroyer. According to them, drinking wine, eating a certain kind of food and always remain embraced by the power of *Kapālin* i.e. *Bhairava* is very much essential in order to sharpen the power of knowing. Bhavabhuti in *Mālatimādhava* refers to *Śrīśaila* as the main centre of *Kāpālikas*.

Garland of human skulls was the principle ornament of this horrid god *Bhairava* and his wife *Chāmundā*. The followers of the *Kāpālika* sect, like their deities, as the description of *Kapālakuṇḍalā* denotes, were to wear garland of the human skulls.[126] Bhairava and Chāmuṇḍa were to be propitiated by the human sacrifices and offering of wine. *Kapālakuṇḍalā*, the disciple of *Aghoraghaṇṭa*, referred to in the act *'Mālati-Mādhava'* carried away Malati from her father's palace to be killed and sacrificed to the goddess *Karālā-Chāmuṇḍā* near the cemetery by her preceptor. *Pārśvanāthacharita* tells us that *Kāpālika* was to collect 108 human skulls for the goddess Kāli, the other name of Chāmuṇḍā. As described in *Daśakumāracharita* and *Mallināthacharita* innocent and beautiful women were sacrificed by the *Kāpālikas* and the reference in Yasodhara Kāvya by Vādirāja-Suri denotes that pretty children were also sacrificed.[127] The evidence cited here implies that many of the practices were common to both the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas and hence, as suggested by Bhandarkar, we can say that ordinarily, people didn't make any sharp distinction between Kāpālikas and *Kālamukhas*.

Bhuvanesvar, as we have noticed earlier, was the centre of Śaivism in ancient times. The Vaital temple constructed on one of the corners of the Bindu Sarovar at Bhuvanesvar was the temple of Kāpālikas and a basement of a stone Yupa still seen in front of the door of the shrine suggests that human beings and animals were sacrificed here to propitiate the goddess in the sanctum. Among the terrific images carved on the inner wall of the cella the figure of Bhairava is in most hideous and terrific form. It is Gajāsurasaṁhāramurti.[128] The figure of Chāmuṇḍā, the presiding deity of the temple, is with sunken eyes, hood of a snake over her head and a corpse under her feet with a jackal dragging it. All these features speak of her terrific nature. Besides this temple, there are also some small shrines enshrining the goddess Chamuṇḍā at Bhuvanesvar and goddess is worshipped here in modern times as well. One such temple is on one of the corners of the Bindu Sarovar, one situated in the neighbourhood of the site of Śiśupālagarh is known as Bhasuni and one more is in the town. The images in these shrines are depicted with sunken bellies, emaciated and sinewy bodies. They are wearing garlands of human skulls and are seated on the corpse.[129]

This terrific form of goddess was worshipped in other parts of Orissa as well. The image of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā in the largest temple at Khiching is also with the same characteristic features as that just referred to above and Panigrahi has assigned it to the regime of Bhaumakaras.[130] The place Khiginġkoṭṭa was famous as Ashṭāyatana Śiva Kshetra during the regime of Adi Bhañja dynasty. There was a temple enshrining two Bhairava images and an image of Chāmuṇḍā. Images of Chāmuṇḍa have also been found at Deogaon in Mayurabhanj and at Bhimapur in Balasore district. Of these, the image of the deity recovered at the former place has

emaciated body revealing hideous skeleton with ribs and bones. She is seated on the lotus issuing from the navel of Purusha. On the either side of her crown there are figures of snakes with uplifted hoods. The image is with eight hands. While two of her left hands are in *Abhaya and Varadamudrā* two hands are shown with rosaries. In two right hands she is holding Ḍamaru and a cup but the other two right hands are completely damaged. The image found at latter place is known as Kālikā. It is in the sea side forest. It is with four hands. Of these, two are raised on both left and right side and of the remaining hands, one is placed on her right thigh. She is wearing garland of skulls and crown of flames. She is seated in Sukhāsana on double petalled lotus on the body of Hari. She has emaciated body with ribs exposed. It has been dated to 10th century A.D.[131]

Charchikā: Goddess was also known as Charchikā. The temple on the top of the hill at Banki contains the image of Chārchikā seated on a prostrate human body. She is wearing garland of human skulls and is with eight hands. While in her three arms on the right side there are weapons like Khaḍga, Śula, and Katari and fourth hand is in *Varada mudrā*, in one of her three left hands there is a head of the demon, one is holding a cup of blood and while the third hand is holding Ḍamaru the fingers of the fourth one are soaked in blood.[132] It seems to be the most terrific form of Chāmuṇḍā prevalent in ancient times. Scholars have assigned this image to the Bhauma period.

Kāleśvari: The goddess was also known as Kāleśvari. Rāṇaka Puñja, feudatory of the king Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, as mentioned in Kudopoli pls. of thirteenth year, was the devotee of the Kāleśvarī.[133] There are many places with the temples of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā but dates of these temples are not known.[134]

Mahishāsuramardinī : It is the other terrific form of the goddess worshipped in Orissa from early times. Images of this goddess have been found both as Pārśvadevata along with other Śaiva deities and also independently enshrined in the cella. Image of Mahishāsuramardinī, known as goddess Virajā and enshrined in the temple at Jajpur is perhaps the earliest representation of this deity.[135] The sculpture represents the goddess with two arms and the demon killed by her is depicted in animal form, buffalo. Scholars opine that the image is iconographically analogous to the Mahishamardinī Durgā image of the Gupta period and hence, can be placed in the period ranging between pre-Gupta and Gupta period.[136] A unique image of the goddess represented in Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple is with four hands and the demon here is in the form of buffalo. She is lifting the buffalo by its tail with one of her normal pair of hands and thrusting the trident in the body of the demon with other hand. The image, except her four hands, resembles the sculpture installed in the temple at Jajpur.

Peculiarity of the images depicted at Bhuvanesvar is that the demon is depicted

here either with the human body and head of buffalo or with human body coming out of the buffalo. It is important to note here that the goddess is always with eight hands and occasionally with four hands. Her mount is lion. Of these, the image of the first type are seen installed in niches in the temple of Vaital and Śiśirevara temple, in the two temples on the bank of the Bindu Sarovara as well as on the facade of he Paraśurāmeśvara temple. Panigrahi places these images because of their association with these temples in the time bracket of 7th to 8th centuries A.D.[137]

The available evidence thus indicates that the terrific form of goddess was very much popular in Orissa.

Sapta Mātṛikā: Practice of *Saptamātṛikā* worship was prevalent in Orissa at least from seventh century A.D. onwards. These goddesses are represented with children or without children. Of these, the first type seems to be early one and the images with child seems to be of the late period. All these groups contain the images of *Vārālī, Indrāṇī, Vaishṇavī, Kaumārī, Sivānī, Brāhmī* and *Chāmuṇḍā*. These are accompanied with the images of Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra. According to Panigrahi, the figures of *Mātṛikas* without child belong to Śailodbhava and Bhaumakara period and those with child are of the Somavaṁśin period. In the early group of images Chāmuṇḍā has owl on her pedestal while in the second group there is a corpse eaten by jackal and a snake over her head. At Bhuvanesvar the images of *Saptamātṛikas* can be seen in the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaital and Mukteśvara temple. While the groups of *Mātṛikā* images represented in the first two temples seem to belong to first type those in the third temple seem to represent unique type. The goddesses in this group are depicted on the ceiling of *Jagamohana* of the temple. They are seated on eight petalled lotus and except Chāmuṇḍā all these figures are holding child in their arms and are not accompanied with Gaṇeśa or Vireśvara. Groups of *Saptamātṛikas* have also been found at Jajapura and at Chahata in Cuttack district and at Puri as well.[138] According to the traditions all these goddesses helped the goddess in her fight against demons.

The popularity of the terrific form of goddess seems to have been reduced in the regime of the Gaṅga dynasty. A tradition recorded in the Māḍālapañji informs us that king Choḍagaṅga banished all goddesses from Orissa. Another tradition recorded in the same work but discovered at Berhampur informs us that Choḍagaṅga was very much against of all terrific images of the goddesses, except a few like Virajā at Jajapura in Cuttack district. The Gaṅga kings, perhaps were not in favour of the worship of the terrific form of the goddess or as described by scholars in favour of the worship of Śākta goddesses. The worship of the goddess seems to have taken a different form under the rule of the Gaṅga kings.

During this period some of the male deities came to be associated with their

consorts which were absent in the period prior the regime of Gaṅgas. In all the temples built after the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva guardian deities have been depicted with their counterparts. Temple of Pārvati in the premises of Lingarāja temple seems to have been constructed by some Gaṅga king.[139] Similarly, the temples of Vimala and Lakshmī in the compound of temple at Jagannātha at Puri were probably constructed during the regime of the Gaṅga dynasty.

Tantra Deities: In addition to these terrific deities known from the sculptures we have some *tantra* deities known from place names. Mahada pls. of Somavaṁśin king Udyotakesarin registers the grant of the village Gomuṇḍallāgrāma in Yamalākhaṇḍa.[140] Yamalā is some *tantra* goddess and the name Yamalākhaṇḍa speaks of the administrative division under the influence of this goddess. But the chief place of the khaṇḍa has not been identified. The donated place Gomuṇḍallāgrāma has been equated with the place Gunurdula in Birmaharajapur taluka in Bolangir district. The word Gomuṇḍa literally means head of cow and the place name speaks of the practice of erecting something resembling the head of cow in order to protect some object from evil eye.

Some Other Goddesses: We know of the goddess Ambā from place names. Curiously we don't have any reference to this goddess in the available epigraphs. But she is represented by two place names viz., Chaikāmbakā[141] and Ambagrāma.[142] Of these, the former place has been referred to in Olasinga grant of year 5, of Mahāsāmanta Bhānudatta. According to the grant, Bhānudatta donated the village Kumbukīrikshilākagrāma to the Maṭha of Maṇināgeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka situated at Chaikāmbakā. The name of the place may be Ekāmrā and according to scholars, it is the ancient name of Bhuvanesvar. The latter name has been referred to in Purushottamapuri grant of the year thirteen of Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman as a donated place included in Devagrāmavishaya. It seems to have given its place to a village named Ambapura in Purushottamapur police station in Kodal taluka of Ganjam district. The evidence suggests that in ancient times goddess Ambā was the presiding deity of the place Bhuvanesvar and also of the place Ambagrāma even before the rule of Bhānudatta and the rise of Śailodbhava dynasty respectively. Coming to the period of Somavaṁśin dynasty we have a reference to Pañchāmbari Bhadrāmbikā. The Jatesing Dungari grant of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti informs us, it was the presiding deity of the city of Suvarṇṇapura.[143]

Minor Goddesses: Some grants inform us about some minor female deities, such as, Śitalā, the goddess inflicting small pox, Tṛiṇadevatā (Stambheśvari) and Parṇṇadevatā worshipped in the then society. According to Satalama grant of eighth year of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya of Somavaṁśin dynasty, the donated place Satallamā was in Kaśaloḍāvishaya.[144] The donated place seems to have obtained the name after the goddess Śitalā and originally, the name may be

Śitalāmmā the goddess inflicting small pox, worshipped to have a boon from her against occurrence of small pox. The place has been identified with the village named Satalama, the findspot of the grant.

Tṛiṇadevatā: The goddess Stambheśvarī represents Tṛinadevatā. As mentioned in Tersinga charter of the king Tushṭikara, the king was the devotee of the goddess Stambheśvarī.[145] Hindol pls. of Śulki king Kulastambha inform us that it was the family deity of the Sulki rulers,[146] the feudatories of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Bhañja rulers of Khiñjalimaṇḍala were also worshippers of the goddess. King Raṇabhañja of this dynasty in his Orissa museum pls. and Sonepur pls. declares himself as the recipient of the boon of the goddess,[147] Rāṇaka Jayārṇṇava, feudatory of Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta IV Karṇa, had obtained the boon from the goddess Khambeśvarī.[148] The name may be Stambeśvarī.

The antiquity of the worship of this deity goes back prior to the regime of Tushṭikara dynasty and it is still worshipped in the form of pillar in the Stambheśvarī temple at Sonepur in Bolangir district, in neighbouring villages of Khiching in Mayurbhanj district, at Asika in Ganjam district and at Bhuvanesvar[149] in Puri district. As described by B.C. Mazumdar it is also worshipped in Sambalpur tract. The Dumāla people living in western part of Orissa Garjāt Mahals worship it as the tutelary deity and the Kandhas living on the south-eastern border of Sonepur and adjoining area of the former Baud state worship it as tribal deity. While the Kandhas set up wooden posts in their village to represent goddess Khambeśvarī Dumals put up two posts of black wood as representing the goddess and worship it in the month of Aśvin by spreading the branches of Mahua trees.[150] The wooden pillar worshipped as *Grāmadevatā* by the villagers is renewed in every ten years and the ceremony of changing it is known as *Dasandhi.* The occasion is celebrated by sacrificing animals like goats and pigs.[151]

Scholars have taken it as tribal deity. As given by Monier Monier Williams the word Stambha also denotes clump or tuft of grass, a sheaf of corn or any clump or cluster of plants with no decided stem and the word Stambhakārita indicates formation of the abundant sheaves or cluster of rice and Stambhakāra may be one who forms the cluster.[152] As the rice was the main crop taken here in ancient past the origin of the practice of worshipping Stambheśvari may be traced in the worship of some reaped rice plants bound together in the beginning of the reaping of the crop. It may be a harvest deity and later on the bundle of rice plants may have taken the form of pillars and came to be known after this form. It may be just like goddess Kosagai which seems to have obtained its name after abundant reed or grass known as Kośāṅga. It appears to be a presiding deity over this grass used for creating some useful objects. Kosgai stone inscription of the king Vāharendra refers to Kosaṅgadurga.[153] The word Kośaṅga= kind of reed or grass and the fort may

have been situated in the region with this kind of reed in abundance. In later period the name was changed into Kosaṅga and in local tradition it became Kosgai, the goddess of grass. The place has been identified with modern place Kosgain, four miles to the east of Chhuri Jamindari in Kataghora taluka in Bilaspur district.

Parṇṇadevatā: It is one of the important ancient deities worshipped in Orissa. It has been referred to in Bhadraka inscription of Gaṇa in the context of the gifts made over to the goddess Parṇṇadevati by a lady named Ranghali, wife of Śrī. Pava. The gift was given in the eighth regnal year of Mahārāja Surasarmā. On the basis of paleography the epigraph has been assigned to the third century A.D. and hence, the worship of Parṇṇadevati goes back to the pre-Gupta period. According to Panigrahi, it corresponds with the goddesses Patarasuni Bhalukuni and Khudurikuni worshipped all over Orissa in modern times.[154]

Vaishṇavism: Vaishṇavism is the other most important religion prevalent here in ancient past. We know of the Vaishṇava religion of the early period from the epithets of kings of some dynasties and also names of the kings and of god mentioned in the epigraphs of the different dynasties. While some of the kings of Māṭhara dynasty were devotees of Śiva some were worshipper of the god Vishṇu. According to Ningondi pls. of the king Prabhñjanavarman and Andhavaram grant of the year 14 of the king Anantaśaktivarman, these kings were the devotees of the god Nārāyaṇa. But king Chaṇḍivaraman as described in Bobbili pls. of the year 4, was Paramabhāgavata.[155] Among the kings ruling over west and south-western Orissa king Skandavarmā of the Nala dynasty, as described in his Paudagadh inscription, was the devotee of Vishṇu. Rajim stone inscription of the Nala king Vilāsatuṅga begins with the verses in the praise of god Vishṇu and the 5th verse of the grant invokes the dwarf incarnation of god Vishṇu.[156] According to Dhenkanal charter, Bhaumakara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī was *Parama Vaishṇavī*.[157] Rāṇaka Śatṛbhañja, son of Angadi, Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, son of Śatṛbhañja, Nettabhañja son of Vidyādharabhañja and Śatṛbhañja son of Śilabhañja and grandson of Vidyādharabhañja of the Bhañja dynasty were devotees of god Vishṇu and are described as *Parama Vaishṇava*. But their charters begin with the praise of the god Śiva who was probably the presiding deity of the dynasty.[158]

Names of kings and of God: Surprisingly, Śailodbhava kings were devotees of Śiva but three kings of the dynasty bore the name Mādhava, one of the names of god Vishṇu and very popular figure in Mahābhārata. Besides, some epigraphs of the dynasty supply us some names of the god Vishṇu. While Buguda grant mentions the names Śrīnivāsa and Mādhava, Banpur pls. refer to Hari and a Tekkali grant provides us the names Madhusudana and Nārāyaṇa. Further, Khurda pls. of king Mādhavarāja II informs us that lord Mādhava with discs in hands is worshipped by all.[159] The evidence indicates the influence of Vaishṇavism during the regime of Śailodbhava dynasty.

Temples: As referred to above, king Skandavarmā and Vilāsatuṅga of Nala dynasty were devotees of god Vishṇu. Of these, the former installed foot prints of the god and granted some land or village and also some money for the maintenance of *Sattra* for feeding the *Brāhmaṇas*, ascetics and destitutes. The grant was made permanent and free from all taxes .It was to be enjoyed without interruption. The latter king erected a temple of Vishṇu at Rajim.[160] Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Bhaumakara dynasty was devotee of Vishṇu[161] and she must have created some temples of the god but we have no reference to the temples with the image of Vishṇu as presiding deity in the grants of her time.

Scholars have assigned twin temples known as Nilamādhava and Siddheśvara at Gandharadi near Baud in Phulbani district to Bhaumakara period. As the region was under the rule of Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala they may be given credit for erecting these temples. Standing image of Vishṇu enshrined in the Nilamādhava temple is with four hands holding *Chakra, Padma* and *Gadā* and is associated with Śrīdevī and Bhudevī.[162]

Temples for Vishṇu erected during the regime of Somavaṁśin dynasty are also known. Brick temple at Rani Jharial in Titalagarh subdivision of Bolangir district has been assigned, on the basis of architectural features and decorative art, to tenth century A.D. and Rath places it in Somavaṁśin regime. It is locally known as the Indralatha temple. The presiding deity of the temple is not in its place but the sculptures of Varāha, Narasiṁha etc. on the outer walls of the temple led the scholars to take it as Vishṇu temple.[163] Besides, *Pañchāyatana* style of temple containing the image of Vishṇu in one of the subsidiary temples constructed in the four corners of the compound at Jalauka near Chhatia in Cuttack district has also been assigned to Somavaṁśin period. The architectural features and sculptures of this temple suggest that it may be contemporary to the temple of Mukteśvara at Bhuvanesvar and according to Panigrahi, it was constructed during the regime of Somavaṁśin dynasty.[164]

The Ananta Vāsudeva temple on the eastern bank of the Bindusarovara at Bhuvanesvar, as recorded in the inscription in the temple, was constructed by Chandrikādevī, daughter of Anaṅgabhīmadeva in Ś. 1200 corresponding to A.D.1278.According to inscription, the temple was built for Śrīkrishṇa and Vala-Vāsa[165](Valarāma=Balarāma).

During the regime of Bhañja, Somavaṁśin and Imperial Gaṅga dynasty he was worshipped as Mādhava as well. Temples of Mādhava assigned to the pre Gaṅga and Gaṅga period have been known from Gandhradi, Chahat, Kantilo and Mudgala in Puri district .Of these, the temples at the first site as referred to above and Chahat and Kantilo were famous as the temple of Nilamādhava. The image of four armed Vishṇu in the temple at Chahat is seated on lotus and holding the

attributes, *Śaṅkha, Chakra,* Gadā and *Padma.*It's vehicle Garuḍa is seen seated with folded hands and in kneeling position on the lotus pedestal. In the temple of Nilamādhava at Kantilo the image of Mādhava is firmly fixed in the back wall of the sanctum. It is standing and holding the same attributes as described in the early image. It is associated here with Śrīdevī and Bhudevī .Its mount Garuḍa is seated in kneeling position. Both these temples have been assigned by the scholars to pre-Ganga period.[166] The temple containing the image of Mādhava in worship at the site of Mudgala in Puri district has been assigned by the scholars to the period of Imperial Gaṅga dynasty. Besides, there are images of Mādhava found at number of sites in Puri district.[167]

Sculptures: Different types of sculptures representing Vishṇu from Bhuvanesvara and other cities in Orissa also speak of the existence of Vaishṇavism in the region from very early times. It seems that Vishṇu with his attributes like *Śaṅkha, Chakra, Gadā, Padma* appeared here as a subsidiary deity in 7th-8th century A.D. We have images of Vishṇu holding *Śankha, Chakra, Gadā, Padma* depicted in the central niche on the southern facade of Svarṇṇajalaśvra temple at Bhuvanesvara assigned to 7th–8th century A.D. He is also depicted in the scenes from Epics. In the scene of Śiva's marriage presented on Paraśurāmeśvara temple he is with four hands, holding a vase with two hands and conch with the other two hands.[168]

His incarnations of Rāma and Kṛishṇa are also known from some scenes e.g. the scenes of Rāmāyaṇa on the walls of the temples of Svarnnjalasvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva. In the scene on the former temple he is shown as killing Vāli and Hanumana is also there. The scene on the balustrade of the window on the northern side of the later temple represents him with Sitā, Lakshamaṇa and Hanumāna.[169] As a child Śrīkrishṇa he appeared at Bhuvanesvara in the panel of Kāliyāmardan assigned by the scholars to seventh century A.D. In scenes depicted on the southern facade of the tower of Lingaraja temple he is seen with Nanda and Yaśodā. We can see similar panel on the western facade on the small temple on the north-eastern corner of Brahmeśvara temple. In both these panels Nanda is with beard, Yaśodā is churning curd and child Krishṇa is standing by the side of the vessel of curd. It is, however to be noted here that images of Krishṇa with four hands, holding flute, peacock feathers on the head, standing crossed legs became popular in the region in fourteen to fifteen century A.D.and the cult of Kṛishṇa Gopivallabha is made popular in Orissa by the famous poet Jayadeva.[170]

His incarnations, Varāha, Vāmana and others are known from the scenes depicted in the niches in Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvanesvar and images of Vishṇu with ten incarnations depicted on the pedestals of the images found all over Orissa.

CompositeImages: Images known as Harihara showing combination of Śiva

and Vishṇu in one figure were also created in Orissa in early medieval period. One such image has been depicted on the northern facade of the Vaital temple.[171]

Independent Images : According to B. K. Rath independent images of Vishṇu are known here from the time of the Māṭhara dynasty onwards. He has assigned the images of Vishṇu located near Gokarṇeśvara temple on the top of the mountain Mahendragiri and on the eastern bank of Bindusarovara near Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvanesvar to the regime of Māṭhara dynasty.[172] Vishṇu images of the regime of Śailodbhava dynasty are also known. An image of Vishṇu famous as Nārāyaṇa along with Śrīdevī and Pṛithvi found in excavation at Bankādagarh near Punjiama in Banpur taluka, Puri district, probably belongs to Śailodbhava period.[173] The god, as referred to above, was also worshipped as Mādhava and the temples containing the image of Mādhava, referred to above, at Gandharadi, Chahat, Kantilo and Mudgal belong to pre Gaṅga and Gaṅga period. Besides, independent images of Mādhava recovered at different places also point the prevalence of the worship of Vishṇu as Mādhava Two images found in the Jagamohana in Kusalesvar temple at Degaon in Keonjhar district represent the features of the Gaṅga art and for this reason have been assigned to Gaṅga period.[174] Similar images known from Kakatpur,Kenduli, Nilkanthapura etc. in Puri district may also be assigned to this period.[175] Thus it seems that the god Vishṇu was worshipped as Mādhava at some places in Puri district during the regime of Bhañja, Somavaṁśin and Gaṅga dynasties. Here we have to mention the sculpture of Narasiṁha found at Kaupur assigned by scholars to 8th century A.D. pointing to the knowledge of the incarnations of god Vishṇu.[176]

Images of *Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu* were popular during the regime of Bhaumakara dynasty in the central Orissa. Two images of *Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu* found at Sarang and Bhimkand near Talcher in Dhenkanal district indicate that the sculptors had good knowledge of iconography of Vishṇu. Of these, the image from the former place is thirty two feet in length and has been carved on the stony bed of the river Bramani. The image from the later site is fifty-one and half feet in length and has been placed between 8th–9th century A.D.[177] The lintels bearing the sculptures of Vishṇu – *Ananta-Śeshaśāyī* of Suvarṇameru and Rāmeśvara Śiva temples at Sonepur[178] may be of the ancient temples at these places.

Place names : There are two names, Rāmaprakaṭigrāma and Mādahavapura[179] after Vishṇu. Of these, the former is known from Adipur grant of Narendrabhañja and is the place of donee. The latter place is mentioned in Baud pls. of year three of Kanakabhañja. It has been identified with the village Mararipura situated 20°. 24″N-85°.8″E.In Khurda pls. of Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja there is reference to lord Mādhava, the holder of the disc[180] and temples containing the image of the god Mādhava as well as independent images of the god belonging to the regimes of

Bhañja, Somavaṁśin and Gaṅga dynasty have been found at many places in Puri district and the place Mādhavapura may have obtained its name after the temple of the god Mādhava.

God Purushottama: In modern times the city of Puri is very much famous centre of pilgrimage in Orissa. Though it has gained worldwide popularity for the temple of Jagnnatha built by the Gaṅga king in A.D. 12th century it contains a number of temples of the principle deities of Hindu pantheon. In ancient times, as mentioned in Purāṇas, it was known by the different names like *Nilāchala, Śrī-kshetra, Purushottama-kshetra, Śaṅkha-kshetra* etc. Of these, the name *Śrī-kshetra* denotes that it was the centre of *Vaishṇava* worship and was sacred *Piṭha* of the *Vaishṇava* religion in ancient times. The name *Purushottama-kshetra* speaks of the centre famous for the worship of Vishṇu as *Purushottma*. The practice of the worship of *Purushottama* goes back, as suggested by Sāyana and Raghunandana to the *Ṛigvedic* period. According to *Vishṇudharma* Kṛishṇa was worshipped as Purushottama in the Oḍra country. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* mentions *Purushotta-makshetra* in the context of pilgrimage of Pralhāda.The *Prabodha-chandrodaya* of Krishna Mishra written between 1073 and A.D.1076 mentions *Devāyatana* of *Purushottama* in the Utkala country. Murāri in *Anargha Rāghava Nāṭikā* refers to the *Yātrā* of *Purushottama*. As mentioned in *Bṛahaspatya Arthaśāstra Purushottama* was a famous tīrtha in India.

The place has also been referred to in some inscriptions from the places outside Orissa. The Maihara stone inscription of 10th century A.D. from Madhya Pradesh informs us about *Puroshottamakshetra* situated on the shore of ocean in Oḍra country. The Govindapur inscription, from Bihar, dated in A.D.1137 A.D. states that Manoratha, the father of the poet Gaṅgādhara visited *Purushottama*. According to Edilpur grant of Keśava Sena, king Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal erected a lofty sacrificial post at the seat of *Musaladhara* and *Gadāpāṇī* on the shore of southern sea. Narasiṁha and Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple inscriptions of the king Choḍagaṅga are the earliest records of the region mentioning *Purushottama*.[181] Thus, it seems that the worship of *Purushottama* was prevalent at Puri before the construction of the temple of Jagannātha by Choḍagaṅga king. It is said that *Purushottama* is the other name of Jagannātha.

We, however, do not know when the god *Purushottama* came to be identified with the god Jagannātha. Similarly, the legends providing us the information regarding the origin of the god Jagannātha are of conflicting nature. Hence, we are not in position to say anything definite about it. But we can trace back the antiquity of the practice of worship of Jagannātha and temple of Jagannātha at least to the period of Bhaumakara dynasty. According to the tradition preserved in Māḍālapañji, a chronicle of Jagannātha temple, during the regime of the king

Śubhanadeva the region of Orissa was invaded by Raktavāhu. When the invader reached to Puri through sea the king Śubhanadeva fled from the city with the images of the lord Jagannātha along with his associates to the town of Sonepur on his western frontier and buried the images at a place known as Gopāli. After the lapse of 146 years king Yayāti Kesari of the Somavaṁśin dynasty got the image dug out, prepared new images, built a new temple at Puri and installed the images in that temple. The scholars have identified the invader Raktavāhu mentioned in the Māḍālapañji with the king Rāshṭrakuṭa king Govinda III who ruled between A.D.798-814 and, as described in Sanjan pls. conquered Kosala,Vaṅga,Dāhala and Odraka. The king Śubhanadeva of Puri seems identical with the king Śubhakara of the Bhaumakara dynasty and king Yayāti referred to in Māḍālapañji, is the same as Yayāti I of the Somavaṁśin dynasty who as the reference to the grant of the village in Dakshiṇa Tosalī in his Cuttack pls. of the year nine indicates, annexed the region of the Bhaumakara dynasty to his kingdom. He rebuilt the temple of Jagannâtha at Puri and installed the image of Jagannātha in this temple. The temple was, probably in decayed condition when the Gaṅga King Choḍagaṅga established his rule over the region. The king constructed the temple and from this time onwards i.e. from early parts of twelve-century A.D., the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri became most famous and the antiquity of the deity enshrined in the temple enhanced the sanctity of the temple.[182]

Vaishṇava Goddesses: The goddess Lakshmī is represented only by one place name. The Koroshonda grant of year 7 of the king Vishākhāvarman of Pitṛibhakta dynasty was issued from Śrīpuram.[183] It has been identified with the place Batia Śrīpuram in Parlakimedi taluka in Ganjam district.

Sculptures: We see goddess Vaishṇavī depicted in Saptamātṛikā groups in Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaital and Mukteśvara temples at Bhuvanesvar. Here she is shown with the image of Garuda on the pedestals. Image of Lakshmī is depicted on the Jagamohana of Ananta-Vāsudeva temple as well. But we don't have independent images of the goddess. In Lakshmī Narasiṁha temple in the compound of Lingaraja temple at Bhuvanesvar she is represented with Narasiṁha the incarnation of Vishṇu.[184]

The above survey of the sculptures belonging to Śaiva and Vaishṇava religion indicates that though both the religions were prevalent here side by side, Śaivism remained prominent religion till the advent of the Gaṅga dynasty. According to Panigrahi, famous poet Jayadeva and Narahari Tīrtha a disciple of Ananda Tīrtha, the founder of the Dvaita philosophy made Vaishṇavism popular in Orissa during the Gaṅga period.[185]

Sun Worship: The practice of sun worship was prevalent here, as the sculpture of the Sun god mounted on the chariot in Ananta Gumpha at Khandagiri Udayagiri

hills assigned to first century A.D. denotes, from early times. We know of the devotees and temples of the Sun god from the epigraphs as well. Sumandala pls. of the time Pṛthivīvigraha, Gupta year 250, refers to Mahārāja Dharmarāja as the devotee of the god with thousands of rays.[186] Kings of Somavaṁśin dynasty were devotees of Śiva but Sonepur grant of year 17 of the king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya informs us about the donation of the village Gottaikelā in Luputtarākhaṇḍa made by Kamalavaṇikasthāna of Suvarṇapura to the temples of god Keśava and Aditya Bhaṭṭāraka.[187]According to Nilkaṇṭheśvar temple inscription of the king Devendravarmarāja of the Gaṅga dynasty, image of Sun god was enshrined in the temple.[188] But the grand Sun temple at Konark came to be constructed during the regime of the later Gaṅga dynasty. According to the inscription of Ś. Year 1217, king Narasiṁha II built the temple for the sun and curiously, this statement has been repeated in the epigraphs of the subsequent Gaṅga rulers.[189]

Sacrificial rituals: Along with image worship practice of performing sacrificial rituals was also prevalent here during the regime of Śailodbhava dynasty. The dynasty is given credit for the revival of sacrificial rituals in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. We get references to *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices in the epigraphs of the dynasty. As referred to in Purushottamapur pls. of the year 13, king Mādhavarāja performed Aśvamedha sacrifice[190] and his son Madhyamarāja, Parikud grant of the year 26 informs us, performed both the *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* sacrifice.[191] Each of these sacrifices was performed with different motive. While, as mentioned in *Śatapatha Brāhmana Aśvamedha* is the best sacrifice and is performed for the establishment of power and self *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* informs us that *Vājapeya* is ritual performed at the time of the consecration of a king to the imperial position.[192]

The above cited evidence indicates that religious toleration was the principle characteristic of the religious conditions prevalent here in the ancient past. All the religions flourished here side by side without antagonism towards each other.

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69. *IO*, vol. I, p. 191, *l.* 10.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 142, *ll.* 1-4; *IO*, vol. I, Part II, p. 328 (translation).
71. *Ibid.*, p. 145, *ll.* 1-2
72. *Ibid.*, vol. I, Part II, p. 158, *ll.* 14-16.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 215, *ll.* 1-4.
74. *OUBK*, p. 44, *l.* 19.
75. *Ibid.*, Kumurang Charter, p. 63, *l.* 25.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 34, *ll.* 1-4.
77. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 28.
78. *OUBK*, p. 15, *l.* 21.
79. *DMO*, p. 13.
80. *OUBK*, p. 25, *l.* 17, p. 57, (*l.* 13).
81. *Ibid.*, p. 61, *l.* 44.
82. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 112 *ll.* 3, 4; *BM*, p. 102.
83. *HO*, pp. 153-154; *TBTT*, p. 153; *TAIK*, p. 78.
84. For example see Bamanghati pls. of the king Raṇabhañja, *IO*, vol. VI, p. 2, *l.* 3.
85. For example see Baud undated grant of the king Raṇabhñja, *IO*, vol. VI, p. 120, *ll.* 1-3 *ll.* 1-3.
86. *BM*, p. 171.
87. *ARAB*, p. 83, Fig. 136.
88. *See* Orissa Museum Pls. of the king Vidyādharabhañja, *IO*, VO *l.* VI, p. 139, *ll.* 1- 8.
89. Kumurkela grant of Rāṇaka Śatṛbhañja refers to king as Paramavaishaṇava, *IO*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 4, and p. 59, *ll.* 1-5.
90. Taspaikera grant of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, *IO*, vol. VI, p. 86, *ll.* 1-5, p. 86, *l.* 1.
91. *IO*. Vol, VI, p. 79, *l.* 18, p. 80, *l.* 29.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 127, *l.* 15.
93. *IOTSPS*, Vakratentali grant, p. 172, *l.* 3, Patna charter, p. 226, *l.* 1, Cuttack grant, p. 259, *l.* 27, Mahulpura grant, p. 270, *l.* 2, Balijhari record, p. 287, *l.* 29.

94. *Ibid.*, Banpur grant, p. 328, V. I.
95. *IOTSPS*, p. 305, V. 12, p. 307, Abstracts.
96. *IO*, vol. II, p. 251, *ll.* 21-22, p. 252, fn. 2.
97. *IO*, vol. V, p. 62, V. 23.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 78, *ll.* 9-10.
99. *ARAB*, p. 48.
100. *Ibid.*, see Lingarāja temple inscriptions, pp. 96, 97, 117, 118, 124, 126 etc; *ARAB*, p. 254.
101. *IO*, vol. II, p. 185, *ll.* 11, 12.
102. *OUBK*, p. 15, *ll.* 21-24.
103. *See* fn. 92 above.
104. *OUBK*, p. 15, *ll.* 16-24.
105. *IO*, vol. II, pp. 70-71, *ll.* 7-18.
106. *HOO*, p. 319.
107. *RFSD*, pp. 170-171; *TBTT*, p. 152.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
109. *BORI*, vol. IV, p. 166.
110. *ARAB*, p. 217.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
112. *HOO*, pp. 316-317.
113. *ARAB*, pp. 225-226.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 225; *HOO*, pp. 316-317.
115. *CII*, vol. IV, p. 200, *ll.* 1-5.
116. *IO*, vol. II, p. 70, *ll.* 10-11.
117. *CII*, IV, p. cliv; *RFSD*, p. 172; *CHOO*, p. 161.
118. *IO*, vol. I, see for example Banpur grant of the king Dharmarāja alias Mānabhita, p. 252, *ll.* 1-4.
119. *IO*, vol. VI, see for example, p. 30, *ll.* 1-3, p. 52, *ll.* 1-3, p. 145, *ll.* 1-3.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 52, *ll.* 1-3, p. XV.
121. *CHOO*, p. 161.
122. *ARAB*, pp. 137-141.
123. *AOSM*, vol. I, p. 169
124. *VSAMRS*, p. 181.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 168; *IA*, IX, 1880, p. 123.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
127. *ARAB*, pp. 233-234.
128. *HOO*, pp. 331-333, *BM*, p. 171.
129. *ARAB*, p. 79, *HOO*, p. 333.
130. *HOO*, p. 333.
131. *HCKK*, pp. 134, 139; *AOSM* vol. II, p. 109.
132. *AOSM*, vol. II, p. 11.
133. *IOTSPS*, p. 264, *l.* 8. It may be the other name of the goddess Kālikā.
134. *HOO*, p. 335.
135. *ARAB*, pp. 133-134.

136. *AOSM*, vol. II, pp. 44-45.
137. *ARAB*, pp. 133-134.
138. *HOO*, pp. 333-334; *ARAB*, pp. 135-137.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 534.
140. *IOTSPS*, p. 333, *ll.* 2-3.
141. *IO*, vol. I, p. 191, *ll.* 9-10.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 221, *l.* 35; *DCHB* Ganjam district, p. 592, No. 67.
143. *IOTSPS*, p. 277, *l.* 10, p. 282 Abstracts and fn. 129.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 190, *l.* 9, p. 192, fn. 25; *SED*, p. 1078, Col. 2.
145. *IO*, vol. I, p. 154, *l.* 1.
146. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 112, *l.* 2.
147. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 67, *l.* 15, p. 72, *l.* 2; *OITM*, p. 114, *HOO*, p. 349.
148. *IOTSPS*, p. 363, *l.* 10.
149. *CHOO*, p. 169; *HOO*, p. 349;
150. *OITM*, pp. 107-112.
151. *HOO*, p. 349.
152. *SED*, pp. 1257-1258, Col. 3 and 1 respectively.
153. *CII*, IV, p. 566, *l.* 134, V19, p. 567, V. 19; *SED*, p. 314, Col. 2; *CHBBVA*, p. 197.
154. *HOO*, p. 349.
155. *IO*, vol. I, p. 92, *l.* 1, p. 95, *l.* 2, p. 122, *l.* 1.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 162, *l.* 5, pp. 164-167.
157. *OUBK*, p. 26, *l.* 23.
158. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 60, *l.* 4, p. 79, *l.* 18, p. 87, *l.* 1, p. 94, *l.* 15, p. 100, *l.* 14, p. 121, *l.* 17, p. 151, *l.* 15, p. 157, *l.* 2, p. 187, *l.* 11, p. 192, *l.* 10.
159. *IO*, vol. I, p. 216, *ll.* 29, 30, p. 253, *ll.* 24-25, p. 273, *ll.* 9, 25, p. 213, *l.* 14.
160. *See* fn. 144, 145.
161. *OUBK*, p. 26, *l.* 23.
162. *AOSM*, vol. I, pp. 213-214.
163. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 227.
164. *HOO*, pp. 322-323
165. *Ibid.*
166. *AOSM*, vol. I, p. 89, p. 124.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
168. *HOO*, pp. 321, 323.
169. *Ibid.*
170. *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 325.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
172. *CHOO*, pp. 164-165.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 165; *AOSM*, vol. I, pp. 42-43.
174. *AOSM*, vol. II, p. 167.
175. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 120, 127, 154.
176. *CHOO*, p. 165.
177. *HOO*, pp. 321, 325.
178. *AOSM*, vol. II, p. *CHOO*, p. 165.

179. *IO*, vol. VI, p. 22, *l.* 10, p. 241, *ll.* 27-28.
180. *IO*, vol. I, p. 213, *l.* 14.
181. *AOSM*, vol. I, pp. 159-160.
182. *HOO*, pp. 78-79, p. 336-339.
183. *IO*, vol. I, p. 126, *l.* 1.
184. *HOO*, p. 321, p. 324.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 324. *IO*, vol. I, p. 139, *l.* 5.
186. *IO*, vol. I, p. 139, *l.* 5.
187. *IOTSPS*, p. 195, *l.* 13, p. 196, *l.* 24.
188. *HO*, p. 194.
189. *AOSM*, vol. I, p. 130.
190. *IO*, vol. I, p. 220, *l.* 28.
191. *Ibid.*, p. 238, *ll.* 38, 39.
192. *RFSD*, p. 163.

Chapter X

Epilogue

Situated between 17° 49′ N to 22° 34′N latitude and from 81° 29′E to 87° 29′E longitude on eastern coast of India, Orissa is a hilly region. The rivers which feed it are not perennial. In ancient times the region was known by different names, such as Kalinga, Tosala, Utkala, Odra, Kosala etc., Dated history of the region begins with the rule of king Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha.King Khāravela who ruled in the first half of the second century A.D. seems to be the first autochthons ruler of the region. But after him we don't get any information about political history of the region till we come to the period of Māṭhara dynasty of Kaliṅga region.

The different parts of the modern Orissa, such as south Orissa, South eastern Orissa, south west Orissa and north Orissa, prior to rule of Śadilodbhava dynasty, were ruled by the kings of the different known and unknown dynasties either independently or as subordinate of some strong power. In later period, Śailodbhava, Bhaumakara and their Bhañja feudatories, Somvaṁśins and Gaṅga dynasties of Kaliṅganagara, Śvetaka and Imperial Gaṅgas, respectively flourished in different parts of Orissa. These dynasties ruled the region under them most efficiently and always tried to bring more and more land under cultivation as well as under occupation. In order to achieve their purpose they donated villages and lands to Brāhmaṇas and religious institutions.

Names of the territorial divisions containing these donated places and also the names of the donated places reflect the topographical features of the region and suggest that early man of Orissa was very much impressed by the physical features and environment of the region. Hence, we have many place names after mountains, hills, rivers, streams, tanks, water, soil, surface of the earth etc.

In ancient times large portion of the state was covered with forest and many administrative divisions and places named after trees, bamboo, grass and reeds etc.also speak the same thing. There were forests of different species of trees exuding juice, fire wood forests, dense forests containing all species of tree, Bamboo forests,

grass and reeds etc. covering different districts of Orissa State. Most of the donated villages were named after trees and those situated amidst the different trees, point to the settlements founded in forest cleared areas long before the time of respective grants.

This fact is also supported by the places named after different species of animals, domestic and wild, birds, aquatic birds, ugly birds, reptiles etc., found in the forests of the region in ancient past.

Place names with suffix like Palli, Pallikā, Palligrāma Vāṭagrāma speak of the early nature of the human habitations in the region as well as development of the human settlements and the grāmas mentioned in the inscriptions speak of the habitations of the farmers.

Survey of the administrative divisions mentioned in the grants of the different dynasties help us to form an idea about the administrative geography of the regime of the particular dynasty, names of the different parts of that region and also the peculiar features of the different regions. Edicts of Maurya king Aśoka provide us names of the two places, Tosalī and Samāpā, in the region. Of these two, Tosalī is identified with Dhauli in Puri district and the other name Samāpā is identified with Jaugada in Ganjam district.

Coming to the later period we have Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Gupta king Samudragupta giving an account of king's invasion of Dakshiṇāpatha. According to the description, southern part of Orissa at this time was under the rule of different rulers and the list of the defeated kings in Allahabad pillar inscription throws light on the names of the regions of the state of Orissa and adjacent portions of Andhra Pradesh. Thus, the eastern portions of Sambalpur and Bolangir district formed the part of Kosala, forest lying between Kosala (extended from river Wainganga in the west to the adjacent portions of the districts Sambalpur and Bolangir in the west), and Kaliṅga (which included the coastal region lying between southern portion of Ganjam district and northern district of Andhra Pradesh) was known as Mahākāntāra, The region around Kothoor in Ganjam district was known Koṭṭura, Pithapuram in East Godavari district was known as Pishṭapura, portions of Sringavarapukota and Ankapalle in Srikakulam and Visakhapatanam district was recognised as Devarāshṭra, Erandapali in Andhra Pradesh was known as Eraṇḍapalli etc. Of these kingdoms, the Kosala, Mahakāntāra and Koṭṭura are the names of the different regions of modern Orissa. These were under the rule of different royal families and rest of the kingdoms defeated by Samudragupta were situated in Andhra Pradesh. Curiously, the Kaliṅga kingdom that became famous after the invasion is not mentioned in Allahabad pillar inscription.

After the invasion of the Gupta king, Orissa was divided into small kingdoms ruled by known and unknown royal families and we know names of administrative

divisions of south Orissa, Southeastern Orissa, southwest Orissa and north Orissa from the grants of these dynasties. Thus the region under the rule of Māṭhara, Vāśishṭhakula and Pitṛibhakta dynasties which extended from Badi nadi in Ganjam district to the river Godavari was famously known as Kaliṅga and some of the rulers of these dynasties assumed the title Kaliṅgādhipati.The region of Puri, Cuttack and Ganjam districts ruled by Pṛithivīvigraha was famous by the name Kaliṅgarāshṭra and it included portion of Khallikote taluka then known as Parkkhalamārgavishaya. Coming to the southwestern region of Orissa we know that Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala ruled by Nala dynasty included the adjoining portions of Asika and Ghumsur taluka of Ganjam district. Grants of the king ruling over North Orissa introduce us to the places, such as Pāṭaliputra, Gayā, Krimila, Lalāvardhana, Puṇḍravardhana, Gokkhaṭi, Khandraṅg, Tāmralipti and the region Ubhaya Tosalī. The portions of north Orissa and southwestern portion of Bengal was Daṇḍabhukti. While some portion of Puri and Cuttack districts had the designation Daksihiṇa Tosalī, some adjoining portion of Balasore and Cuttack district, under the Mudgala family was known as Uttara Tosalī.

The kingdom of Śailodbhava dynasty that became powerful after Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, was known as Koṅgodamaṇḍala. Extended roughly from Mahendragiri in the south upto the river Mahānadi in Cuttack district it had sea on its east, forest of Phulbani on the northwest and country of Kosala on the west.

The kingdom of Bhaumakaras who followed Śailodbhavas was known as Tosalī. It was divided into vishaya divisions. The kingdom of the dynasty during its palmy days included Midnapore district in the north Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, and Baud in Phulbani district in the west, Ganjam district in the south and Puri, Cuttack and Balasore districts in the east. The inscriptions provide us the then prevalent names of the different parts of these districts. The empire contained four maṇḍalas viz., Kodālakamaṇḍala, identified with the region extended from the hills on the northern border of Hindol district to the confluence of Sankhajyoti and Palmara in the north, and included the region on both banks of the river Brahmani in Sundargarh, Sambalpur district and western portion of Dhenkanal district with capital at Koalu on the right side of Vaitarani in Dhenkanal district, Kannārdāmaṇḍala-not identified, Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala which included the territory lying between hills on the northern border of Hindol district and the hill ranges forming the southern border of Ranpur and Nayagarh taluka of Puri district and Yamagarṭṭāmaṇḍala containing the adjoining portions of Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Sambalpur district with Jamurdi in Pal-lahara taluka in Dhenkanal district as its chief place. While the first two maṇḍalas were incharge of Śulki dynasty the third was under the rule of Tuṅga dynasty and the last one was ruled by Nanda dynasty, the feudatories of the Bhaumakara dynasty.

Bhañjas who ruled over Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala and Khiñjalimaṇḍala were also

feudatories of Bhaumakara dynasty. The available evidence suggests that Khijjiṅgamaṇḍala comprised of the adjoining portions of Singbhum district of Bihar and Keonjhar, Balasore and Mayurabhanj districts of Orissa. The adjoining portions of Champua taluka of Keonjhar district, Rairangpur taluka of Mayurabhanj district and Singbhum district of Bihara were recognised by the name Vṛittivishaya i.e. the region occupied by the *Bhaṭṭa Brāhmaṇas*. Khiñjalimaṇḍala included some portions of Dhenkanal district, Puri district, Ganjam district, Phulbani district, Sonepur district etc. The region was divided into vishayas and the names of these give us the names of the different parts of these districts during their regime.

Kingdom of Somavṁśins was composed of three divisions Kosala,Oḍra and Kaliṅga. Their rule over the first two regions is known from the references to donated villages and lands in their charters and the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* assumed by some of the kings of the dynasty speak of their rule over Kaliṅga region. There is, however, no reference to the grant of the land or village situated in Kaliṅga country in their charters. Both the constituents of their dominion were known as Deśa and were divided into maṇḍala, vishaya and khaṇḍa. The places mentioned in their grants exhibit the knowledge of the region extended from the adjoining portions of the Chhattisagarh to Puri and Cuttack districts of Orissa.

The kingdom of the early Gaṅga dynasty and Śvetaka Gaṅga dynasty included southern portion of Ganjam district and the Imperial Gaṅgas seem to have extended the Gaṅga empire to Puri and Cuttack district.

The four castes, professional castes and other people constituted society of the period. Among these, first two higher castes dominated the other castes and people in general. Many times *Brāhmaṇas* from the places outside Orissa were invited and were given grants. Vṛitti holder *Brāhmaṇas* came to be known as *Bhaṭṭa Brahmaṇas* by the time of Śailodbhava dynasty and they became important constituent of the society from this time onward.

Practice of giving *Bhaṭṭa Vṛitti* led to rise of settlement known as Bhaṭṭagrāmas and some of the donees of the Bhañja period had migrated from Bhaṭṭagrāmas in Bengal. The administrative division named Vṛittivishaya of Bhañja kingdom speaks of the large region occupied by this class of *Brāhmaṇas*. The practice of inviting the donees from the regions outside the particular kingdom and some times from outside Orissa denotes that *Brāhmaṇas* were moving from place to place and from region to region freely. Large number of donees mentioned in the grants of Bhañja and Somavamśin dynasty had come from distant lands.

Women from the period of Bhaumakara dynasty onwards seem to have become important constituent of the society. The regime of the Bhaumakaras is famous for the rule female rulers who successfully and efficiently managed the administration of the kingdom and faced the foreign invasions too.

The Kshatriya rulers of the period were very much conscious of their duties prescribed in Dharmaśāstras. They managed the material as well educational progress of their kingdom by granting *agrahāras* and *vrittis*, villages and lands to *Brāhmaṇas* and by giving grants to religious institutions.

The progress of the region is judged by its economic prosperity which involves the proper utilization of the natural resources i.e. land, floral, faunal, water, and mineral wealth, of the region. Almost all dynasties of the region tried to utilize the natural wealth of the region by bringing more and more land under cultivation as well as occupation, by making grants to *Brāhmaṇas* and religious institutions. Apart from the lands, as already stated above, these donees had full right to forest, water, and mineral produce of the places under their charge. Naturally they controlled all the professions based on these sources. There is no specific reference to the guilds of craftsmen or artisans in the inscriptions but *Vetra karmaṇi pramukha* mentioned in Jayarampur grant of Gopachandra denotes that workers in grass and reed may be working under the supervision of this officer. Similarly, there may be some local senior craftsman of other crafts working as the leader of the local workshops owned by different families and run with family members, working under the supervision of the head of the family on the principle of division of labour.

In the same way, trade guilds have not been mentioned in the inscriptions. But the place name Kamalavanavaṇīkasthāna mentioned in the charter of the king of Somavaṁśin dynasty speaks of the central place of the trader's organisation of Kamalavana identified with the modern place Kelga, the findspot of the grant. Besides, nagaras and capital places must be the centers of trader's organisations and nagara Śreshṭhins must be playing most important role in the trade activities of these organisations. The economic prosperity may have given rise to ports on eastern coast of Orissa and pattanas on the banks of the rivers.

Survey of religious conditions suggests that dynasties ruling here adopted the policy of toleration and allowed Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivisim and Vaishṇavism to exist side by side. Of the first two, Jainism was the state religion during the rule of Khâravela and Buddhism enjoyed the same status during the regime of Maurya king Aśoka, and early rulers of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Of the last two religions, Śaivism was dominating religion throughout the period under study and Pāśupata, Mattamayura and Kāpālika sects, as the images belonging to these sects presented on the temples and inside the temples at many places denote, exercised great influence upon the society. Worship of goddesses in terrific form, related to Śiva was prevalent here till the regime of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty. Vaishṇavism, though was prevalent here throughout period under discussion it became dominating religion during the regime of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty.

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Dr. Malati Mahajan who retired as lecturer from the Post Graduate Teaching Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of Nagpur University, Nagpur is the student of the same department. She passed her M.A. examination in first division and was awarded Motilal Nehru centenary prize for standing first in order of merit. She was the recipient of the U.G.C. fellowship while working for her Ph.D. thesis under the guidance of Dr. S.B. Deo. After Ph.D. she worked as research assistant with Dr. S.B. Deo and completed the work of translation of the *'Topographical List of Inscriptions found in Maharashtra and Goa'*. Again in the same capacity she worked with Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri and completed the Project *'Dictionary of Place names from Inscriptions found in Maharashtra and Goa'*.

She has participated in some all India conferences of Place Name Society of India and presented good number of research papers on different aspects of Cultural and Historical Geography of ancient Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh which have been widely appreciated.

She was elected as General President of the Thirteenth All India Annual Conference of Place Name Society held at Udupi (Karnataka) in April, 1992.

She is the author of books, *Development of Material Culture in India* (Based on Archaeological evidence corroborated and supplemented with evidence from other sources); *Cultural history of Maharashtra and Goa from Place Names in Inscriptions found in Maharashtra and Goa; Madhya Pradesh-Cultural and Historical Geography from Place Names in Inscription* and *Chhattisgarh–A Study in the Culture and Historical Geography from Place Names in Inscriptions.*

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